

**POLITICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA:
AN ASSESSMENT OF CHIPKO MOVEMENT AND
NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN**

A Project Report Submitted to Central University of Punjab

For the Award of

Master of Arts

In

Political Science

By

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May, 2018

DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

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Key words:	Politics, Social Movement, Environmental Movement, Globalisation

Social movements are concerned with the State Activities like making law and implementation of the law directly or indirectly. In India, the genesis of movements could traced during the British's Rule. India has been experienced social reform movements during the British's rule. The social movements as such concept came into exist after independence. A social movement is a form of collective behaviour of large numbers of people, which are uniting for to promote or resist change in society. The politics of social movement's mean that state actions on the issues of social movement like policy, rules and regulations. Social movements are arising issues in society and the policy makers and the politics of social movement is solving the issues with the policy or expressions of the state will. Social movements are helping to formulate the public opinion about issues and provide training of leaders who became part of the political elite. Environmental movements were considering a social movement because both have share same characteristics like collective action and promotes or resist the social problems. Environmental movement is particularly concerned to perceive the environment protection and act to bring changes in environmental policies and practices. In the 1970s, Chipko movement, an organized resistance to the destruction of forests spread throughout India and came to known as the Chipko movement. The name of the movement comes from the word 'embrace' as the villagers hugged the trees, and prevented the contractors from fallen them. In 1985, Narmada Bachao

Andolan is the most powerful mass movement started, against the construction of a huge dam on the Narmada River. In this project, we discuss the globalisation impact on the chipko movements and Narmada Bachao Andolan with the help of secondary and tertiary source of data through analytical approach. The globalisation affects the chipko movement because different environmental movements in different parts of countries use the tactics of this movement and strategies; it is only possible of globalisation. Narmada Bachao Andolan also affected by globalisation in different points like the withdrawing of World Bank grant and different international organization also support this Andolan through different perspectives like writing and media.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost, I would like to articulate my faithful gratitude to all those who have given me an opportunity to undertake research work. I am particularly thankful to my guide Dr. Sudheer Singh Verma for bestowing his precious time reviewing my documentation work. He provided excellent and timely feedback, support and suggestions that alleviated me to conduct my research in a well-organized manner. He always encouraged critical thinking and guided me attentively throughout the course of the work. Above all, he helped; me improved working skills and taught me the accurate way to utilize the available resources optimally, which I heartily appreciate. I have gained a lot of confidence and knowledge through this research work. I would also like to extend my sincere and gratefulness to Dr. Bawa Singh, Head of Department of South and Central Asian Studies. I would also like to appreciate the suggestions given by Dr. Nishtha Kaushiki. I would also like to thanks to Library of Central University of Punjab for providing an exceptionally excellent academic environment. This acknowledgement would be deficient if I skip mentioning the emotional support, love blessings and inspiration provided by my family. I would also appreciate my Classmates for their support. I would like to thanks to Hilal Ramzan, Shabaz Hussain, Harpreet Singh, and Priya Gauttam for kind support during the work. Finally, I bow to the almighty, who gave me strength to accomplish this work with honesty, authenticity, sincerity and dedication.

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List of Abbreviations

Sr. No.	Description	Abbreviation
1	Narmada Bachao Andolan	NBA
2	World Bank	WB
3	Ministry of Environment and Forests	MoEF
4	United Nations	UN
5	Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal	NWDT
6	Foreign Direct Investment	FDI
7	Memorandum of Understanding	MoU
8	Non-Governmental Organisations	NGOs

Chapter-1

Introduction

Social movements have always been a significant part of the people's agenda and agitations. Social movements have opened new issues and debates among decision makers. These issues have also caught the attention of the Academician. From the late 20th century, they have become quite prominent in India. Numerous social groups are involved in their social movements like Dalit's, Farmers, Workers and Environmentalists etc. Social movements can define as a collective action to establish a new order of life. Social Movements have been starting from the condition of political conflict. They are deriving their motive power from dissatisfaction from the current system and from aspirations for a new scheme or system of living. The career of a movement depicts the emergence of a new arrangement of life. Social movements indicate as networks of informal interactions between individuals, groups or organizations, on the premise of shared collective identities that engaged in social, economic, political or cultural conflicts.

Social movements have some feature that makes Social Movements different from the Andolan or strikes and agitations. Social movements have group effort that affects individuals to come together and raise the question on the existing system that has created inequality among people. Secondly, social movements are mainly starting to bring or resist the change in society that may affect the livelihood of the people. Thirdly, the social movements are organised with proper hierarchy and structure to achieving the aims of movements without any hurdles and its smooth running. Forth, social movements may be peaceful or violent in nature. Some objectives of the movements are not achieving by peaceful means, so the leaders use the violent methods for achieving the objectives of movements but another hand; some goals can achieve through peaceful means. this completely depends upon leadership qualities that of Mahatma Gandhi who always used the peaceful methods but on contrary, Subhas Chandra Bose used the violent methods to bring change in society. Finally, a most important feature of the social movements is the period for which it is conducted movements end with a short span of time but others are carrying out for a longer period.

The politics is interlinking with every individual at the micro level or State at the macro level. Politics is mainly management of the scarce resources and distribution of resources to people according to need with purposefully. Social movements are an essential part of so-called grassroots politics. Grassroots politics refers to various forms of spontaneous, autonomous forms of organization of the civil society and civic action. Apart from social movements, these may include various civic organizations, associations, protest groups and citizen lobbies.¹

The politics were ingredient part of the human beings behaviour that is showing time to time through different means like the one movements, riots, strike, and dharnas etc. the means may be attached with a purpose like rights of minorities. The protests developed within a context of rising frustration and economic inequality. The wave of protest started with strikes over working conditions and low wages and led to marches against Environmental issues and social movements (Tilly and Wood, 2015).

Social movements are studies under the preview of sociology in beginning but the recent time it becomes the subject matter of history and political science. The political science is trying to analysis the social movements in terms of rising problems of society and pressurizing the government to take corrective measures towards the issues that affected a large section of society and in what conditions social movement started and gaining the mass supports. The politics of social movements tried to understand the issues of social movements. The ethnicity of the participation of social movement because ethnicity is playing a very important role in the political system like Tamil separation based on the ethnicity. Social movements are rising the question and issues of masses on the political system and resist on change in the system. The politics of social movements concerned with the decisions of government on the issues which raised by social movement and influence of the social movements lobby to government decisions like Chipko movement. Social movements are providing a possibility for articulation of grievances and problems of society, which mainly concerned to the policymakers branch of government because social movements activities makes

¹ <http://www2.amk.fi/digma.fi/eetu/www.amk.fi/opintojaksot/0702010/1178190640011/1178273357615/1178273530419/1178273592266.html>

hurdles in the development of nation, so government are trying to solve out the social movements issues through formulating the policies. Politics of social movements are important because social movements are important in formulating public opinion and giving a platform for training to leaders who became part of the political elite society.

Environmental movement can be considered as a social and political movement, concerning with the protection of environment as well as improving the conditions of environment. A basic distinction emerged in the early history of the movement: that between preservationists, whose interest is in keeping the natural environment free from alteration by man and utilitarian's, who believe that the natural environment should be used wisely, governed carefully, and renewed properly (Morrison, 1972, p. 261).

In India, Environment movement is also seen that the ethnic practices of worshipping planets, trees, forest, and rivers reflects the natural and social domains and the wisdom of seeing unity in the living and the non-living world in the Indian tradition. The Environment movements in India encapsulate all categories of caste, class, race, religion, nations and categories of species divisions and the divisions of the organic and inorganic world. Environmental movements in India have contributed in defining the models of development, shifting from a resource intensive and ecologically unstable state to an ecologically Combining state of functioning. Environmental movements in India, centring on dams, Protecting forest, displacement and resettlement effectively articulated their agenda on the human consequences of tampering with the courses of natural resources, have initiated protest action against the forces and agencies responsible for environmental degradation.

In the 1970s, Chipko movement an organized resistance against the destruction of forests. Chipko movement became one of the very first widespread movements in the country that resisted the excessive cutting of the trees and destruction of the forests. The means of Chipko was derived from 'embrace', which means to hold someone closely in one's arms. It invokes the idea that the lives of human beings are attached to nature. Killing nature is as serious as taking away the lives of human beings. India is such a country which is very much rich in terms of forest resources. These forest resources have been contributing for centuries towards the development of the country. As India is

mainly a developing country, these forest resources are very much necessary for development purpose. However, in the last few decades it is seeing that in the name of development, these resources are being misuse. However, various movements have emerged to address such environmental crisis happening in the country. In this regard, Chipko movement has become a rallying point that has focused worldwide attention on the environmental crisis in the Himalayas of Uttarakhand. However, in spite of the successful implementation of the Chipko movement, there has been happening lots of devastation regarding the forest in the present time.

Narmada Bachao Andolan can be define as a social movement that had Adivasis, farmers, environmentalists against the large dams that have been built on the Narmada River that flows through the Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra districts that created widespread aggression. The great Sardar Sarovar Dam is one of the greatest dams that and to build under the Narmada Dam Project and it also was one of the focal points of the movement. The dams were mainly building for providing electricity, irrigation, and other water supplies to the people living in these areas. The main modes of campaigns used in the Narmada Bachao Andolan include court actions, hunger strikes, rallies, and garnering support from notable great personalities from different field. The World Bank has invested 450 million dollars in the Sardar Sarovar Dam in technical and economic terms but movement's participants are went to the World Bank to withdraw its funds.

1.1: Literature Review

Ample of literature available regarding the topic social movements and Politics in India. The literature are founding from online libraries, which made online resources such as internet articles, reports. Literature also available on different online journals like Economic and Political Weekly, Jstor and EBSCO. The literature are available on the Google scholars. After reviewed different literature of different authors had discussed different aspects, about the overall social movements in India, Chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan. Literature also available related globalisation and environmental movement. The review of literature are as under following themes:

1.1.1: Chipko Movement

The Chipko movement started in the Himalaya region. This movement follows the nonviolent direct action environmental movements of grassroots origin in India. Vandana Shiva and J. Bandyopadhyay (1986) analyze the development of the philosophy and the non-violent resistance activities from the beginnings of Chipko in the early 1970s in Garhwal to its present role throughout most of India. In support, P. P. Karan (1994) discusses the grassroots environmental movements following Gandhian nonviolent tradition are expanding in India. Chipko movement follows the non-violent path on Gandhian Principles.

Jayanta Bandyopadhyay (1999) examines the role of women in the chipko movement. The role of women has been inevitable because it is a social movement based on gender collaboration or a feminist movement based on gender conflicts and has anyone in the Chipko movement actually hugged trees at the risk of her or his life. Mukul (1993) also discusses the role of women in chipko movement. Mahila mangal dals are associated to the chipko movement. They work for the development of movement at new heights. Women were taken the decision for meetings and programs at various levels. Shobhita Jain (1984) elaborates the role of women in chipko movement. Women's participation not only played often a decisive role, but that considering the specific existential conditions in the hill region it was easier for women to perceive the need for preserving the ecological balance in the area. The mobilization of women for the cause of preserving forests has brought about a situation of conflict regarding their own status in society demand for sharing in the decision making process and men's opposition to this and to women's support for Chipko movement.

Vandana Shiva and J. Bandyopadhyay (1986) elaborate the evolution, structure, and impact of the chipko movement. Chipko movement is unique because it is based not only on politics of distribution of wealth but on that of sustainable ecological stability, and it is dominated by women. The philosophical and organizational continuity of the Chipko Movement with the Indian tradition of resolving conflicts through non-violent noncooperation, a political strategy revived by Mahatma Gandhi. Jayanta Bandyopadhyay (1999) examines the reliability of media created messages and

dispelling some of the myths about the movement that have floated around for quite some time. Chipko movement rooted in economic conflicts over mountain forests or guided by ideas of deep ecology is it a social movement based on gender collaboration or a feminist movement based on gender conflicts and has anyone in the Chipko movement actually hugged trees at the risk of her or his life and not for waiting photographers.

1.1.2: Narmada Bachao Andolan

Vimal Bhai and Madhuresh Kumar (2013) made a study on the active resistance to dam projects in the Narmada Valley. These protests are not only against people's displacements, but also for preserving India's larger cultural identity. They found that people's movements gain victories by forcing some dam projects to cancel, or halted or delayed. Because of the protests the Central and the State governments and dam building companies can no longer proceed without scrutiny. Even the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) and environmental impact assessment committees were establishing in India. Governments, dam building companies, financial institutions and others have been force to follow environmental and resettlement and rehabilitation policies, guidelines and laws that have emerged out of people's struggles over the years. At public hearings, people have challenged the exaggerated benefit claims for dams and challenged cancellations and disruptions of these public hearings. The proclaimed development benefits of big dams have been completely expose by the anti-dam movements. Ashish Kothari and Rajiv Bhartari, (1984) was discussing the issues of Narmada Bachao Andolan was started against the people's displacements and rehabilitations, submerged of the land and pilgrimage centres into dams and inadequate planning and implementation of the projects. They are discuss that the Narmada Bachao Andolan was used the non-violent strategies like satyagrah, strikes and Dharnas.

Rabeya Khatun Kazi (2013) also examines the anti-dams movements in democratic and authoritarian regimes. Citizens in a democratic political system enjoy more freedom in anti-dam protest mobilization than those in authoritarian regime. People of democratic regimes enjoy more favourable condition than their non-democratic. By showing their

opposition to particular policies of a government, people in democracy takes part in government decision making. The basic democratic rights and rule of law that enhances their possibilities of protest also guard democratic citizens. That is why protests in democracy are mostly less violent. On the other hand, authoritarian regimes consider protests as an obstruction to development and suppress it in a coercive manner. Because of government's unresponsive and suppressive attitude, protests in authoritarianism do not flourish in large scale but if it ever breaks out it can be very violent. While democracy faces higher number of protests than other political systems, protests in democracy also receives outcomes that are more positive and have higher possibilities for sustainable development. Citizens of countries, which have democratic political structure, have the opportunity of equal participation, human rights, freedom of speech and rule of law.

Steiger Carla (2010) are trying to investigate the media attention in the movement against the construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam in India. She found that mainstream as well as alternative media contribute huge degree in the favour of the movement. According to her findings, media provide platform for the activists in conveying their voices against the construction of destructive dams.

Dixon Rebecca (2010) examines how the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) has successfully built a functional partnership with the news media that has led not only to attention to their cause, but to wider debate on the meaning of development. The NBA's hunger strike, although eventually unsuccessful in its ultimate goal, succeeded in one of its sub goals of publicity for the cause. The NBA gains legitimacy through the press coverage that treats the movement and its leaders as recognizable actors who are consulting as regular sources on the issue of the dams on the Narmada River.

1.1.3: Globalisation and Environmental Movements

Hein Anton Van Der Heijden (2006) argued that environmental movement has become a vital part of contemporary politics of many parts of the world. They have not only influenced substantive politics, for example, in the field of nuclear energy but they have also contributed to a change in public values and attitudes and to a revitalization of civil

society. One of the distinctive contributions from political science to the study of environmental and other social movements has been the concept of political opportunity structure. Flam (1994) and Kitschelt (1986) examines with the increasing globalisation of environmental problems and solution strategies during the past two decades, important parts of the environmental movement have become global. Smith (1997) argued that a shift from the rubric of modernization toward the geographical euphemism globalisation. Environmental protection, conservation and legislation, global blueprints are increasingly being adopted by the nation-state. Ecological problems highlight the new and accelerating interdependence of global systems and bring home to everyone the depth of the connections between personal activity and planetary problem. The mobile forces of capital, labor, technology, and information are presenting as moving relentlessly to and fro across political and cultural bound arise, threatening the integrity of the nation-state and of national cultures. The globalisation affected nation state environmental system through economic, political and social system.

H. Ford Lucy (2009) discuss the relationship between environmental movements and civil society in both local and global contexts. Conditions of democracy and civil society are of great importance in organizing successful environmental movement. Environmental problems transcend nation-state; a global civil society will be in a more viable position to deal with the problems with all their complexities by creating a favourable and sustainable politico-cultural framework.

Falk (2000) argued that the environmental movement have global dimensions. They started as local, at best, national movement. Environment being a pub he good per excellence came to attract the attention of a variety of civil society organization. Economic globalisation following the logic of neo-liberalism is causing disruption to culture and environment throughout the world. On the other hand, environmental movements have become global in their connectivity as well as influence. When people across national borders take part in collective actions, sharing a common set of ideas and value. Christopher Rootes (1999) examines at local, national or global level, the dialectic of environmental movement development is an on-going process. The compelling nature of environmental issues makes it likely that there will be increasingly

effective institutionalized means of addressing them, but people professionally engaged in environmental protection are well aware that the existence of a vital environmental movement greatly increases their advantage with their competitors for resources.

Globalisation leads to the greater integration of economies and societies (Agenor, 2003). According to Hecksher (1919) and Ohlin (1933), “trade is the main engine that provides an innovative opportunity to enhance the process of production as well as the productivity of abundant natural resources.” Further, international trade in the face of globalisation mobilizes the factors of production freely among countries. In this context, Antweiler (2001) examined the effect of trade on environmental quality. They introduced composition, scale and technological effects by decomposing the trade model. Their study concluded that trade openness is beneficial to the environment if the technological effect is greater than both the composition effect and scale effect. Copeland and Taylor (2005) supported that international trade is beneficial to environmental quality through environmental regulations and capital-labour channels.

1.2: Statement of the Problem

Social movements have been a vital and effective tool for addressing various problems in society. These movements not only highlight and resolve problems but also affect politics and policies introduced by government. The problem like deforestation, which has intensified the risk of floods and landslides, served as the basis for Chipko movement. Basis of movement like Narmada Bachao Andolan are the general problems faced by society like loss of habitat, loss of agricultural land and damage of heritage sites. Globalisation not only gives a platform for development but also gives an exposure to the outside world of various problems faced by society affecting politics in unprecedented ways like Narmada Bachao Andolan and Chipko Movement.

1.3: Research Objectives

The focus of this project report is on the assessment of politics of social movements in India. This project work aspires to develop a deeper understanding of the politics of Social movements by studying the environment movements in general and Chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan as particular. It will start by giving history on

Politics of overall social movements in India. Those backgrounds will set up a discussion on the changing perspectives of politics of Social movements in India. The project work has based on the following research objectives.

1. To understand politics of Social movements.
2. To analyse the Environmental movements Particular Chipko Movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan.
3. To analyse impact of globalisation on Chipko Movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan.

1.4: Research Methodology

The project work has employed qualitative research methodology for understanding the multidimensional politics of the social movements and its relations with Environmental Movements. The project work has applied analytical approaches with the use of empirical evidences in the study of the problems. The source of data collection for the project are secondary and tertiary. The secondary sources of data collection includes books, journals articles etc. The tertiary sources of data collection including citations, bibliography etc. The reason of choosing the secondary sources to conduct project study is lacking of time and financial resources. This is a postgraduate research project.

Chapter- 2

Politics of Social Movements

The evidences of movements founded from the development of the civilization. The movements begin with period of the renaissance in the west. In the past, movements are challenged the authority of religion and authority of government. These movements are challenging the foreign rulers and the authoritarian regimes. These movements are making hindrances in development of the Imperialism and colonialism to further extended. In American continent, movement started for the rights of citizens. In addition, Islamic movement started in West Asia, Hindutva movement in India and Tamil movement in Sri-lanka. Anti-terrorism movement started in the World after USA 9/11 attack. The roots of movements mostly lie within the social problems. These movements are influenced the society value system and state political culture as well.

The nature and scope of movement are change with the time, space and structure of the society. The movement also helps in power of the state distribution among the all segment of society and further help to introduce new institutions in Society that assist in achieving goals of movements. The movements also help to understand the reason behind to create social and political institution and purpose of these institutions and finally, future of the institutions. The movements are creating new value system and nature in the socio-political sphere. The movements are mirror of the expectations and feeling of people and conflict of the society in all sphere like social, political, cultural and economically. In final, understanding of social movements is necessary to understand the political institution, which are create by the movements.

2.1: Exploring Concept of Social Movements

A social movement is a form of collective behaviour of large number of people that are united to promote or resist the social change. Social movements are organised groups on particular purpose. The organised groups are striving to work toward a common purpose or objective.² Social mobilization is a means by which social change is attained.

² Herbert Blumer. "Collective Behavior," in Robert E. Park, Ed. *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*. New York:

Most of the people in social movements are participating in the informal and indirect ways. The followers and participators of the movement share a sense of the dissatisfaction that bring together. All of them believe that the action is necessary to change the current situation, which people perceive to be undesirable and unsatisfactory in the society. Some of participators do not join the movement directly, but act as backdoor supporters.

According to Herbert Blumer (1968), "Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in the condition of unrest, and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living."³ In the words of M.S.A Rao (1979) social movement "as an organized attempt on the part of a section of society to bring about either partial or total change in society through collective mobilization based on ideology."⁴

In the groups, individuals have their own dissatisfaction which at a later stage becomes the cause of uprising and these individuals try to influence other members of the society to join the movement based on significant social relationship among the members. In the duration of achieving the goal of a social movement, the organizers establish a new culture among the members of the social movement that helps in the long-term benefits of the movement. The new patterns of behaviour of member's act as a guiding force for achieving the defined goals because the new values are formulating based on the demands of movement and these demands incorporated into the values of the society so that the chance of the success of the movement would be increase. Therefore, it acts as a new ideology that provides a conceptual framework by which goals maybe interpreted. The ideology also helps in the development of opposition and provides the basis for the unification of the segments of different groups.

Barnes and Noble, 1939, p. 199

³ Rao, M.S.A. *Social Movements and Social Transformation. A Study of two Backward Classes Movements in Indian.* Delhi: Macmillan Company, 1979.

⁴ Doug McAdam. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 25

A social movement arises when there emerges an issue or a set of issues that affect a significant proportion of people in some way or the other. Gradually, these issues started gaining importance and results in mass participation of people aiming at collective action. Action of a mob is also a collective behaviour but it could not be considered as a social movement. For example, Riots among ethnic groups and damaging of public and private property are not considered into social movements. The strikes, agitation and Dharnas themselves are not social movements but they may constitute part of the programmes of the social movements. The collective behaviours do not constitute the social Movements because collective actions are often impulsive, reaction of a situation and do not aim to bring social change as such. However, the collective actions are organising as a programme of the larger agenda to bring social change and resist the change.⁵

2.2: Social Movements and Political Movements

Mostly the words 'social' and 'political' movements are used interchangeably. Both movements are same but some characteristics demarcate the differences. The social movements are collective effort which are mainly restricted to personal salvation in relation to state power and do relate to social structure and within inter-community relationship. The social Movement can be Political Movement, when social movement enters in the domain of political relationship affecting public domain. It assumes the character of a political movement.⁶

Political scientists and sociologists do not make a distinction between 'social' and 'political' movements. Sociologists assume that political movements include those movements, which have a clear objective of bringing about political system change. Two volumes on social movements (1978), edited by the sociologist M. S. A. Rao, include two such studies: the Naxalite movement, which aims at capturing state power and the other backward caste movement for asserting a reservation in government jobs. All movements have political implication, which are striving for political power or not (Rudolf

⁵ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/307918853_Collective_Behaviour_and_Social_Movements_Conceptual_Review

⁶ <http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/24730/1/Unit-1.pdf>

Heberle (1951). Within the paradigm of new social movements, scholars are trying to differentiate the social movement and political movement. The former do not strive for state power as such but demanding more autonomy within the state power and latter strive state power. There is also a differentiating between social and political power, the former is associated to society and state but latter is located in the state alone. The objective of social movement is social transformation and political movement is striving to bring change in political system (Andre and Martafuentes, 1987). The participants of movement are mobilised for attaining social justice. Politics is not limited to the political parties but social movement also. The issues of movements are concerning to sense of justice or injustice which have political implications. Social movements involved into collective action, which aims to bring social change. Social movements are rising question on the prevalent structure of supremacy and dominance, relations of production and power relations. Social movements are claiming for identity against the perceived antagonist and resisting dominance in terms of justice. Political Movements are involving to capture or influence existing political authority.

2.3: Component of Social Movements: Stages and Types

Social movements have identified these five components: objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership, and organisation. They are interdependent and influencing each other. Social movements are concerning to social and political change. The social Movements have an immediate and long-term objective. The immediate objective, which are concerning to resolve a particular issue or protest against the decision of the authority. Some time, the immediate cause became the achieved or not but movements are not ending. The social movements are adding the issues in achieving the targeted objectives. The long-term objectives, which concerned to change the existing authority of system and Structure. The power relations in terms of socio-economic and political also changed during achieving the long-term objectives. For achieving long-term objective, need to proper organisation for actions of movements. During the organising the programmes, followed the proper channels to obtain targeting goals. To achieve long-term objectives, social movements need to develop a culture and values. Social movements are developing ideas, which helps in developing an ideology. The ideology

provides a formal direction to social movements, which helps in achieving objectives. The ideology of social movements are influencing from political ideologies like liberalism communism etc. In some case's ideology directs the movement, in other cases ideology is evolving during Social Movements.

Leadership plays vital role in social movements because the leadership gave an overall direction to movement. Leadership also helps in articulating the ideology and strategies of movement. Leadership also influenced to the people for participation in social movements. The methods of achieving objectives are also depending the nature of the leadership. The leaders evolve different programmes to mobilisation and sustain their participation. Leadership have needed formal, which helps in organising the movement at larger level. The leadership also played role during the decision making related to action and programmes.

2.3.1: Stages in Social Movements

Herbert Blumer was classified four level in life cycles of social movements. The four level were following; social ferment, popular excitement, formalization, and institutionalization (Porta and Diani 2006, p.150). Some scholars have reframe Blumer classification of life cycles of social movements on the same lines. The general level of development of social movements are emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, and decline. The Decline level of social movements can result of several causes, such as repression, co-optation, success, failure, and mainstream. The four stages development model can be used for understanding the social movements formation, growing and decline.

The first stage, it can be started with widespread discontent. The movement participants have dissatisfaction towards some existing policy or prevailing social condition. In this stage, people are not addressing the grievances collectively. Individuals are rising the question on authority. In this stage, individual are take action rather than collective action for addressing the problems. This stage promote to nest stage with the help of media coverage of prevailing social conditions or policies, which affects the large section of society (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950).

The second stage is being characterised by a more clearly defined sense of discontent. This stage also known as coalescence. At this stage, the people are coordinated to each other on the issues of dissatisfaction and discontent (Rex D. Hopper, 1950 p. 273). It is the stage, where individuals of social movements are interacting to each other, which helps in making mass behaviour of movement (Hopper, 1999, p. 273). At this stage, leadership emerges and strategies for success are work out. In addition, social movements are trying to gather mass supports so that movements carried out mass demonstrations which exhibiting the power of social movements. Movements are making the demands based on collective consciousness of participants. Social movements are organised and makes strategies at this stage itself.

Third stage was Bureaucratisation. In that stage, Blumer stated that formalization is characterising by vertical level of hierarchy and its formed coalition based strategies. (Porta and Diani, 2006). In this stage, the social movement at peak, where other groups of society also support in terms of economic and political. The degree of cohesion among participants are well organised. The strategies of social movements are spread over the whole society, which also helps in gathering the mass support. The social movement are well connected to its different parts and coordinate the strategy among the organisations. The movements activities are depending on the staffs, which have specialised knowledge about the human resources and formulating the action to achieve the objectives. Movements have needed the technical staffs to carry out the regular functions of organisation. In this stage, the movements are accessing political power through regular interaction with political elites. Some movement are could not reach up to formalisation stage because the movements participant are not success in coordinating the mass consciousness (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950).

Finally, Institutionalisation or decline is final stage of social movements. In the last stage of life cycles of social movements, constitute different ways like repression, co-option, success and failure. These ways are depending on the circumstances of the social movements in which theses movements are adopting the ways of end of social movement life cycles. In this stage, movements are achieving targeted objectives but some movements failed to manage targeted objective due to of the different causes.

Some movements are diverting from the actual objectives and some others are could not manage strategies, which they followed from origin. Some time, social movements are could not finished desire objective because the opponents are divert the movements through corrupt practices like violent methods and bribes to leaders or prominent people of movements. Social movements are facing the failure due to of the rapid expansion of the movement, which could not organised and consciousness among participants of social movements. Most of social movements failed because of the lack of organisation and proper strategies (Macionis, 2001).

2.3.2: Classification of Social Movements

No classification is universally acceptable by all the scholars and activists. However, scholars have classified the social movements on different dimensions like issues, socio- economic conditions of participants etc. David Aberle was classified the social movements into four parts like alternative, reformative, redemptive and revolutionary on the basis of level or extent of change seeking by social movements. Aberle classification of social movement discussed in his book “The Peyote Religion among the Navaho” 1966.⁷ Classification is a way of selecting the information and gives a meaning to the information. The social Movements classification based on to attain objectives and action against existing political system. Social movements are classifying into three ways like Revolt, Reform and Revolution based on actions and attainment of objective of social movements against existing political system.

Revolt or rebellion

Rebellion refers to an opposition by the masses against the authority, not against persons or groups. Rebellion is confining to the efforts on the part of a portion of the state to overthrow the authority. The revolt or rebellion are mainly opposing to existing political system and regimes of rule to change the system authority and ruler. These movements do not want to bring change in the system as such. The rebellion movements are against to authority rather than system. The revolt movements aim to

⁷ <https://epdf.tips/theories-of-social-movements.html>

replacing the government and challenge to political authority. The revolt or rebellion are attacking on the prevailing authority without disturbing to the political system.

Reform

The social movement are considering as Reform movements, which are trying to bring change rather than transforming the system. These movements known as reformist movement. These movements are rising question on the functioning of political institutions and building the pressure on government to bring change in the policy, procedures and structures. These movements are pointing out the part of institution and system, which they are wanting to reform. For example, these movements wanted to bring change in election procedures rather than change the election as institution. The social reforms movements concerned to bring reforms in the existing system such as child marriage or dowry, animal sacrifice, and untouchability. Women's movement are struggling to have participation reservation for women in the parliament. It is reformist movement because its aim to bring change in representation system in parliament government.

Revolution

In the revolution movements, the social groups of society are organised to overthrow the established system, as whole and existing system should be replace with new alternative system. Revolutions are highly organized political movements with a widespread public participation and designed to overthrow the regime or dissolve the state. Revolutions are generally accompanied by extensive violence. Revolution signifies the revolt of all sections of the society and their participation in the total dismantling of the state. For example, the naxalite movement considered as revolutionist movement because this movement wanted to overthrow the existing system of state and to establish a communist state. On another hand, Dalit movements considered as reformist movement because this movement wanted to bring change in caste system but its became a revolutionary movement if they wanted to change as a whole system with egalitarian social system. In the same way, women movement also

revolutionary movement if its challenge to patriarchy society and establishing the equitable society.

Nature of social movements interconnected and overlapped. Many movements are going with changes through course of action. Some revolt or rebellion movements became reformist or revolutionary movements because movements changed the objective or action in due course of time. Some social movements are starting with objective of revolution but convert into reformist or rebellion movements in course of action. Not all social movements do necessarily to begin with clear objectives to bring or resist change but they shaped during the course of action through leader and ideology of movements.

2.4: New Social Movements

New social movement argues that contemporary movements are performing collective action in different ways than traditional social movements. The new social movements are giving exposure to the role of contemporary and modern society. Social movements considered as voluntary organisation of individuals, which are achieving to bring or resist the changes. Social movements are serving the benefits to large groups of people rather than individuals benefits. The traditional social movements are attracting the people based on the dissatisfaction of social conditions, grievances and ideology. Another hand, new social movements are attracting people based on identity and issues of society. Social movements are coordinating to group actions in the context of socio-economic and political. Social movements are successful to open the issues of society in democratic state and people are accepting social change. Social movements are attempting to bring change within systems and to change the goals of system as such (Morrison, 1971).

The social movements classified into two parts traditional and new social movements. The division is based on era of movement and characteristics of social movements. The former engaged to the class conflicts and latter concerned to political and social conflict. Traditional movements are concerned to economic disparities and focused on state power but new social movements are concerning to identity and lifestyle of organisation

and focused on more autonomy within the state. New social movements are organising networks of people, which desired to bring change at global stage. The traditional social movements are arising based on class-consciousness of participants but new social movements are raising the issues of non-class and identity. The new paradigm in the social movements through introducing the new social movements. The new social movements differentiated from traditional social movements based on characteristics, strategies, goals and membership. New social movements are outcomes of changing economic, political and social conditions in the industrial society. For example, new social movements like civil rights movements, women movements and environmental movements and traditional social movements such as labour movements. New social movements are reformist in nature because they are concerned to bring change in structural rather than system as whole. New social movements have reform and revolutionary because these movements are changing according to time and situations. New social movements are helping to explore the changing nature of political institution and relations of individuals and state in modern society (Lentin, 1999).

2.5: Politics of Social Movements

Social movements are studied under the domain of sociology in beginning but in recent times, it became subject matter of political science and history. Societal conflicts have to be resolved by the government and political institutions. Their area of concern begins when conflict enters the political orbit of the government. For them, conflict resolution is more important than the causes of conflict. They had and still have confidence, that existing political institutions can solve all social conflicts (Aiyar, 1966). There are innumerable constitutional mechanisms to solve conflicts but if these mechanisms fail to solve the problem then Social movements are demanding to create new mechanisms. The political science is trying to analyse the social movements in terms of rising problems of society and pressurizing the government to take corrective measures towards the issues, which affects a large section of society and in what conditions social movement started and gaining the mass support.

Social movements are also the product of social developments: since the 1960s, a major social movement syndrome has been propelled by dramatic changes in

education, demographic shifts, and alterations in employment structure. In relating the emergence and behaviour of social movements to the political opportunity structure, we need to distinguish between what is structural and what are contingent products of the political system. Moreover, the state itself can change in response to social movements. Social movements not only seize opportunities but they also create them. The extent to which social movements generate political parties seems to depend upon the constituency they mobilise but as with parties their membership is becoming increasingly volatile and their prospects of creating stable political organisations are becoming more limited. Different individuals, groups and classes of actors are differently resourced for different kinds of political action, but their choices are also influenced by political values derived from national political cultures.

Politics is a battle of social forces. Political parties act as representatives of those forces. The politics of social movements tried to understand the issues of social movements. The social movements arises the issues of society then political parties are taking the issues and parties are helping in formulating a formal structure of the issues so that government can take action over these issues. Political parties are taking the agenda from the disconnected views of the community, where people of particular communities are aligned to particular parties for getting benefits. In Indian politics, political parties emerged based on the differences of ideologies like leftist and right wing parties.

The ethnicity of the participants of social movement also plays a very important role in the political system like Tamil separation based on the ethnicity and Nagalingam in the Northeast of India. Social movements raise the questions and issues of masses in the political system and resist on change in the system. The people gather or support the movement based on issues, goodwill and extended unity. The movements are developed with garnering of the support from masses and a culture is developed within the movement's followers and supporters, which helps in the making of ideology or Aims for attaining the prescribed goals. The ideology is influencing from political ideologies directly or indirectly. The movements communicate the issues to authority or pressurize

the authority to take action over issues with the help of informal power gained from the participants.

The politics of social movements is concerned with the decisions of government on the issues raised by social movement and the influence of the social movements lobby on government decisions like Chipko movement. Social movements provided a possibility for articulation of grievances and problems of society ignored by the policymaking branch of government. Therefore, social movements bring in the attention of the government towards the issues and the government in return tries to work out the genuine demands. In the process becomes handy most of the times for the policy makers in formulating the government policies. Politics of social movements are important because social movements are important in formulating public opinion and giving a platform for training to leaders who became part of the political elite society.

In the period of globalisation, politics of social movements became important because states are interconnected and interdependent, so that the political culture and political values of one state influences the other states also. Sometimes states take policies of different states for resolving the movement's issues like lokpal and lokayukat product of anti-corruption movement. In the globalised world, international community is also taking action if any state fails or is unwilling to take action over the issues. In such cases, the international community comes into figure and thereby, take necessary action through United Nations towards this end.

Chapter- 3

Environmental Movements: Chipko Movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan

All over the world, people are experiencing the effects of environment changes like ecosystem decline, temperature increasing and biodiversity. The victims of environmental degradation are belongs to more vulnerable sectors of society. However, the international and national acknowledgement of relationship between 'environmental protection' and 'human rights' are recently introduced. The United Nations Conference on Environment in Stockholm in 1972 designated as the 'Magna Carta of Environment' that laid down the foundation for statutory base of environmental law framework in India.

3.1: Environmental Movements

The movements are action on the social problems, which are affecting large population. The movements related to environmental are concerning to protection and preserving natural resource, which are witnessing a large participation from the concerned and other communities. The movements are targeting to bring social change that set strong examples for coming generation. According to Dr.Vandana Shiva, 'Movements are outcomes of the major social and political processes.

“Ecology movements are political movements for a non-violent world order in which nature is conserved for conserving the options for survival. These movements are small, but they are growing. They are local, but their success lies in non-local impact. Unless the world is restructured ecologically at the level of world-views and lifestyles, peace and justice will continue to be violated and ultimately the very survival of humanity will be threatened” (V.Shiva, 1988, p.37).

The nationwide environmental movement, which spread during the 1980s and 1990s, have protests against deforestation, construction of dams, destruction of wildlife, and pollution. India never witnessed the rise of green groups like 'Greenpeace' or 'Friends of the Earth'. Indian environmentalism has always been different from its western counterpart. The concept of 'protectionist conservationism' is what prevails across the paradigms of environmental management in the western world. The Indian

environmental movement, however, was building on the concept of 'utilitarian conservationism'. This is simply because of the large numbers of people who live on their environment. They survive directly on what they get from nature – firewood, food, water, building materials, medicines and fodder for their animals. The destruction of the forest would threaten their livelihoods. Anil Agarwal said that instead of the gross national product, we should calculate gross nature product that mattered to rural households that perhaps the best indicator of economic change in this biomass based subsistence economy. Which would measure the numbers of hours women walk to secure their basic needs water and firewood.

The first environmental movements have direct consequence caused by industrial revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the increased use of fossil fuels and chemicals, urban expansion, deforestation and increased consumption by humans led to drastic changes in the environment. These issues are drastically raised the level of pollution, damage the bio-diversity and start depleting natural resources. The first environmental movements were, however primarily concerned with wild- life protection and nature conservation. The rise of environmental movement is closely relating to the new phenomenon of globalisation, which has transformed the structure of the international order. The impact of globalisation led governments and individuals to realize the international and trans-boundary dimensions of environmental issues. Finally, it begins with UN Conference on Environment held in Stockholm, Sweden in 1972. Since then, there has been an increase movement towards the adoption of international instruments as tools for environmental protection.

3.2: Environmental Movements in India

The arising of environmental movements in India was tracing back to the British period, although they were not known as 'environmental movements' at that time. People's bitter resistance to the taking over of large areas by the colonial state to put the area into commercial farming. This led to prolonged fights and social conflicts between the colonial state and their subjects. The British tried restrict access to forests, common lands, forest produce, which their interpreted as an infringement of customary rights of forest dwellers, hunter-gatherers, nomadic, pastoral communities, etc. Jeopardized their

survival, which resulted in peasant rebellions. These uprisings were not interpreted as environmental movements instead; they contained elements for which they could be considered as precursors of future ecological struggles.

During 1970, India introduced many policies related to nature by following the standards of global environmental policies. The process of economic development are leading to use more resource that is intensive. According to Gadgil and Guha (1994), earlier the conflicts emerged out of competing claims over the forests but now a distinct ecological dimension was added to these socio-political conflicts, as they took place in the context of a dwindling resource base, which affect the poor peasants and tribal. In independent India, another kind of conflict, which was evoked huge popular response, pertained to the social consequences of the river valley projects. According to an estimate, (Gadgil and Guha, 1994), until mid 90s around 11.5 million people have been displaced due to building of dams without any compensation or rehabilitation. Therefore, movements representing dam displaced by people have gained importance over the past 30 years. Although the displacement caused by dams is for their good.

In the contemporary period characterized by globalisation, which marks the attitude towards nature and its resources is become profit motive of the private multinational companies. The gradual withdrawal of the state, making way for private extractive capital has meant an increase in assault on nature and natural resources and a near total disregard for the ecosystem people who live close to it. Hence, we see violent conflicts leading to even deaths of the people who are willing to lay down their lives protecting their land, culture, identities and ways of life.

Environmental movements in the West have been emphasizing ideas of conservation, deep ecology, quality of life and post-materialistic values. Therefore, they have understood more as new social movements, which are believe to gather support along lines of 'personal and moral conviction.' However, ecological movements in India show continuities with classical social movements while exhibiting some features of new social movements. In short, 'environment movement is best understood as an 'envelope' as it encompasses a variety of socially and discursively constructed ideologies, actions, theories and practices' (Ranjit Dwivedi, 2008: 12).

3.3: Chipko Movement

Environmental movements in India have led by villages tribes rather than educated or elite of society. The environmental movements have started from grassroots level. The exploitation of natural resources is not a recent phenomenon but it is starting from British period. During British rule, the forest resources used for commercial and railway lines. After independence of India, deforestation was continuously increasing for fulfilment of development demands of nation. During the 1970s, in the lower region of Himalaya local women are resisting to felling trees by contractors after approval of forest department. The women of region are stopping the worker of contractor from cutting of trees through nonviolence methods. The women followed 'hug the trees', which based on nonviolence principle of resist to worker.

Chipko Movement is important environmental movement in post-independent India. The chipko movement was set up standards for further movements. Chamoli district is the birthplace of the famous Chipko movement; it started as a peaceful movement during 1970s. From 1973, the Chipko movement gained momentum over the region. Demonstrations, dharnas and strikes are holding at various places by village women. Women of region are forming organisation for addressing issues to authority. The attention of the organisation was towards the problem of forests in the village. Private, governmental and joint forests of Basher were being destroyed by the indiscriminate cutting of trees by the government department on the one hand and the villagers lack of awareness about preserving' forests on the other. The women of the village were most affecting by deforestation as they had to go very far to get wood for fire and fodder, and it took them six to eight hours every day. The Chipko movement found on the exploitation of the forests for commercial purpose by the contractors after approval of the forest department. It is following the ghandian methods of protest, which created a landmark for environmental movement in India.⁸

Chipko movement originated in the Garhwal region of Himalayan Mountain. The region was a hilly part of Uttrakand. This region known for diverse environment form rest of

⁸ <http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/19905/1/Unit-9.pdf>

India. Earthquakes prone area and erosive rivers and steep valleys that are make its diverse form rest of India. This region have large forest reserves, which are providing the basic needs of livelihood of the local communities like to pick the fodder, fuel and fibres. This region have not any income source as such, which pushed the local people to outside for job. The women of this region are living at home and collecting the necessary substance from forest. This region was experiencing large deforestation. The deforestation has taken due to meet the needs of growing population, commercialisation and urbanisation. The Chipko movement was not confined to particular district but spread to whole area of state in developing stage of movement.

Actually, the Chipko movement had many demands, out of which only one demand has related to a complete stoppage of commercial cutting of trees. Other demands were also equally important for stoppage of deforestation. The complete picture of the Chipko movement develop through combining the whole. The demands of movements are following; forests should survey, reorganisation of traditional rights, arid forest should make green with the help of local participation and attempts to increase tree cultivation. All kinds of contractor ship related to forest activities should end and village committees should be form. Village committees should be form to manage forests and develop forest related home-based industries. The forests raw materials should be make available for the local people that based on local conditions and requirements. The local varieties of trees should be give priority to afforestation.

Local groups regulate few rules in this region. They would not allow any kind of cutting of trees in the forests; neither of any raw wood nor the branches and leaves of trees to be allowed broken off. Vigilance would be constantly keeping on the forests. Every year forest transplantation would regulated by local people and they grow their own gardens. Those who left animals in the open or cut raw wood would be fine. There would be a chowkidar for the protection of trees and paid him Rs 500 per month through contributions from every house; people of the local group would survey the forest twice a month; whichever family needed trees for building a house or for any other purpose would have to take permission from the local group.

Local people are formulating the rules and regulation regarding the accessing and protecting the forest resources. The sarpanch of the village along with a contractor sold a part of the community forest of the village. The conflict arises, when the forest department gave order to contractors for cutting trees then local people are stand against the felling trees. However, after that Mahila Mangal Dal annexed the wood, loaded into truck and lodged a complaint against the sarpanch and his brother giving witness in the court.

During this period, in the name of stone mining, the contractors conspired to cut down trees but the women succeeded in stopping the mining. The forest department invaded the forest located on the border of Bacher and ordered the cutting of 1,600 trees including oak and other broad-leaved varieties. The Mahila Mangal Dals of Bacher and other villages near it requested the forest conservator of Garhwal Circle to withdraw the order since the region was located on a hill slope and the cutting of trees would lead to soil erosion and landslides, which would hit the economic life of more than half dozen village's located lower region. Moreover this was the only region from which villager of a dozen villages received grass and dry wood.

However, when their request was rejected, they openly declared that we villagers would have to protect their own interests. The forest and police departments threatened women that if they created any hurdles in governmental work, legal action will be taken against them. However, when the people of the contractor came to cut trees, the women stopped them. The contractor offered to pay each woman Rs 1,000 which they refused and drove away the contractor. Then the people of the forest department came for lopping and they even managed to bribe two of the village men to help in cutting trees. The women on the other hand fought more militantly. After a long struggle, they managed to save those 1,600 trees.

The deforestation and felling trees were taking place at large scale at hill region, which affects the village women. Women are suffering from the deforestation because the local women are collecting livelihood materials from forest, if deforestation growing than the women facing difficulties in collecting necessary fodder and fuel. Due to of deforestation, women travel large distance to getting necessary materials based on

forest. The growing deforestation are also increasing the risk of floods and landslides in hilly region. Gauri Devi is the important woman of Chipko Movement stated that the movement is not a planned action but it is a spontaneous action. The village men are going outsidess for job and contractors are coming then women of village are coming forward for protecting the trees. The village women are saying that we are not against the contractor or anybody but forests ties with our survival (Guha, 2000, p.159). The Chipko Movement was starting due to the deforestation and codification of forest resources. Chipko Movement was fighting to conserve of natural resources for local habitants and restoring the traditional right of forest to local communities.

Environmental movements over the years have used several innovative strategies of protest which largely of non-violent in nature. The environmental movements have adopted nonviolence 'not only as a matter of strategy but as a matter of principle' (Sangvai 2007: 116), as they have been opposing the injustice, inequality and exploitation perpetrated by processes of development. In fact, such an orientation has led them to 'explore ways of making non-violent satyagraha more effective, intensive and wider. The forms of protest range from a contravening of statutory laws to spontaneous outbursts like act of hugging of trees by women in the Chipko movement, as an attempt to safeguard trees from being fall. Mass actions like demonstrations, dharnas, indefinite hunger strikes, village level actions have been a part of environmental protests. Weber said that, the Chipko Movement activities are formulation on the principle of non-violence. Gandhi followed the nonviolence principle during Indian freedom struggle. These activities have found an effective ways of conducting environmental agitations. The chipko Movement activities gave experience and a knowledge of struggle to the other parts of world, which are fighting a similar battle.

British enacted the first forest law in India. This law was formulating due to increasing demand of wood for commercial and railway lines. The law was shifting the power of local people over forest to government. In the Garhwal region, the forests were giving on lease to contractors for deforestation from 1840 to 1885. The forest laws enacted to safeguard the contractors. The local people are resisting to the contractors for exploitation of forest and resources of forests. The local people are demanding to

restore the traditional rights over forest. The local tribes and communities are especially involved in saving the natural resources not only for sustaining their livelihood needs but also for the nation at large.

The women often marginalised but Chipko movement is first in kind of movement, which show the women role. In this movement, women are playing important role through displaying an enormous capability of leadership and decision making. (Mies and Shiva, 1993, p.246). The Chipko movement has acquired new meaning and shape due to women participation at larger level including leadership, decision making and formulating the programmes of movement.

The government of India was giving order to stop the trees cutting and make a policy related to the deforestation and government gave order to forest department for banned the activities of cutting trees. These actions of government are outcome of the agitations of the people in terms of Chipko Movement. It considered as very important movement in the domain of environmental protection. In 1983, the forest department started afforestation in a large part of governmental land in Tangsa village. There was no participation of the villagers and the plants died. After the movement, all the forest-related industries of Garhwal region closed down. Works related to wood, came to a stop due to a number of restrictions but any new industrial works did not take up its place.

The movement was expressed the renewal of woman's power and their concern for the Mother Nature. It brought into light the burning issues of judicious use of natural resources, which would be benefit the whole Mankind. Environmental protection and employment generating developmental works got under way and the whole village got associated with it. It was difficult to improve agriculture in the village and thus the important work of planting fruit trees was undertaking on agricultural land. The basic aim of Chipko was not only to protect trees but also to provide local opportunities for village employment. While other demands remain side lined, so that the Chipko movement remains incomplete.

3.4: Narmada Bachao Andolan

After getting independence, India saw a new era emerging under the guidance and control of Jawaharlal Nehru. Narmada River is one of the largest westward flowing rivers of India. Narmada River mostly attached by the religious and cultural, which is more significant worshipped by the people. It mainly followed the Hindu religion; they use the water of the river for some cultural and religious events. Jainism has a few important centres, including Bawan Gaja. Jainism's first Tirthankar, carved out of a vertical cliff. Several large and important pilgrimage centres situated on the Narmada's banks. loss of habitats, displacement risks and resettlement provisions.

The Narmada Bachao Andolan has raised a multiple discourses for agitations such as rehabilitation provisions, impact of Dam on environment and violation of civil liberty. The NBA have Other issues are like impact of environment, issues of sustainability, forceful displacement, issues of planning and management of valley projects, violation of civil liberty, and implications of Western growth model and effects of Science & technology. The andolan uses various non-violent methods of agitations such as Satyagraha, Jal Samarpan, Rasta Roko, demonstrations and rallies, hunger strikes and blockade of project sites. (Nepal, Padam 2009: 197)

This project required very large amount to carrying out, but the Government of India and the state government cannot afford such a cost, financial aid from the World Bank is being sought. It was earlier planned to complete the Project in 22 years, in two chases; but at an accelerated pace it is now expected be finished in 13 years by 1996. The project will also create an installed electricity power plants. In addition, the project is expected to check floods, generate culture in the huge reservoirs, give employment to lakhs of people, supply water for domestic and industrial use and promote tourism. Overall, it hoped that the project would bring about agricultural, industrial, fisheries, and milk revolutions, thus ushering in an "era of prosperity" for the valley.

As per various sources, Narmada Bachao Andolan can be define as a social movement that Adivasis, farmers, environmentalists against the large dams, which have been built on the Narmada River that flows through the Gujrat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra

districts. The great Sardar Sarovar Dam is one of the greatest dams that to be building under the Narmada Dam Project and it also was one of the focal points of the movement. The Indian Government argued that these dams were mainly building for providing electricity, irrigation, and other water supplies to the people living in these areas. The most eminent personalities who can be call as the head or the leaders of the whole movement are Medha Patkar and Baba Amte who gave their full life and all the energy towards this whole issue.

A large amount of area is going to be submerge under the network of reservoirs that will come up in the Narnada Valley. The various dams will submerge acres of forestland in the valley on the main river itself. In terms of area, Agricultural land is loss more than forests in dam's projects, which is highly fertile and productive and have no proper rules for rehabilitate in command areas. Culturally important sites also submerged such that Omkareshwar, Maheshwar, Mandleshwar, Natrtawar, Amarkantak, etc pilgrimage spots. Small sites of historical interest while such places do not have a widespread importance, locally they play a crucial role in the life of the peasant or tribal. Acres of Grazing and others land will be submerge by the dams on the Narmada itself, and many more by the entire project. The inundation of grazing lands will have the most serious repercussions. Large-scale loss of grazing land can only be disastrous. The project plan, of course, envisages an increase in stall-feeding and decline in free grazing by cattle, but so far, this seems quite an impractical 'solution'. In the guidelines for rehabilitating the ousters, there is not even any requirement for the provision of alternative fodder sources.

The displacement of people was also concerned issues of the movement. The network of reservoirs that will come up under the project will displace a huge number of people. The government was not formulated any fixed law for rehabilitations of people. Compensation for houses has been generous, the government has met transport costs, and bank accounts opened so that ousters do not quickly fritter away the compensation money. The land for land policy has been a total failure because government could not managed to give proper land to people. The failure of land for land policy has other

disruptive repercussions. The promise of planned rehabilitation villages' has hardly materialised.

The use of litigation to stop ecologically degrading activities has also been a step, which has been taking from time to time along with other forms of social protests, by social activists and the affected people in an area. The Narmada struggle has also evolved the satyagrahas against submergence. NBA's slogans include - Vikas Chahiye, Vinash Nahin! (Development wanted, not destruction) and "Koi nahi hatega, bandh nahi banega!" (We will not move, the dam will not be constructed). The main modes of campaigns used in the Narmada Bachao Andolan include court actions, hunger strikes, rallies, and garnering support from notable film and art personalities.

Narmada Bachao Andolan also used different methods like rallies and dharnas, silent protests and submission of memorandums to government officials, organizing discussion forums and seminars on the issue, keeping the debate alive on the issue, mass demonstrations involving eminent social activists, environmentalists, and long marches on foot and cycle yatras to build solidarity, sensitize communities, and relay hunger strikes. Non-violent mass action has been an effective political instrument in the hands of the poor, the weak and the dispossessed. There is also a progressive realization within such people's movements that non-violent mass actions would be effective if accompanied by simultaneous action on other fronts like support from the media and other environmental groups, political lobbying, international campaigning and coordination along with other movements that would create both publicity and pressure on the governments to act.

Disputes were going on between the states regarding the sharing of water. On October 6th, 1969 Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal formed to adjudicate on the disputes that were going on. The tribunal investigated on the issues and after a long time of ten years responded back to the government with their valuable findings. As per the tribunal's decision, approval was giving to the construction of 30 major, 135 medium, and 3000 small dams, which also included the increase of the height of the Sardar Sarovar Dam. The decision was motivated by the assumption that by the end of the completion of all these projects forty million people will get better irrigation facilities and more electricity.

On October 2000, the Supreme Court gave the approval for the construction of Sardar Sarovar Dam. The court decided that the height of the dam would be raise to 90 m, that height is higher than Andolan was demanding but it is lower than the proposed in project. after the Supreme Court Judgement, the Gujarat Government has taken up the construction of the dam. As the World Bank withdrew its financing in 1993 therefore, the state governments and market borrowings finance the project.

The Sardar Sarovar Project's planners are praising the Sardar Sarovar Project as the lifeline of Gujarat: it will provide water to the drought-prone areas of Kachch, Saurashtra and north Gujarat. They argue that only the Sardar Sarovar Project can provide irrigation and drinking water to these 'no source' villages. The Sardar Sarovar Project is hailed as a well-planned river valley project and the planners provide a satisfactory account of the implementation of the resettlement work and various environmental safeguard measures to check the ecological loss.

The Movement and the cities on the other hand hold just the opposite views. They have criticised the Project from various angles. Like it will submerge vast tracts of fertile agricultural land, forests, and wildlife. it will displace thousands of families from their own place and the benefits from the Project are exaggerated and these 'claimed benefits' will not reach the needy people who are at the tail end of the Project, but will be appropriated by the already rich and prosperous farmers and industrialists. Based on the above arguments, they conclude that the social, economic and ecological loss caused by the Project will be much greater as compared to the benefits from it.

Chapter- 4

Globalisation and Environmental Movements

This chapter deals with the relationship between environmental movements and globalisation. Globalisation has brought transformation in the lives of people everywhere and it has immense potential to affect social, political and economic conditions globally. The globalisation is a process that can expand the disparities of wealth and power among nations and individuals. The economic liberalisation is expanding the discontinuity between rich and poor almost in all developing regions. Globalisation has empowered some countries more than others have because the rules and norms about investment are formulating by these countries for himself and others. Developed countries are formulating environmental management and social policy for developing and under developed countries because they have power to control international economic institutions. The globalisation also provides the circumstances, which may change the class structure, reinforcing cosmopolitanism and power relations. Globalisation is also enhancing people's perception of selfhood and identity because the identity constraints remove in the period of globalisation.⁹ It is also unfavourable, which has favour to inherent bias of the middle class and hurts the interests of the underprivileged in terms of economic.

The process of globalisation also poses a major danger to the environment because it is a blind race for better investment conditions without concerning to the Mother Nature among states. The government making the pro-investment country in which the governments are relaxing the environment safety norms and rules to reap the economic benefits. Globalisation process has also affected chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan. Globalisation has played a decisive role in shaping the government's policies in the realm of economic, social, political and environmental.

4.1: Meaning of Globalisation

Owing to the globalisation, the state-led centralised and planned economic development being replace by the market led liberalised and globalised development. Dreze and Sen

⁹ http://www.iemed.org/publicacions/quaderns/14/qm14_pdf/15.pdf

(2013) stated that expansion of the market can help to promote human abilities, and given the chance of eliminating endemic deprivation in India. It would be irresponsible to ignore the opportunity. The central role assigned to state and its bureaucracy to develop projects, which are providing the methods of solving the problems of society at large population. The erosion of boundaries and sovereignty of nation-states has taken due to the movement of international capital along with the expansion of information technology.¹⁰ Globalisation process has fascinated the entire society with its key functions being classified into economic, social, cultural, and political perspectives. In India, globalisation has had a huge impact on people and the environment, taking into consideration that the country is rapidly industrializing and has a huge rate of population growth. The economic, cultural and political differences between Indian provinces have more emphasized since 1990 after the country initiated neo-liberal transformation.¹¹ Social movements are gaining Power from better coordination and networking among them at local, national and global levels, which helps towards objective of movements.

In the period of globalisation, social movements all over the world have been starting in ameliorating the conditions of people by launching movements against states. Some movements have taken advantage of the opportunities offered by globalisation in creating global networks. In contrary, some movements have been fighting to the negative impact of globalisation. Globalisation seems to be perpetuating old inequalities and creating new kind of inequalities. In the period of globalisation have needed too much coordinating and networking among social movements both at local and global levels to ensure equitable and sustainable development.

4.2: Globalisation and Environmental Movements

Globalisation has far-reaching effects on our lifestyle. It has led to faster access to technology, improved communication and innovation. Apart from playing an important role in bringing people of different cultures together, it has ushered a new era in the economic prosperity and has opened up vast channels of development. However, globalisation has also created some areas of concern, and prominent among these is

¹⁰ <https://updoc.tips/download/free-pdf-ebookglobalisation-257245738>

¹¹ Lofgren, Hans. *Communism in India*. (Arena magazine, no. 112, pp. 32-35. 2011)

the impact that it has had on the environment. Globalisation has featured extensively in the debates on environmentalism, and green activists, which have highlighted its far-reaching effects. The environment is now considering the common heritage of human being, and environmental problems are increasingly emerged as the subject of international efforts because of their cross-border effects and the impossibility that just one or a few nations can solve these problems on their own (Baslar, 2011).

The environmental crisis through various types of pollution, vulnerability, and degradation of environment is essential and burning problem of states and states are trying to find out the solution of environmental problems based on the global standards. In addition to the environmental crisis, environmental problems lead to the emergence of social crisis. The environmental crisis as such jeopardizes the natural and the human community, so that the requirements for the preservation of healthy living and working environment appear as a high moral social norm.

Activists have stated that globalisation has led to an increase in the consumption of products, which has influenced the ecological cycle. Increased consumption of resources leads to pressure on environment, which in turn puts stress on the environment. Globalisation has also led to an increase in the transportation of raw materials and food from one place to another. Earlier, people used to consume locally grown food, but with globalisation, people consume products that have been produced in foreign countries. The amount of fuel that is consumed in transporting these products has led to an increase in the pollution levels in the environment. It has also led to several other environmental concerns such as noise pollution and landscape intrusion. Transportation has also put a strain on the non-renewable sources of energy, such as gasoline. The gases that are emitted from the aircraft have led to the depletion of the ozone layer apart from increasing the greenhouse effect. The industrial waste that is generated because of production has been laden on ships and dumped in oceans. This has killed many underwater organisms and has deposited many harmful chemicals in the ocean. The damage caused to ecosystem from the oil that spilled from one of the leaking containers of British Petroleum in 2010 is just one of the examples of the threat globalisation poses to the environment.

Due to globalisation and industrialization, various chemicals have been deposited into the soil that have resulted into the growth of many noxious weeds and plants. This toxic waste has caused a lot of damage to plants by interfering in their genetic makeup. It has put pressure on the available land resources. In various parts of the world, mountains are being cut to make way for a passing tunnel or a highway. Vast barren lands have been encroached upon to pave way for new buildings. While humans may rejoice on the glimmer with these innovations, these can have long-term effects on the environment. Various studies over the years, have found that plastic is one of the major toxic pollutants, as it is a non-biodegradable product. However, plastic is of immense use when it comes to packaging and preserving goods that are to be exported. This has led to increased use of plastic, causing widespread environmental pollution.

An effort is being made to analyze the critical environmental challenges facing the earth within this framework that environmental problems are now recognized as global issues requiring solutions coordinated among many nations. However, disagreements about how to proceed, particularly over the trade-off between environmental protection and economic development, have hampered these efforts. It has made so many changes in our lives that reversing it is not possible at all. The solution lies in developing effective mechanisms that can check the extent to which it can influence the environment. Researchers are of the view that the answer to this problem lies in the problem itself, that is, globalisation itself can lend support to building a better structure, which is economically feasible and environment-friendly. Globalisation is about competition, and if certain privately owned companies can take the lead in being environment friendly, then it will encourage others to follow suit.

It is important that we put in some efforts to maintain harmony with the environment. The survival of human race on this planet is dependent on the environment largely that we cannot afford to ignore the consequences of our own actions. While there is a lot of debate and discussion on this issue, the need of the hour is to have effective policies in place, and implementation of those policies. The people that we have chosen to represent us have the responsibility of ensuring that the extent of damage on environment is curtailed, if not totally prevented.

The effect of globalisation on the environment both as a result of the increasing integration of the world's economies through international trade and in the context of multilateral, international efforts to combat the most pressing global environmental problems. The link between environment and economic development is very complex, and there is no possibility of independence of economic from environmental issues. Environmental problems, based on their scope and significance, are the most complex negative consequence of globalisation. The expansion of environmental problems and involvement of the growing part of environment creates an environmental crisis, which is greatly affecting by technological development.

4.2.1: Globalisation and Environmental Movements in India

Globalisation is the process by which all peoples and communities come to experience an increasingly common economic, social and cultural environment. By definition, the process affects everybody throughout the world. In short, the more integrated environmental and trade policies are, the more sustainable economic growth will be and the more globalisation can be harnessed for the benefit of the environment.

Economic globalisation influences the environment and sustainable development in a wide variety of ways and through a multitude of channels. In India, globalisation has had a huge impact on people and the environment, taking into consideration that the country is rapidly industrializing and has a huge rate of population growth. The economic, cultural and political differences between Indian provinces have become more emphasized since 1990 after the country initiated neo-liberal transformation.¹² Growing inequalities, as well as the uneven development process, has been concealed by high economic growth rates. It is important to note that the globalisation has also had its share of impacts on the environment. Since the onset of the current era of economic liberalization, the tribal or the indigenous people have been involved in incessant protests and movements against these development projects. The sustainable livelihoods of these people are now under extreme threat. It is argued that the investments by MNCs in mineral-based industries in the tribal region, which are rich in natural resources, will increase export earnings and accelerate economic growth, which

¹² Lofgren, Hans. *Communism in India*. (Arena magazine, no. 112, pp. 32-35. 2011) 11

in turn will bring about the progressive socio-economic transformation of the indigenous population.

For instance, nuclear abolishment movements have often been motivating by the rapid spread of modern technologies. Moreover, abolition agendas have been spreading through globalisation processes as environmental conservationist pressure governments and major organizations to adopt pollution free technologies.¹³ Experts have been influential in educating the public on the importance of conserving the environment and the dangers that are posed by the certain technologies. Examples are given of environmental disasters such as the Hiroshima nuclear accident that led to massive environmental pollution. Such information would not have spread rapidly in the absence of rapid globalisation processes.

Rapid transfer of technology and creation of manufacturing hubs has led to environmental pollution and massive emission of greenhouse gases. Globalisation is regarded as a leading and most severe factor that faces the global community. However, some individuals are of the opinion that the crisis related to the extinction of various species is also critical but has been avoided due to human-centeredness or anthropocentricity. Urbanization has made people invest in activities that have led to conflicts with the environment and other natural resources. In the 21st century, wars and conflicts have led to competition over the usage and over exploitation of natural resources. Therefore, a huge number of non-violent, unarmed peacekeepers need to call upon to safeguard the environment. As globalisation continues to have a major toll on the environment, experts have persuaded governments and major organizations to change their technologies and adopt those that are less severe on the environment. The processes of globalisation have greatly increased the pressure. Earlier, the pace of penetration was limited by the availability of resources and the state-driven pattern of development. With the liberalization of India's economy, there are huge FDI in India, especially in the industrial and mining sectors. The state governments have signed a number of memoranda of understanding (MoU) with private corporations for development projects, which have and will displace a large number of people since

¹³ Eisenhardt, Nina & Tim Wright. *Generations of change: persuading post-Cold War kids that disarmament matters. Disarmament Forum. (2010) 16*

these proposals would require thousands of acres of land and simultaneously destroy huge areas of the forest resource. The local movement was supported by various activists' organizations, local and international NGOs. (Saxena, 2005, pp. 266–267).

The environmental degradation also further depends on the types of technology used in production. With technological sophistications, nations are putting efforts to extract energy from various renewable sources such as solar and wind powers and through cost effective ways. There remains to establish the link between technological innovations on the one hand and environmental quality and resource use on the other. A significant attention has been paid to the economic benefits of globalisation but reasonable attention has not been paid to the social and environmental implications.

For instance, analysts continue to debate if nuclear energy will reduce global warming, or if it will simply substitute one type of dirty non-renewable source of energy for another. In developed countries, nuclear energy was highly popular until the recent Fukushima nuclear accident. Some individuals still believe that nuclear power is crucial in enabling the current society to maintain its current lifestyle. As business operations continue to become global, organizations are trying to find out more ways for conducting their activities. In India, critics argue that nuclear scientists are not subjected to the same form of scrutiny as that of climate scientists. Climate scientists are subjected to criticism, threats and smear campaigns from individuals who want to cover the impact of environmental pollution, and who are mainly sponsored by major polluting companies like Exxon. Production of nuclear energy leads to the generation of nuclear wastes, yet organizations have not effectively addressed the problem of radioactive waste. It is argued that this problem is being postponed to the future generations that will be forced to pay for it. In addition, the security, secrecy and centralization of nuclear power are regarded as anti-democratic and unsustainable, as opposed to minimal security and decentralized nature of renewable.

Studies have shown that as one of the most industrializing countries in the World, globalisation has a huge impact in terms of rapid spread of information. Modern technologies have enhanced the spread information, thus enabling people to be knowledgeable on the activities of the government. Moreover, local activists to pressure

the government to make certain changes aimed at improving the livelihoods of the citizens have utilized social media. Peaceful resistance and non-violence struggles have been effective not only in Japan but also in other parts of the world. When it comes to environmental issues, globalisation has enabled conservationists to present their ideologies to new audiences. In addition, it has motivated different types of individuals and agencies to form strong linkages and work with distant regions and countries, and collaborate in different projects and raise their voices as one.

4.2.2: Chipko Movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan

India's ecological history has been often turbid, with frequent floods and droughts greatly affecting the lifestyles and livelihoods of hill peasantry. The 1970 flood in the Himalayas marked a turning point in the ecological history of the region. Locals realised that the deforestation that had occurred in the years up to 1970 was the root of the massive flooding, subsequent loss of homes and agricultural land, and displacement of human and bovine life. This realization among the hill peasantry led to the Chipko movement, which aimed to diminish deforestation and the exportation of logs. Over a dozen agitations occurred across the Uttar Pradesh region during the Chipko movement as it spread from community to community. In all of the agitations, classic non-cooperation techniques, called satyagraha, were adopted.

Globalisation has affected Chipko movement indirectly because the programs of movements are shared with rest of world like satyagrah, hug trees and other non-violence methods, which have made this movement unique in nature. This movement has been considered as first environmental movement in India. This was beginning of the awareness of environment and necessity of environment for the survival; those thoughts are imbibing by the western countries. The media also played an important role in development of the movement at large stage. Due to globalisation, civil societies are also lend their supported the movements in different capacities.

Women at every level participate Chipko movement as the ecofeminism movement because movement was leading by the women at various stage. This movement gave an opportunity to women to develop the decision-making skills and leadership's skills. Globalisation also affected role of women in the chipko movement. Before this

movement, women led none of the movement. This movement also empowered women and recognised the role of women in society. In Indian society, women are not working outside of the home but in the movement women worked at different public places like rally, Strikes and Dharnas etc.

After this movement, different movements related to environment was started in different parts of India like Apikko Movement, Silent valley Movement etc. these movements have been getting support from outside in terms of leadership, financial, and organizational etc. These movements are affecting by globalisation like media debates and foreign research, International organizations support, Policies and programs.

The movement against the Narmada project in India reveals that coalition of local and global civil society organizations can be a potent force in persuading both the government and their international collaborators to devote more attention to the concerns of the people affected by these huge projects. The state's insularity to pressure from the civil society organizations and movements produces differential outcomes. A democratic state cannot remain insensitive to the demands of the civil society groups for long. Discussions on huge dams and their consequences lead us to raise larger questions of democracy and the rights of the people. Social movement such as "Save the Narmada Movement" (NBA) which has aroused a great deal of public concern in India. Since environmental problems transcend nation-state, a global civil society will be in a more viable position to deal with the problems with all their complexities by creating a favourable and sustainable politico-cultural framework.

In 1978, the Indian government sought the World Bank's assistance to build a complex of dams along the river as part of the Narmada Valley Development Project. Indian government promised that the dams would help provide potable water, irrigation of land, and hydroelectric power for the entire region. After local hesitation arose, then the World Bank formulated a penal and facilitated the inspection of the dam sites in terms of economic and technical feasibilities, accordingly the World Bank withdrew the financial support from project.

Narmada Bachao Andolan was getting support from different international organisation and International Non- governmental organisation related to Human rights and environment because the movement was developed on the issues of the loss of habitat of local people and agricultural land. The foreign organisation are also provided the support in the term of media and debates. The Narmada Bachao Andolan itself is a symbol of hope for people's movements all over the world that are fighting for just, equitable, and participatory development. Andolan was much affected by the globalisation in terms of media, financial and organizational etc. The Andolan got more effective or bigger in size due to of globalisation, because globalisation provides interconnectivity and interdependence of economy. The globalisation was affected the culture and environment of countries through developmental activities like urbanization, industrialization etc.

Globalisation is a global process, and its effects will broaden and deepen over time. In addition to a large number of implications that it leaves behind, it can be said that the most difficult are the ones that threaten the survival of society and the environment. Economic activities are precisely the ones that contribute the most to environmental degradation, and they are directly correlated. Given the high degree of correlation between them, the economic activities must be sustainable, in order for the man to survive while respecting strong moral reasons, environmental regulations, and economic arguments. The concept of sustainable development should be widely accepted as a condition of survival and overall future progress.

As an initial solution for combating the negative consequences of the globalisation process, it is necessary to develop environmental awareness of all people, starting with the youngest, who are the future leaders of life on Earth. Expansion of environmental awareness results from the development of a growing number of environmental movements in the world and in our country. Legislative solutions should be reflected in the introduction of stringent environmental standards and environmental taxes that will ultimately discourage non- environmental behaviour. The focus should be on the implementation of environmentally friendly technologies that can be applied in the production process, and imposing requirements for adherence to strict environmental

standardization in carrying out economic activities. In addition to these solutions, strategic solutions are needed as well, in terms of adherence to sustainable development strategy, based on the concept of sustainable development and smooth economic, environmental, and social prosperity. Interventionist role of the state is vital for the creation and implementation of required environmental principles and standards in doing business. The future is definitely in the green economy, which will be able to reconcile the problems posed by globalisation and the environment. Perhaps the current environmentally shaken trajectory of human development can be change, but it requires globalisation of efficient social and political actions for the purpose of sustainability.

Chapter - 5

Conclusion

States and social movements cannot escape one another, and the outcomes of their interaction give shape to the political world. The state continues to be important in providing base for movements, and the important possibility of movements is transforming the state itself in a new direction that has not established. This dynamic entails reshaping of the state as it incorporates movements, but the 'life cycle' of movements as they relate to states is much more than a one way drive to inclusion. Whether we care about the substantive ends sought by social movements, the transformation of the state, or the continued democratic wellbeing of society. The conclusion is that civil society is playing important role in social movements for connecting the issues and state. It is meaningful and sometimes crucial as a site of political action in its own right. The old Movements are starving for state power and class-consciousness among participants. These movements are oriented towards political institution for changing the existing system. New social Movements are demanding autonomy within the state power and class-consciousness are not present among participants. These movements are developing based on identity. These movements are inventing new institution and forms of solving problems.

Social movement not only highlights and resolve problems but also affecting politics and policies introduced by government. Political parties are achieving the political power through making agenda on issues of movement. They are gathering the mass support based on agenda, which was formulating on issues of society. The movements are raised issues or problem, which faced by society, and create pressure on authorities through mass mobilized, which lead to be government action on issues in form of policies or law. The movement have informal power to influence the government action because movement are legitimized by the mass support of people, which are recognised the power of movement. The environmental movement has received considerable support from both the media and the judiciary. Its relationship with the political and bureaucratic systems, on the other hand, remains weak and often

antagonistic. However, given the availability of 'democratic space' within the country, the environmental movement has been growing rapidly since the last four decades. The environmental movements has played an important role in creating awareness among people about the importance of balance between environment and development, and opposing development projects, which are creating problem to social and environmental. The organised model projects that show the way forward towards development of participatory, and community based natural resource management systems. In India, the most significant feature of success of environmental movements are the local voluntary organizations are involving to protecting and preserving the environment from degradation. Major issues of developing environmental movements in India are state control over natural resources, western policies of development, socio-economic conditions, environmental degradation by industries, and environment destruction from human activities and, spread of awareness about environment and media highlight the problem of environment.

The environmental movements (chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan) gave a new direction to India. Village women through nonviolence started Chipko movement against the cutting trees. Chipko movement gave new strategies to other movements in these regions. The chipko movement is successfully achieved the goals and government formulated the policy related to this issues. The chipko movement considered as a new era in Indian Environmental movements. Actually, the Chipko movement had many demands, out of which only one demand was related to a complete stoppage of commercial cutting of trees. Other demands are associated to development of forest like a reorganization of traditional rights should take place and arid forest should be made green with local people's participation. Village committees should be form to manage forests and develop forest related home-based industries. The forests raw materials should be make available for the local people that based on local conditions and requirements. The local varieties of trees should be give priority to afforestation. The associated demands were marginalised and could not be highlight during last phase of movement, so that associated demands could not achieved by the movement.

The Narmada Bahavo Andolan started against the construction of Dam on Narmada River. This Movement has main concerned, to proper rehabilitation to the people who are affected and the height of Dam should be decrease. This Movement going through different tactics like dharnas, Strikes etc. this movement attracted different section of society. This movement also affected the foreign aid, which will be given by the World Bank. This movement arises some prominent leaders in the environmental movements. This movement was somehow achieve some goals but the dam was constructed which helps in the irrigation and electricity production. The Narmada Bachao Andolan attracts media attention through their dramatic forms of opposition; like hunger strikes to legal action, and their actions are significant enough to attract the attention of media and academicians across the world. The Narmada Bachao Andolan gains legitimacy through the press coverage and academicians that treats the movement and its leaders as recognizable actors. Through media coverage, they are able to spread word of their passion and of their resistant actions to more people, and to recruit new supporters. They were even able to create discussion to the point of changing meaning at large platform.

The Narmada Bachao Andolan has raised a multiple discourses for agitations such as loss of habitats, displacement risks and resettlement provisions. Other issues are like impact of environment, issues of sustainability, forceful displacement, issues of planning and management of valley projects, violation of civil liberty, and implications of Western growth model. The andolan uses various non-violent methods of agitations such as Satyagraha, Jal Samarpan, Rasta Roko, demonstrations and rallies, hunger strikes and blockade of project sites.

The movements are wanted more welfare nature of the State. In the period of globalisation, the movements exert more pressurize on State for protecting the minorities and under privileged section form exploitation. In the globalisation period, people are more market oriented so that they are get more and more benefit form minimum resources that is lead to exploitation. The globalisation leads to increase in competition among people, which leads to harassing the rights of others for personal benefit. In the period of globalisation, environment most sufferer because everyone in

the race of the accommodation of wealth without the concerning of nature which lead to environmental movements for protecting the nature from overexploitation. The environmental movement is mainly concern to the state policy related to the environment like India having pollution rules. These movements are demanding to the State to protecting the nature through introducing different methods like creation of new institution and formulation of law.

In era of Globalisation, environmental issues are more global in nature because the problems of environmental are hamper the economy and development of a nations. Nations are interconnected and interdependent, which are affected directly the world economy. Any environmental issues or problems of nations became global with the help of media. Media will be highlight the issues and getting support from every part of world in every dimensions like financial; participation and debates etc. globalisation process was helping the local issues to raise at global level. Globalisation was also provide the new tools or techniques to protect and preserving the environment.

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Chapter-1 Introduction Social movements have always been a significant part of the people's agenda and agitations. Social movements have opened new issues and debates among decision makers. These issues have also caught the attention of the Academician. From the late 20th century, they have become quite prominent in India. Numerous social groups are involved in their social movements like Dalit's, Farmers, Workers and Environmentalists etc.

Social movements can define as a collective action to establish a new order of life.

Social Movements have been starting from the condition of political conflict. They are deriving their motive power from dissatisfaction from the current system and from aspirations for a new scheme or system of living.

The career of a movement depicts the emergence of a new arrangement of life. Social movements indicate as networks of informal interactions between individuals, groups or organizations, on the premise of shared collective identities that engaged in social, economic, political or cultural conflicts. Social movements have some feature that makes Social Movements different from the Andolan or strikes and agitations. Social movements have group effort that affects individuals to come together and raise the question on the existing system that has created inequality among people. Secondly, social movements are mainly starting to bring or resist the change in society that may affect the livelihood of the people. Thirdly, the social movements are organised with proper hierarchy and structure to achieving the aims of movements without any hurdles and its smooth running. Forth, social movements may be peaceful or violent in nature. Some objectives of the movements are not achieving by peaceful means, so the leaders use the violent methods for achieving the objectives of movements but another hand; some goals can achieve through peaceful means. this completely depends upon leadership qualities that of Mahatma Gandhi who always used the peaceful methods but on contrary, Subhas Chandra Bose used the violent methods to bring change in society. Finally, a most important feature of the social movements is the period for which it is conducted movements end with a short span of time but others are carrying out for a longer period. The politics is interlinking with every individual at the micro level or State at the macro level. Politics is mainly management of the scarce resources and distribution of resources to people according to need with purposefully. Social movements are an essential part of so-called grassroots politics. Grassroots politics refers to various forms of spontaneous, autonomous forms of organization of the civil society and civic action. Apart from social movements, these may include various civic organizations, associations, protest groups and citizen lobbies. 1 The politics were ingredient part of the human beings behaviour that is showing time to time through different means like the one movements, riots, strike, and dharnas etc. the means may be attached with a purpose like rights of minorities. The protests developed within a context of rising frustration and economic inequality. The wave of protest started with strikes over working conditions and low wages and led to marches against Environmental issues and social movements (Tilly and Wood, 2015).

Social movements are studies under the preview of sociology in beginning but

the recent time it becomes the

subject matter of history and political science. The political science is trying to analysis the social movements in terms of rising problems of society and pressurizing the government to take corrective measures towards the issues that affected a large section of society and in what conditions social movement started and gaining the mass supports. The politics of social movements tried to understand the issues of social movements. The ethnicity of the participation of social movement because ethnicity is playing a very important role in the political system like Tamil separation based on the ethnicity. Social movements are rising the question and issues of masses on the political system and resist on change in the system. The politics of social movements concerned with the decisions of government on the issues which raised by social movement and influence of the social movements lobby to government decisions like Chipko movement. Social movements are providing a possibility for articulation of grievances and problems of society, which mainly concerned to the policymakers branch of government because social movements activities makes hurdles in the development of nation, so government are trying to solve out the social movements issues trough formulating the policies. Politics of social movements are important because social movements are important in formulating public opinion and giving a platform for training to leaders who became part of the political elite society. Environmental movement can be considering as a social and political movement, concerning with the protection of environment as well as improving the conditions of environment. A basic distinction emerged in the early history of the movement: that between preservationists, whose interest is in keeping the natural environment free from alteration by man and utilitarian's, who believe that the natural environment should be using wisely, governed carefully, and renewed properly (Morrison, 1972, p. 261). In India, Environment movement is also seen that the ethnic practices of worshipping planets, trees, forest, and rivers reflects the natural and social domains and the wisdom of seeing unity in the living and the non-living world in the Indian tradition. The Environment movements in India encapsulate all categories of caste, class, race, religion, nations and categories of species divisions and the divisions of the organic and inorganic world. Environmental movements in India have contributed in defining the models of development, shifting from a resource intensive and ecologically unstable state to an ecologically Combining state of functioning. Environmental movements in India, centring on dams, Protecting forest, displacement and resettlement effectively articulated their agenda on the human consequences of tampering with the courses of natural resources, have initiated protest action against the forces and agencies responsible for environmental degradation. In the 1970s, Chipko movement an organized resistance against the destruction of forests. Chipko movement became one of the very first widespread movements in the country that resisted the excessive cutting of the trees and destruction of the forests. The

means of Chipko was derive form 'embrace', which means to hold someone closely in one's arms.

It invokes the idea that the lives of human beings are attaching to nature. Killing nature is as serious as to taking away the lives of human beings. India is such a country which is very much rich in terms of forest resources. These forest resources have been contributing for centuries towards the development of the country. As India is mainly a developing country, these forest resources are very much necessary for development purpose. However, in the

last few decades it is seeing that in the name of development, these resources are being misuse. However, various movements have emerged to address such environmental crisis happening in the country. In this regard, Chipko movement has become a rallying point that has focused worldwide attention on the environmental crisis in the Himalayas of Uttarakhand. However, in spite of the successful implementation of the Chipko movement, there has been happening lots of devastation regarding the forest in the present time. Narmada Bachao Andolan can be define as a social movement that had Adivasis, farmers, environmentalists against the large dams that have been built on the Narmada River that flows through the Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra districts that created widespread aggression. The great Sardar Sarovar Dam is one of the greatest dams that and to build under the Narmada Dam Project and it also was one of the focal points of the movement. The dams were mainly building for providing electricity, irrigation, and other water supplies to the people living in these areas. The main modes of campaigns used in the Narmada Bachao Andolan include court actions, hunger strikes, rallies, and garnering support from notable great personalities from different field. The World Bank has invested 450 million dollars in the Sardar Sarovar Dam in technical and economic terms but movement's participants are went to the World Bank to withdraw its funds. 1.1: Literature Review Ample of literature available regarding the topic social movements and Politics in India. The literature are founding from online libraries, which made online resources such as internet articles, reports. Literature also available on different online journals like Economic and Political Weekly, Jstor and EBSCO. The literature are available on the Google scholars. After reviewed different literature of different authors had discussed different aspects, about the overall social movements in India, Chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan. Literature also available related globalisation and environmental movement. The review of literature are as under following themes:

1.1.1: Chipko Movement The Chipko movement started in the Himalaya region. This movement follow the nonviolent direct action environmental movements of grassroots origin in India. Vandana Shiva and J. Bandyopadhyay (1986) analysis the development of the philosophy and the non-violent resistance activities from the beginnings of Chipko in the early 1970s in Garhwal to its present role throughout most of India. In support, P. P. Karan (1994) discuss the grassroots environmental movements following Gandhian nonviolent tradition are expanding in India. Chipko movement was follow the non-violent path on Gandhian Principles.

Jayanta Bandyopadhyay (1999) examines the role of women in the chipko movement. The role of women has been inevitable because it is a social movement based on gender collaboration or a feminist movement based on gender conflicts and has anyone in the Chipko movement actually hugged trees at the risk of her or his life. Mukul (1993) also discuss role of women in chipko movement. Mahila mangal dals are associated to the chipko movement. They are work for the development of movement at new heights. Women were took the decision for meeting and programs at various level. Shobhita Jain (1984) elaborates the role of women in chipko movement. women's participation not only played often a decisive role, but that considering the specific existential conditions in the hill region it was easier for women to perceive the need for preserving the ecological balance in the area. the mobilization

of women for the cause of preserving forests has brought about a

situation of conflict regarding their own status in society demand for sharing in the decision making process and men's opposition to this and to women's support for Chipko movement. Vandana Shiva and J. Bandyopadhyay (1986) elaborates the evolution, structure, and impact of the chipko movement. Chipko movement is unique because it is based not only politics of distribution of wealth but on that of sustainable ecological stability, and it is dominated by women. The philosophical and organizational continuity of the Chipko Movement with the Indian tradition of resolving conflicts through non-violent noncooperation, a political strategy revived by Mahatma Gandhi. Jayanta Bandyopadhyay (1999) examines the reliability of media created messages and dispelling some of the myths about the movement that have floated around for quite some time. Chipko movement rooted in economic conflicts over mountain forests or guided by ideas of deep ecology is it a social movement based on gender collaboration or a feminist movement based on gender conflicts and has anyone in the Chipko movement actually hugged trees at the risk of her or his life and not for waiting photographers. 1.1.2: Narmada Bachao Andolan Vimal Bhai and Madhuresh Kumar (2013) made a study on the active resistance to dam projects in the Narmada Valley. These protests are not only against people's displacements, but also for preserving India's larger cultural identity. They found that people's movements gain victories by forcing some dam projects to cancel, or halted or delayed. Because of the protests the Central and the State governments and dam building companies can no longer proceed without scrutiny. Even the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) and environmental impact assessment committees were establishing in India. Governments, dam building companies, financial institutions and others have been force to follow environmental and resettlement and rehabilitation policies, guidelines and laws that have emerged out of people's struggles over the years. At public hearings, people have challenged the exaggerated benefit claims for dams and challenged cancellations and disruptions of these public hearings. The proclaimed development benefits of big dams have been completely expose by the anti-dam movements. Ashish Kothari and Rajiv Bhartari, (1984) was discussing the issues of Narmada Bachao Andolan was started against the people's displacements and rehabilitations, submerged of the land and pilgrimage centres into dams and inadequate planning and implementation of the projects. They are discuss that the Narmada Bachao Andolan was used the non-violent strategies like satyagrah, strikes and Dharnas.

Rabeya Khatun Kazi (2013) also examines the anti-dams movements in democratic and authoritarian regimes. Citizens in a democratic political system enjoy more freedom in anti-dam protest mobilization than those in authoritarian regime. People of democratic regimes enjoy more favourable condition than their non-democratic. By showing their opposition to particular policies of a government, people in democracy takes part in government decision making. The basic democratic rights and rule of law that enhances their possibilities of protest also guard democratic citizens. That is why protests in democracy are mostly less violent. On the other hand, authoritarian regimes consider protests as an obstruction to development and suppress it in a coercive manner. Because of government's unresponsive and suppressive attitude, protests in authoritarianism do not flourish in large scale but if it ever breaks out it can be very violent. While democracy faces higher number of protests than other political systems, protests in democracy also receives outcomes that are more positive and have higher possibilities for sustainable development. Citizens of countries, which have democratic

political structure, have the opportunity of equal participation, human rights, freedom of speech and rule of law. Steiger Carla (2010) are trying to investigate the media attention in the movement against the construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam in India. She found that mainstream as well as alternative media contribute huge degree in the favour of the movement. According to her findings, media provide platform for the activists in conveying their voices against the construction of destructive dams. Dixon Rebecca (2010) examines how the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) has successfully built a functional partnership with the news media that has led not only to attention to their cause, but to wider debate on the meaning of development. The NBA's hunger strike, although eventually unsuccessful in its ultimate goal, succeeded in one of its sub goals of publicity for the cause. The NBA gains legitimacy through the press coverage that treats the movement and its leaders as recognizable actors who are consulting as regular sources on the issue of the dams on the Narmada River.

1.1.3: Globalisation and Environmental Movements

Hein Anton Van Der Heijden (2006) argued that environmental movement has become a vital part of contemporary politics of many parts of the world. They have not only influenced substantive politics, for example, in the field of nuclear energy but they have also contributed to a change in public values and attitudes and to a revitalization of civil society. One of the distinctive contributions from political science to the study of environmental and other social movements has been the concept of political opportunity structure. Flam (1994) and Kitschelt (1986) examines with the increasing globalisation of environmental problems and solution strategies during the past two decades, important parts of the environmental movement have become global. Smith (1997) argued that a shift from the rubric of modernization toward the geographical euphemism globalisation. Environmental protection, conservation and legislation, global blueprints are increasingly being adopted by the nation-state. Ecological problems highlight the new and accelerating interdependence of global systems and bring home to everyone the depth of the connections between personal activity and planetary problem. The mobile forces of capital, labor, technology, and information are presenting as moving relentlessly to and fro across political and cultural bound arise, threatening the integrity of the nation-state and of national cultures. The globalisation affected nation state environmental system through economic, political and social system.

H. Ford Lucy (2009) discuss the relationship between environmental movements and civil society in both local and global contexts. Conditions of democracy and civil society are of great importance in organizing successful environmental movement. Environmental problems transcend nation-state; a global civil society will be in a more viable position to deal with the problems with all their complexities by creating a favourable and sustainable politico-cultural framework. Falk (2000) argued that the environmental movement have global dimensions. They started as local, at best, national movement. Environment being a pub he good per excellence came to attract the attention of a variety of civil society organization. Economic globalisation following the logic of neo-liberalism is causing disruption to culture and environment throughout the world. On the other hand, environmental movements have become global in their connectivity as well as influence. When people across national borders take part in collective actions, sharing a common set of ideas and value. Christopher Rootes (1999) examines at local, national or global level, the dialectic of environmental movement development is an on-going process. The compelling nature of environmental issues makes it

likely that there will be increasingly effective institutionalized means of addressing them, but people professionally engaged in environmental protection are well aware that the existence of a vital environmental movement greatly increases their advantage with their competitors for resources. Globalisation leads to the greater integration of economies and societies (Agenor, 2003). According to Hecksher (1919) and Ohlin (1933), "trade is the main engine that provides an innovative opportunity to enhance the process of production as well as the productivity of abundant natural resources." Further, international trade in the face of globalisation mobilizes the factors of production freely among countries. In this context, Antweiler (2001) examined the effect of trade on environmental quality. They introduced composition, scale and technological effects by decomposing the trade model. Their study concluded that trade openness is beneficial to the environment if the technological effect is greater than both the composition effect and scale effect. Copeland and Taylor (2005) supported that international trade is beneficial to environmental quality through environmental regulations and capital-labour channels.

1.2: Statement of the Problem

Social movements have been a vital and effective tool for addressing various problems in society. These movements not only highlight and resolve problems but also affect politics and policies introduced by government. The problem like deforestation, which has intensified the risk of floods and landslides, served as the basis for Chipko movement. Basis of movement like Narmada Bachao Andolan are the general problems faced by society like loss of habitat, loss of agricultural land and damage of heritage sites. Globalisation not only gives a platform for development but also gives an exposure to the outside world of various problems faced by society affecting politics in unprecedented ways like Narmada Bachao Andolan and Chipko Movement.

1.3: Research Objectives

The focus of this project report is on the assessment politics of social movements in India. This project work aspires to develop a deeper understanding of the politics of Social movements by studying the environment movements in general and Chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan as particular. It will start by giving history on Politics of overall social movements in India. Those backgrounds will set up a discussion on the changing perspectives of politics of Social movements in India. The project work has based on the following research objectives. 1. To understand politics of Social movements. 2. To analyse the Environmental movements Particular Chipko Movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan.

3. To analyse impact of globalisation Chipko Movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan.

1.4: Research Methodology

The project work has employed qualitative research methodology for understanding the multidimensional politics of the social movements and its relations with Environmental Movements. The project work has applied analytical approaches. The project has applied analytical approach with the empirical evidences in the study of the problems. The source of data collection for the project is secondary and tertiary. The secondary sources of data collection includes books, journals articles etc. The tertiary sources of data collection including

citations, bibliography etc. The reason of choosing the secondary sources to conduct project study is lacking of time and financial resources. This is the postgraduate research project.

Chapter- 2 Politics of Social Movements

The evidences of movements founded from the development of the civilization. The movements begin with period of the renaissance in the west. In the past, movements are challenged the authority of religion and authority of government. These movements are challenging the foreign rulers and the authoritarian regimes. These movements are making hindrances in development of the Imperialism and colonialism to further extended. In American continent, movement started for the rights of citizens. In addition, Islamic movement started in West Asia, Hindutva movement in India

and

Tamilian movement in Sri-lanka. Anti-terrorism movement started in the World after USA 9/11 attack. The roots of movements mostly lie within the social problems. These movements are influenced the society value system and state political culture as well. The nature and scope of movement are change with the time, space and structure of the society. The movement also helps in power of the state distribution among the all segment of society. The movements are helping to introducing the new institutions in Society that assist in achieving goals of movements. The movements also help to understand the reason behind to create social and political institution and purpose of these institutions and finally, future of the institutions. The movements are creating new value system and nature in the socio-political sphere. The movements are mirror of the expectations and feeling of people and conflict of the society in all sphere like social, political, cultural and economically. In final, understanding of social movements is necessary to understand the political institution, which are create by the movements.

2.1: Exploring Concept of Social Movements

A social movement is a form of collective behaviour of large number of people that are united to promote or resist the social change. Social movements are

organised groups on particular purpose. The organised groups are

striving to work toward a common purpose or objective. 2 Social mobilization is a means by which social change attained. The most of people in social movements are participating in the informal and indirect ways. The followers and participators of the movement share a sense of the dissatisfaction that bring together. All of them believe that the action is necessary to change the running situation, which people perceive to be undesirable and unsatisfactory in the society. Some of participators do not join the movement directly, but act as backdoor supporters.

According to Herbert Blumer (1968), "

Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in the condition of unrest, and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living." 3

In the words of M.S.A Rao (1979) social movement “as an organized attempt on the part of a section of society to bring about either partial or total change in society through collective mobilization based on ideology.” 4

In the groups, individuals have own dissatisfaction to the cause of uprising and these individuals try to influence other members of the society to join the movement based on significant social relationship among the members. In the duration of achieving the goal of a social movement, the organizers establish a new culture among the members of the social movement that helps in the long-term benefits of the movement. The new patterns of behaviour of member’s act as a guiding force for achieving the defined goals because the new values are formulating based on the demands of movement and these demands incorporated into the values of the society so that the chance of the success of the movement would be increase. Therefore, it acts as a new ideology that

provides a conceptual framework by which goals maybe interpreted. The ideology also helps in the development of opposition and provides the basis for the unification of the segments of different groups.

A social movement arises when there emerges an issue or a set of issues that affect a significant proportion of people in some way or the other. Gradually, these issues started gaining importance and results in mass participation of people aiming at collective action.

Action of a mob is also a collective behaviour but it

could not considered as a social movement. For example, Riots among ethnic groups and damaging of public and private property are not considering into social movements. The strikes, agitation and Dharnas

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themselves are not social movements but they may be constitute part of the programmes of the social

movements. The collective behaviours do not constitute the social Movements because collective actions are often impulsive, reaction of a situation and do not aim to bring social change as such. However, the collective action are organising as a programme of the larger agenda to bring social change and resist the change. 5 2.2: Social Movements and Political Movements Mostly the ‘social’ and ‘political’ movements are used interchangeably. Both movements are same but some characteristics are demarcation the differences. The social movements are

collective effort which are mainly restricted to personal salvation in relation to state power and do relate to social structure and within inter-community relationship. The

social Movement

can be Political Movement, when social movement enters in the domain of political relationship affecting public domain. It assumes the character of a political movement. 6 Political scientists and sociologists do not make a distinction between 'social' and 'political' movements. Sociologists assume that political movements include those movements, which have a clear objective of bringing about political system change. Two volumes on social movements (1978), edited by the sociologist M. S. A. Rao, include two such studies: the Naxalite movement, which aims at capturing state power and the other backward caste movement for asserting a reservation in government jobs. All movements have political implication, which are striving for political power or not (Rudolf Heberle (1951). Within the paradigm of new social movements, scholars are trying to differentiate the social movement and political movement. The former do not strive for state power as such but demanding more autonomy within the state power and latter strive state power. There is also a differentiating between social and political power, the former is associated to society and state but latter is located in the state alone. The objective of social movement is social transformation and political movement is striving to bring change in political system (Andre and Martafuentes, 1987).

The participants of movement are mobilised for attaining social justice. Politics is not limited to the political parties but social movement also. The issues of movements are concerning to sense of justice or injustice which have political implications. Social movements

involved into collective action, which aims to bring social change. Social movements are rising question on the prevalent structure of supremacy and dominance, relations of production and power relations. Social movements are claiming for identity against the perceived antagonist and resisting dominance in terms of justice. Political Movements are involving to capture or influence existing political authority.

2.3:

Component of Social Movements: Stages and Types

Social movements have identified these five components: objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership, and organisation. They are interdependent and influencing each other. Social

movements are concerning to social and political change. The social Movements have an immediate and long-term objective. The immediate objective, which are concerning to resolve a particular issue or protest against the decision of the authority.

Some time, the immediate cause became the achieved or not but movements are not ending. The social movements are adding the issues in achieving the targeted objectives. The long-term objectives, which concerned to change the existing authority of system and Structure. The power relations in terms of socio-economic and political also changed during achieving the long-term objectives. For achieving long-term objective, need to proper organisation for actions of movements. During the organising the programmes, followed the proper channels to obtain targeting goals. To achieving long-term objectives, social movements need to develop a culture and values. Social movements are developing ideas, which helps in developing an ideology. The ideology provides a formal direction to social movements, which helps in achieving objectives.

The ideology of social movements are influencing from political ideologies like liberalism communism etc. In some case's ideology directs the movement, in other cases ideology is evolving during Social Movements. Leadership plays vital role in

social movements because the leadership gave an overall direction to movement. Leadership also helps in articulating the ideology and strategies of movement. Leadership also influenced to the people for participation in social movements. The methods of achieving objectives are also depending the nature of the leadership.

The leaders evolve different programmes to mobilisation and sustain their participation.

Leadership have needed formal, which helps in organising the movement at larger level. The leadership also played role during the decision making related to action and programmes.

2.3.1: Stages in Social Movements: Herbert Blumer was classified four level in life cycles

of social movements. The four level were following; social ferment, popular excitement, formalization, and institutionalization (Porta

and Diani 2006, p.150). Some scholars have

reframe Blumer classification of life cycles of social movements on the same lines. The general level of development of social movements are emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, and decline. The Decline level of social movements

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can result of

several causes, such as repression, co-optation, success, failure, and mainstream. The four stages development model can be

used for understanding the social movements formation, growing

and decline.

The first stage, it can be started with widespread discontent. The movement participants have dissatisfaction towards some existing policy or prevailing social condition.

In this stage, people are not addressing the grievances collectively. Individuals are rising the question on authority.

In this stage, individual are take action rather than collective action for addressing the problems.

This stage promote to nest stage with the help of media coverage of prevailing social conditions or policies, which affects the large section of society (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950). Second Stage, it is being characterised by a more clearly defined sense of discontent. This stage also known as coalescence.

At second stage, the people are coordinated to each other on the issues of dissatisfaction and discontent (Rex D. Hopper, 1950 p. 273). It is the stage, where individuals of social movements are interacting to each other, which helps in making mass behaviour of movement (

Hopper, 1999, p. 273). At this stage, leadership emerges and strategies for success are work out. In addition,

social movements are trying to gather mass supports so that movements carried out mass demonstrations which exhibiting the power of social movements. Movements are making the demands based on collective consciousness of participants. Social movements are organised and makes strategies at this stage itself. Third stag was Bureaucratisation. In that stage, Blumer stated that formalization is characterising by vertical level of hierarchy and its formed coalition based strategies. (Porta and Diani, 2006). In this stage, the social movement at peak, where other groups of society also support in terms of economic and political. The degree of cohesion among participants are well organised. The strategies of social movements are spread over the whole society, which also helps in gathering the mass support. The social movement are well connected to its different parts and coordinate the strategy among the organisations. The movements activities are depending on the staffs, which have specialised knowledge about the human resources and formulating the action to achieve the objectives. Movements have needed the technical staffs to carry out the regular functions of organisation. In this stage, the movements are accessing political power through regular interaction with political elites. Some movement are could not reach up to formalisation stage because the movements participant are not success in coordinating the mass consciousness (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950). Finally, Institutionalisation or decline is final stage of social movements. In the last stage of life cycles of social movements, constitute different ways like repression, co-option, success and failure. These ways are depending on the circumstances of the social movements in which theses movements are adopting the ways of end of social movement life cycles. In this stage, movements are achieving targeted objectives but some movements failed to manage targeted objective due to of the different causes. Some movements are diverting from the actual objectives and some others are could not manage strategies, which they followed from origin. Some time, social movements are could not

finished desire objective because the opponents are divert the movements through corrupt practices like violent methods and bribes to leaders or prominent people of movements. Social movements are facing the failure due to of the rapid expansion of the movement, which could not organised and consciousness among participants of social movements. Most of social movements failed because of the lack of organisation and proper strategies (Macionis, 2001). 2.3.2:

Classification of Social Movements No classification is universally acceptable by all the scholars and activists. However, scholars have classified the social movements on different dimensions like issues, socio- economic conditions of participants etc. David Aberle

was classified the social movements into four parts like alternative, reformative, redemptive and revolutionary on the basis of level or extent of change seeking by social movements. Aberle classification of social movement discussed in his book "The Peyote Religion among the Navaho" 1966. 7

Classification is a way of selecting the information and gives a meaning to the information. The social Movements classification based on to attain objectives and action against existing political system. Social movements are classifying into three ways like Revolt, Reform and Revolution

based on actions and attainment of objective of social movements against existing political system.

Revolt or rebellion

Rebellion refers to an opposition by the masses against the authority, not against persons or groups. Rebellion is confining to the efforts on the part of a portion of the state to overthrow the authority.

The revolt or rebellion are mainly opposing to existing political system and regimes of rule to change the system authority and ruler. These movements do not want to bring change in the system as such. The rebellion movements are against to authority rather than system. The revolt movements aim to replacing the government and challenge to political authority. The revolt or rebellion are attacking on the prevailing authority without disturbing to the political system. Reform The social movement are considering as Reform movements, which are trying to bring change rather than transforming the system. These movements known as reformist movement. These movements are rising question on the functioning of political institutions and building the pressure on government to bring change in the policy, procedures and structures. These movements are pointing out the part of institution and system, which they are wanting to reform. For example, these movements wanted to bring change in election procedures rather than change the election as institution. The social reforms movements concerned to bring reforms in the existing system such as child marriage or dowry, animal sacrifice, and untouchability.

Women's movement are struggling to have participation reservation for women in the parliament. It is reformist movement

because its aim to bring change in representation system in parliament government. Revolution In the revolution movements, the social groups of society are organised to overthrow the established system, as whole and existing system should be replace with new alternative system.

Revolutions are highly organized political movements

with a widespread public participation and designed to overthrow the regime or dissolve the state. Revolutions are generally accompanied by extensive violence. Revolution signifies the revolt of all sections of the society and their participation in the total dismantling of the state.

For example, the naxalite movement considered as revolutionist movement because this movement wanted to overthrow the existing system of state and to establish a communist state. On another hand, Dalit movements considered as reformist movement because this movement wanted to bring change in caste system but its became a revolutionary movement if they wanted to change as a whole system with egalitarian social system. In the same way, women movement also revolutionary movement if its challenge to patriarchy society and establishing the equitable society. Nature of social movements interconnected and overlapped. Many movements are going with changes through course of action. Some revolt or rebellion movements became reformist or revolutionary movements because movements changed the objective or action in due course of time. Some social movements are starting with objective of revolution but convert into reformist or rebellion movements in course of action. Not all social movements do necessarily to begin with clear objectives to bring or resist change but they shaped during the course of action through leader and ideology of movements. 2.4:

New Social Movements

New social movement argues that contemporary movements are performing collective action in different ways than traditional social movements.

The new social movements are giving exposure to the role of

contemporary and modern society. Social movements considered as voluntary organisation of individuals, which are achieving to bring or resist the changes. Social movements are serving the benefits to large groups of people rather than individuals benefits. The traditional social movements are attracting the people based on the dissatisfaction of social conditions, grievances and ideology. Another hand, new social movements are attracting people based on identity and issues of society. Social movements are coordinating to group actions in the context of socio- economic and political. Social movements are successful to open the issues of society in democratic state and people are accepting social change. Social movements are attempting to bring change within systems and to change the goals of system as such (Morrison, 1971). The social movements classified into two parts traditional and new social movements based on era of movement and characteristics of social movements. The former engaged to the class conflicts and latter concerned to political and social conflict. Traditional movements are concerned to economic disparities and focused on state power but new social

movements are concerning to identity and lifestyle of organisation and focused on more autonomy within the state. New social movements are organising networks of people, which desired to bring change at global stage. The traditional social movements are arising based on class-consciousness of participants but new social movements are raising the issues of non-class and identity. The new paradigm in the social movements through introducing the new social movements. The new social movements differentiated from traditional social movements based on characteristics, strategies, goals and membership. New social movements are outcomes of changing economic, political and social conditions in the industrial society. For example, new social movements like civil rights movements, women movements and environmental movements and traditional social movements such as labour movements. New social movements are reformist in nature because they are concerned to bring change in structural rather than system as whole. New social movements have reform and revolutionary because these movements are changing according to time and situations. New social movements are helping to explore the changing nature of political institution and relations of individuals and state in modern society (Lentin, 1999). 2.5:

Politics of Social Movements Social movements are studies under the domain of sociology in beginning but in recent times, it became subject matter of political science and history. Societal conflicts have to be resolve by the government and political institutions. Their area of concern begins when conflict enters the political orbit of the government. For them, conflict resolution is more important than the causes of conflict. They had and still have confidence, that existing political institutions can solve all social conflicts (Aiyar, 1966). There are innumerable constitutional mechanism to solve conflicts but if these mechanisms fail to solve the problem then Social movements are demanding to create new mechanism. The political science is trying to analyse the social movements in terms of rising problems of society and pressurizing the government to take corrective measures towards the issues, which affects a large section of society and in what conditions social movement started and gaining the mass support. Social movements are also the product of social developments: since the 1960s, a major social movement syndrome has been propelled by dramatic changes in education, demographic shifts, and alterations in employment structure. In relating the emergence and behaviour of social movements to the political opportunity structure, we need to distinguish between what is structural and what are contingent products of the political system. Moreover, the state itself can change in response to social movements. Social movements not only seize opportunities but they also create them. The extent to which social movements generate political parties seems to depend upon the constituency they mobilise but as with parties their membership is becoming increasingly volatile and their prospects of creating stable political organisations are becoming more limited. Different individuals, groups and classes of actors are differently resourced for different kinds of political action, but their choices are also influenced by political values derived from national political cultures. Politics is a battle of social forces. Political parties act as representatives of those forces. The politics of social movements tried to understand the issues of social movements. The social movements arises the issues of society then political parties are taking the issues and parties are helping in formulating a formal structure of the issues so that government can take action over these issues. Political parties are taking the agenda from the disconnected views of the community, where people of particular communities are aligned to particular parties for getting benefits.

In Indian politics, political parties emerged based on the differences of ideologies like leftist and right wing parties. The ethnicity of the participants of social movement also plays a very important role in the political system like Tamil separation based on the ethnicity and Nagalingam in the Northeast of India. Social movements raise the questions and issues of masses in the political system and resist on change in the system. The people gather or support the movement based on issues, goodwill and extended unity. The movements are developed with garnering of the support from masses and a culture is developed within the movement's followers and supporters, which helps in the making of ideology or Aims for attaining the prescribed goals. The ideology is influencing from political ideologies directly or indirectly. The movements communicate the issues to authority or pressurize the authority to take action over issues with the help of informal power gained from the participants. The politics of social movements is concerned with the decisions of government on the issues raised by social movement and the influence of the social movements lobby on government decisions like Chipko movement. Social movements provided a possibility for articulation of grievances and problems of society ignored by the policymaking branch of government. Therefore, social movements bring in the attention of the government towards the issues and the government in return tries to work out the genuine demands. In the process becomes handy most of the times for the policy makers in formulating the government policies. Politics of social movements are important because social movements are important in formulating public opinion and

giving a platform for

training to leaders who became part of the political elite society. In the period of globalisation, politics of social movements became important because states are interconnected and interdependent, so that the political culture and political values of one state influences the other states also. Sometimes states take policies of different states for resolving the movement's issues like lokpal and lokayukat product of anti-corruption movement. In the globalised world, international community is also taking action if any state fails or is unwilling to take action over the issues. In such cases, the international community comes into figure and thereby, take necessary action through United Nations towards this end.

Chapter- 3 Environmental Movements: Chipko Movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan

All over the world, people are experiencing the effects of environment changes like ecosystem decline, temperature increasing and biodiversity. The victims of environmental degradation are belongs to more vulnerable sectors of society. However, the international and national acknowledgement of relationship between 'environmental protection' and 'human rights' are recently introduced. The United Nations Conference on Environment in Stockholm in 1972 designated as the 'Magna Carta of Environment' that laid down the foundation for statutory base of environmental law framework in India. 3.1: Environmental Movements The movements

are action on the social problems, which are affecting large population. The movements related to environmental are concerning to protection and preserving natural resource, which

are witnessing a large participation from the concerned and other communities. The movements are targeting to bring

social change that set strong examples for coming generation. According to Dr.Vandana Shiva, 'Movements are

outcomes of the

major social and political processes. "

Ecology movements are political movements for a non-violent world order in which nature is conserved for conserving the options for survival. These movements are small, but they are growing. They are local, but their success lies in non-local impact.

Unless the world is restructured ecologically at the level of world-views and lifestyles, peace and justice will continue to be violated and ultimately the very survival of humanity will be threatened" (V.Shiva, 1988, p.37). The nationwide environmental

movement, which spread during the 1980s and 1990s, have protests against deforestation, construction of dams, destruction of wildlife, and pollution. India never witnessed the rise of green groups like 'Greenpeace' or 'Friends of the Earth'. Indian environmentalism has always been different from its western counterpart. The concept of 'protectionist conservationism' is what prevails across the paradigms of environmental management in the western world. The Indian environmental movement, however, was building on the concept of 'utilitarian conservationism'. This is simply because of the large numbers of people who live on their environment. They survive directly on what they get from nature – firewood, food, water, building materials, medicines and fodder for their animals. The destruction of the forest would threaten their livelihoods. Anil Agarwal said that instead of the gross national product, we should calculate gross nature product that mattered to rural households that perhaps the best indicator of economic change in this biomass based subsistence economy. Which would measure the numbers of hours women walk to secure their basic needs water and firewood.

The first environmental movements have direct consequence caused by industrial revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the increased use of fossil fuels and chemicals, urban expansion, deforestation and increased consumption by humans led to drastic changes in the environment. These issues are drastically raised the level of pollution, damage the bio-diversity and start depleting natural resources. The first environmental movements were, however primarily concerned with wild- life protection and nature conservation. The rise of environmental movement is closely relating to the new phenomenon of globalisation, which has transformed the structure of the international order. The impact of globalisation led governments and individuals to realize the international and trans-boundary dimensions of environmental issues. Finally, it begins with UN Conference on Environment held in Stockholm, Sweden in 1972. Since then, there has been an increase movement towards the adoption of international instruments as tools for environmental protection. 3.2:

Environmental Movements in India The arising of environmental movements in India was tracing back to the British period, although they were not known as 'environmental

movements' at that time. People's bitter resistance to the taking over of large areas by the colonial state to put the area into commercial farming. This led to prolonged fights and social conflicts between the colonial state and their subjects. The British tried restrict access to forests, common lands, forest produce, which their interpreted as an infringement of customary rights of forest dwellers, hunter-gatherers, nomadic, pastoral communities, etc. Jeopardized their survival, which resulted in peasant rebellions. These uprisings were not interpreted as environmental movements instead; they contained elements for which they could be considered as precursors of future ecological struggles. During 1970, India introduced many policies related to nature by following the standards of global environmental policies. The process of economic development are leading to use more resource that is intensive. According to Gadgil and Guha (1994), earlier the conflicts emerged out of competing claims over the forests but now a distinct ecological dimension was added to these socio-political conflicts, as they took place in the context of a dwindling resource base, which affect the poor peasants and tribal. In independent India, another kind of conflict, which was evoked huge popular response, pertained to the social consequences of the river valley projects. According to an estimate, (Gadgil and Guha, 1994), until mid 90s around 11.5 million people have been displaced due to building of dams without any compensation or rehabilitation. Therefore, movements representing dam displaced by people have gained importance over the past 30 years. Although the displacement caused by dams is for their good. In the contemporary period characterized by globalisation, which marks the attitude towards nature and its resources is become profit motive of the private multinational companies. The gradual withdrawal of the state, making way for private extractive capital has meant an increase in assault on nature and natural resources and a near total disregard for the ecosystem people who live close to it. Hence, we see violent conflicts leading to even deaths of the people who are willing to lay down their lives protecting their land, culture, identities and ways of life. Environmental movements in the West have been emphasizing ideas of conservation, deep ecology, quality of life and past-materialistic values. Therefore, they have understood more as new social movements, which are believe to gather support along lines of 'personal and moral conviction.' However, ecological movements in India show continuities with classical social movements while exhibiting some features of new social movements. In short, 'environment movement is best understood as an 'envelope' as it encompasses a variety of socially and discursively constructed ideologies, actions, theories and practices' (Ranjit Dwivedi, 2008: 12).

3.3: Chipko Movement Environmental movements in India have

led by villages tribes rather than educated or elite of society. The environmental movements have started from grassroots level. The exploitation of natural resources is not a recent phenomenon but it is starting from British period. During British rule, the forest resources used for commercial and railway lines. After independence of India, deforestation was continuously increasing for fulfilment of development demands of nation. During the 1970s, in the lower region of Himalaya local women are resisting to felling trees by contractors after approval of forest department. The women of region are stopping the worker of contractor from cutting of trees through nonviolence methods. The women followed 'hug the trees', which based on nonviolence principle of resist to worker. Chipko

Movement is important environmental movement in post-independent India. The chipko movement was set up standards for further movements.

Chamoli district is the birthplace of the famous Chipko movement; it started as a peaceful movement during 1970s. From 1973, the Chipko movement gained momentum over the region. Demonstrations, dharnas and strikes are holding at various places by village women. Women of region are forming organisation for addressing issues to authority. The attention of the organisation was towards the problem of forests in the village. Private, governmental and joint forests of Basher were being destroyed by the indiscriminate cutting of trees by the government department on the one hand and the villagers lack of awareness about preserving forests on the other. The women of the village were most affected by deforestation as they had to go very far to get wood for fire and fodder, and it took them six to eight hours every day. The Chipko movement found on the exploitation of the forests for commercial purpose by the contractors

after approval of the forest department. It is following the Gandhian methods of protest, which created a landmark for environmental movement in India. Chipko movement originated in the Garhwal region of Himalayan Mountain. The region was a hilly part of Uttarakhand. This region known for diverse environment form rest of India. Earthquakes prone area and erosive rivers and steep valleys that are make its diverse form rest of India. This region have large forest reserves, which are providing the basic needs of livelihood of the local communities like to pick the fodder, fuel and fibres. This region have not any income source as such, which pushed the local people to outside for job. The women of this region are living at home and collecting the necessary substance from forest. This region was experiencing large deforestation. The deforestation has taken due

to meet the needs of growing population, commercialisation and urbanisation. The Chipko movement was not confined to particular district but spread to whole area of state in developing stage of movement.

Actually, the Chipko movement had many demands, out of which only one demand has related to a complete stoppage of commercial cutting of trees. Other demands were also equally important for stoppage of deforestation. The complete picture of the Chipko movement develop through combining the whole. The demands of movements are following; forests should survey, reorganisation of traditional rights, arid forest should make green with the help of local participation and attempts to increase tree cultivation. All kinds of contractor ship related to forest activities should end and village committees should be form.

Village committees should be form to manage forests and develop forest related home-based industries. The forests raw materials should be make available for the local people that based on local conditions and requirements. The local varieties of trees should be give priority to

afforestation. Local groups regulate few rules in this region. They would not allow any kind of cutting of trees in the forests; neither of any raw wood nor the branches and leaves of trees to be allowed broken off. Vigilance would be constantly keeping on the forests. Every year forest transplantation would regulated by local people and they grow their own gardens. Those who

left animals in the open or cut raw wood would be fine. There would be a chowkidar for the protection of trees and paid him Rs 500 per month through contributions from every house; people of the local group would survey the forest twice a month; whichever family needed trees for building a house or for any other purpose would have to take permission from the local group.

Local people are formulating the rules and regulation regarding the accessing and protecting the forest resources.

The sarpanch of the village along with a contractor sold a part of the community forest of the village.

The conflict arises, when the forest department gave order to contractors for cutting trees then local people are stand against the felling trees.

However, after that Mahila Mangal Dal annexed the wood, loaded into truck and lodged a complaint against the sarpanch and his brother giving witness in the court. During this period, in the name of stone mining, the contractors conspired to cut down trees but the women succeeded in stopping the mining. The forest department invaded the forest located on the border of Bacher and ordered the cutting of 1,600 trees including oak and other broad-leaved varieties. The Mahila Mangal Dals of Bacher and other villages near it requested the forest conservator of Garhwal Circle to withdraw the order since the region was located on a hill slope and the cutting of trees would lead to soil erosion and landslides, which would hit the economic life of more than half dozen village's located lower region. Moreover this was the only region from which villager of a dozen villages received grass and dry wood. However, when their request was rejected, they openly declared that we villagers would have to protect their own interests. The forest and police departments threatened women that if they created any hurdles in governmental work, legal action will be taken against them. However, when the people of the contractor came to cut trees, the women stopped them. The contractor offered to pay each woman Rs 1,000 which they refused and drove away the contractor. Then the people of the forest department came for lopping and they even managed to bribe two of the village men to help in cutting trees. The women on the other hand fought more militantly. After a long struggle, they managed to save those 1,600 trees.

The deforestation and felling trees were taking place at large scale at hill region, which affects the village women. Women are suffering from the deforestation because the local women are collecting livelihood materials from forest, if deforestation growing than the women facing difficulties in collecting necessary fodder and fuel. Due to of deforestation, women travel large distance to getting necessary materials based on forest. The growing deforestation are also increasing the risk of floods and landslides in hilly region. Gauri Devi is the important woman of Chipko Movement stated that the movement is not a planned action but it is a spontaneous action. The village men are going outsides for job and contractors are coming then women of village are coming forward for protecting the trees. The village women are saying that we are not against the contractor or anybody but forests ties with our survival (Guha, 2000, p.159). The Chipko Movement was starting due to the deforestation and codification of forest

resources. Chipko Movement was fighting to conserve of natural resources for local habitants and restoring the traditional right of forest to local communities.

Environmental movements over the years have used several innovative strategies of protest which largely of non-violent in nature. The environmental movements have adopted nonviolence 'not only as a matter of strategy but as a matter of principle' (Sangvai 2007: 116), as they have been opposing the injustice, inequality and exploitation perpetrated by processes of development. In fact, such an orientation has led them to 'explore ways of making non-violent satyagraha more effective, intensive and wider. The forms of protest range from a contravening of statutory laws to spontaneous outbursts like act of hugging of trees by women in the Chipko movement, as an attempt to safeguard trees from being fall. Mass actions like demonstrations, dharnas, indefinite hunger strikes, village level actions have been a part of environmental protests. Weber

said that, the Chipko Movement activities are formulation on the principle of non-violence. Gandhi followed the nonviolence principle during Indian freedom struggle. These activities have found an effective ways of conducting environmental agitations. The chipko Movement activities gave experience and a knowledge of struggle to the other parts of world, which are fighting a similar battle. British enacted the first forest law in India. This law was formulating due to increasing demand of wood for commercial and railway lines. The law was shifting the power of local people over forest to government. In the Garhwal region, the forests were giving on lease to contractors for deforestation from 1840 to 1885. The forest laws enacted to safeguard the contractors. The local people are resisting to the contractors for exploitation of forest and resources of forests. The local people are demanding to restore the traditional rights over forest.

The local tribes and communities are especially involved in saving the natural resources not only for sustaining their livelihood needs but also for the nation at large.

The women often marginalised but Chipko movement is first in kind of movement, which show the women role. In this movement, women are playing important role through displaying an enormous capability of leadership and decision making. (

Mies and Shiva, 1993, p.246). The Chipko movement has acquired new meaning and shape due to

women participation at larger level including leadership, decision making and formulating the programmes of movement. The government of India was giving order to stop the trees cutting and make a policy related to the deforestation and government gave order to forest department for banned the activities of cutting trees. These actions of government are outcome of the agitations of the people in terms of Chipko Movement. It considered as very important

movement in the domain of environmental protection. In 1983, the forest department started afforestation in a large part of governmental land in Tangsa village. There was no participation of the villagers and the plants died. After the movement, all the forest-related

industries of Garhwal region closed down. Works related to wood, came to a stop due to a number of restrictions but any new industrial works did not take up its place.

The movement was expressed the renewal of woman's power and their concern for the Mother Nature. It brought into light the burning issues of judicious use of natural resources, which would be benefit the whole

Mankind.

Environmental protection and employment generating developmental works got under way and the whole village got associated with it. It was difficult to improve agriculture in the village and thus the important work of planting fruit trees was undertaking on agricultural land. The basic aim of Chipko was not only to protect trees but also to provide local opportunities for village employment. While other demands remain side lined, so that the Chipko movement remains incomplete.

3.4: Narmada Bachao Andolan After getting independence, India saw a new era emerging under the guidance and control of Jawaharlal Nehru. Narmada River is one of the largest westward flowing rivers of India. Narmada River mostly attached by the religious and cultural, which is more significant worshipped by the people. It mainly followed the Hindu religion; they use the water of the river for some cultural and religious events. Jainism has a few important centres, including Bawan Gaja. Jainism's first Tirthankar, carved out of a vertical cliff. Several large and important pilgrimage centres situated on the Narmada's banks.

loss of habitats, displacement risks and resettlement provisions. The Narmada Bachao Andolan has raised a multiple discourses for agitations such as rehabilitation provisions, impact of Dam on environment and violation of civil liberty. The NBA have Other issues are like impact of environment, issues of sustainability, forceful displacement, issues of planning and management of valley projects, violation of civil liberty, and implications of Western growth model and effects of Science & technology.

The andolan uses various non-violent

methods of agitations such as Satyagraha, Jal Samarpan, Rasta Roko, demonstrations and rallies, hunger strikes and blockade of

project sites. (

Nepal, Padam 2009: 197) This project required very large amount to carrying out, but the Government of India and the state government cannot afford such a cost, financial aid from the World Bank is being sought. It was earlier planned to complete the Project in 22 years, in two chases; but at an accelerated pace it is now expected be finished in 13 years by 1996. The project will also create an installed electricity power plants. In addition, the project is expected to check floods, generate culture in the huge reservoirs, give employment to lakhs of people, supply water for domestic and industrial use and promote tourism. Overall, it hoped that the project would bring about agricultural, industrial, fisheries, and milk revolutions, thus ushering in an "era of prosperity" for the valley. As per various sources, Narmada Bachao

Andolan can be define as a social movement that Adivasis, farmers, environmentalists against the large dams, which have been built on the Narmada River that flows through the Gujrat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra districts. The great Sardar Sarovar Dam is one of the greatest dams that to be building under the Narmada Dam Project and it also was one of the focal points of the movement. The Indian Government argued that these dams were mainly building for providing electricity, irrigation, and other water supplies to the people living in these areas. The most eminent personalities who can be call as the head or the leaders of the whole movement are Medha Patkar and Baba Amte who gave their full life and all the energy towards this whole issue. A large amount of area is going to be submerge under the network of reservoirs that will come up in the Narrnada Valley. The various dams will submerge acres of forestland in the valley on the main river itself. In terms of area, Agricultural land is loss more than forests in dam's projects, which is highly fertile and productive and have no proper rules for rehabilitate in command areas. Culturally important sites also submerged such that Omkareshwar, Maheshwar, Mandleshwar, Natrtawar, Amarkantak, etc pilgrimage spots. Small sites of historical interest while such places do not have a widespread importance, locally they play a crucial role in the life of the peasant or tribal. Acres of Grazing and others land will be submerge by the dams on the Narmada itself, and many more by the entire project. The inundation of grazing lands will have the most serious repercussions. Large-scale loss of grazing land can only be disastrous. The project plan, of course, envisages an increase in stall-feeding and decline in free grazing by cattle, but so far, this seems quite an impractical 'solution'. In the guidelines for rehabilitating the ousters, there is not even any requirement for the provision of alternative fodder sources. The displacement of people was also concerned issues of the movement. The network of reservoirs that will come up under the project will displace a huge number of people. The government was not formulated any fixed law for rehabilitations of people. Compensation for houses has been generous, the government has met transport costs, and bank accounts opened so that ousters do not quickly fritter away the compensation money. The land for land policy has been a total failure because government could not managed to give proper land to people. The failure of land for land policy has other disruptive repercussions. The promise of planned rehabilitation villages' has hardly materialised. The use of litigation to stop ecologically degrading activities has also been a step, which has been taking from time to time along with other forms of social protests, by social activists and the affected people in an area. The Narmada struggle has also evolved the satyagrahas against submergence. NBA's slogans include - Vikas Chahiye, Vinash Nahin! (Development wanted, not destruction) and "Koi nahi hatega, bandh nahi banega!" (We will not move, the dam will not be constructed). The main modes of campaigns used in the Narmada Bachao Andolan include court actions, hunger strikes, rallies, and garnering support from notable film and art personalities. Narmada Bachao Andolan also used different methods like rallies and dharnas, silent protests and submission of memorandums to government officials, organizing discussion forums and seminars on the issue, keeping the debate alive on the issue, mass demonstrations involving eminent social activists, environmentalists, and long marches on foot and cycle yatras to build solidarity, sensitize communities, and relay hunger strikes. Non-violent mass action has been an effective political instrument in the hands of the poor, the weak and the dispossessed. There is also a progressive realization within such people's movements that non-violent mass actions would

be effective if accompanied by simultaneous action on other fronts like support from the media and other environmental groups, political lobbying, international campaigning and coordination along with other movements that would create both publicity and pressure on the governments to act. Disputes were going on between the states regarding the sharing of water. On October 6th, 1969 Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal formed to adjudicate on the disputes that were going on. The tribunal investigated on the issues and after a long time of ten years responded back to the government with their valuable findings. As per the tribunal's decision, approval was giving to the construction of 30 major, 135 medium, and 3000 small dams, which also included the increase of the height of the Sardar Sarovar Dam. The decision was motivated by the assumption that by the end of the completion of all these projects forty million people will get better irrigation facilities and more electricity. On October 2000, the Supreme Court gave the approval for the construction of Sardar Sarovar Dam. The court decided that the

height of the dam would be raise to 90 m, that height is higher than

Andolan was demanding

but it is lower than the proposed

in project. after the Supreme Court Judgement, the Gujarat Government has taken up the construction of the dam. As the World Bank withdrew its financing in 1993 therefore, the state governments and market borrowings finance the project. The Sardar Sarovar Project's planners are praising the Sardar Sarovar Project as the lifeline of Gujarat: it will provide water to the drought-prone areas of Kachch, Saurashtra and north Gujarat. They argue that only the Sardar Sarovar Project can provide irrigation and drinking water to these 'no source' villages. The Sardar Sarovar Project is hailed as a well-planned river valley project and the planners provide a satisfactory account of the implementation of the resettlement work and various environmental safeguard measures to check the ecological loss.

The Movement and the cities on the other hand hold just the opposite views. They have criticised the Project from various angles. Like it will submerge vast tracts of fertile agricultural land, forests, and wildlife. it will displace thousands of families from their own place and the benefits from the Project are exaggerated and these 'claimed benefits' will not reach the needy people who are at the tail end of the Project, but will be appropriated by the already rich and prosperous farmers and industrialists. Based on the above arguments, they conclude that the social, economic and ecological loss caused by the Project will be much greater as compared to the benefits from it.

Chapter- 4 Globalisation and Environmental Movements

This chapter deals with the relationship between environmental movements and globalisation. Globalisation has brought transformation in the lives of people everywhere and it has immense potential to affect social, political and economic conditions globally. The globalisation is a process that can

expand the disparities of wealth and power among nations

and individuals. The economic liberalisation is expanding the discontinuity between rich and poor almost in all developing regions. Globalisation has empowered some countries more than others have

because the rules and norms about investment are formulating by these countries for himself and others. Developed countries are formulating environmental management and social policy for developing and under developed countries because they have power to control international economic institutions.

The globalisation also provides the circumstances, which may change the class structure, reinforcing cosmopolitanism and power relations. Globalisation is also enhancing people's perception of selfhood and identity because the identity constraints remove in the period of globalisation. 9 It is also

unfavourable, which has favour to

inherent bias of the middle class and hurts the interests of the underprivileged in terms of economic. The process of globalisation also poses a major danger to the environment because

it is a blind race for better investment conditions without concerning to the Mother Nature among states.

The government making the pro-investment country in which the governments are relaxing the environment safety norms and rules to reap the economic benefits. Globalisation process has also affected chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan. Globalisation has played a decisive role in shaping the government's policies in the realm of economic, social, political and environmental. 4.1: Meaning of Globalisation Owing to the globalisation, the state-led centralised and planned economic development being replace by the market led liberalised and globalised development. Dreze and Sen (2013) stated that expansion of the market can help to promote human abilities, and given the chance of eliminating endemic deprivation in India. It would be irresponsible to ignore the opportunity. The central role assigned to state and its bureaucracy

to develop projects, which are providing the methods of solving the problems of society at large population. The erosion of boundaries and sovereignty of nation-states has taken due to

the movement of international capital along with the expansion of information technology. 10

Globalisation process has fascinated the entire society with its key functions being classified into economic, social, cultural, and political perspectives. In India, globalisation has had a huge impact on people and the environment, taking into consideration that the country is rapidly industrializing and has a huge rate of population growth. The economic, cultural and political differences between Indian provinces have more emphasized since 1990 after the country initiated neo-liberal transformation. 11 Social movements

are gaining Power from better

coordination and networking among them at local, national and global levels, which helps towards objective of movements.

In the period of globalisation, social movements all over the world have been starting in ameliorating the conditions of people by launching movements against states. Some movements have taken advantage of the opportunities offered by globalisation in creating global networks.

In contrary, some movements have been fighting to the negative impact of globalisation.

Globalisation seems to be perpetuating old inequalities and creating new kind of inequalities.

In the period of globalisation have needed too much coordinating

and networking among social movements both at local and global levels to ensure equitable and sustainable development.

4.2: Globalisation and Environmental Movements

Globalisation has far-reaching effects on our lifestyle. It has led to faster access to technology, improved communication and innovation. Apart from playing an important role in bringing people of different cultures together, it has ushered a new era in the economic prosperity and has opened up vast channels of development. However, globalisation has also created some areas of concern, and prominent among these is the impact that it has had on the environment. Globalisation has featured extensively in the debates on environmentalism, and green activists, which have highlighted its far-reaching effects. The environment is now considering the common heritage of human being, and environmental problems are increasingly emerged as the subject of international efforts because of their cross-border effects and the impossibility that just one or a few nations can solve these problems on their own (Baslar, 2011). The environmental crisis through various types of pollution, vulnerability, and degradation of environment is essential and burning problem of states and states are trying to find out the solution of environmental problems based on the global standards. In addition to the environmental crisis, environmental problems lead to the emergence of social crisis. The environmental crisis as such jeopardizes the natural and the human community, so that the requirements for the preservation of healthy living and working environment appear as a high moral social norm. Activists have stated that globalisation has led to an increase in the consumption of products, which has influenced the ecological cycle. Increased consumption of resources leads to pressure on environment, which in turn puts stress on the environment. Globalisation has also led to an increase in the transportation of raw materials and food from one place to another. Earlier, people used to consume locally grown food, but with globalisation, people consume products that have been produced in foreign countries. The amount of fuel that is consumed in transporting these products has led to an increase in the pollution levels in the environment. It has also led to several other environmental concerns such as noise pollution and landscape intrusion. Transportation has also put a strain on the non-renewable sources of energy, such as gasoline. The gases that are emitted from the aircraft have led to the depletion of the ozone layer apart from increasing the greenhouse effect. The industrial waste that is generated because of production has been laden on ships and dumped in oceans. This has killed many underwater organisms and has deposited many

harmful chemicals in the ocean. The damage caused to ecosystem from the oil that spilled from one of the leaking containers of British Petroleum in 2010 is just one of the examples of the threat globalisation poses to the environment. Due to globalisation and industrialization, various chemicals have been deposited into the soil that have resulted into the growth of many noxious weeds and plants. This toxic waste has caused a lot of damage to plants by interfering in their genetic makeup. It has put pressure on the available land resources. In various parts of the world, mountains are being cut to make way for a passing tunnel or a highway. Vast barren lands have been encroached upon to pave way for new buildings. While humans may rejoice on the glimmer with these innovations, these can have long-term effects on the environment. Various studies over the years, have found that plastic is one of the major toxic pollutants, as it is a non-biodegradable product. However, plastic is of immense use when it comes to packaging and preserving goods that are to be exported. This has led to increased use of plastic, causing widespread environmental pollution.

An effort is being made to analyze the critical environmental challenges facing the earth within this framework that environmental problems are now recognized as global issues requiring solutions coordinated among many nations. However, disagreements about how to proceed, particularly over the trade-off between environmental protection and economic development, have hampered these efforts. It has made so many changes in our lives that reversing it is not possible at all. The solution lies in developing effective mechanisms that can check the extent to which it can influence the environment. Researchers are of the view that the answer to this problem lies in the problem itself, that is, globalisation itself can lend support to building a better structure, which is economically feasible and environment-friendly. Globalisation is about competition, and if certain privately owned companies can take the lead in being environment friendly, then it will encourage others to follow suit.

It is important that we put in some efforts to maintain harmony with the environment. The survival of human race on this planet is dependent on the environment largely that we cannot afford to ignore the consequences of our own actions. While there is a lot of debate and discussion on this issue, the need of the hour is to have effective policies in place, and implementation of those policies. The people that we have chosen to represent us have the responsibility of ensuring that the extent of damage on environment is curtailed, if not totally prevented.

The effect of globalisation on the environment both as a result of the increasing integration of the world's economies through international trade and in the context of multilateral, international efforts to combat the most pressing global environmental problems. The link between environment and economic development is very complex, and there is no possibility of independence of economic from environmental issues. Environmental problems, based on their scope and significance, are the most complex negative consequence of globalisation. The expansion of environmental problems and involvement of the growing part of environment creates an environmental crisis, which is greatly affecting by technological development.

4.2.1: Globalisation and Environmental Movements in India

Globalisation is the process by which all peoples and communities come to experience an increasingly common economic, social and cultural environment. By definition, the process affects everybody throughout the world. In short, the more integrated environmental and trade policies are, the more sustainable economic growth will be and the more globalisation can be harnessed for the benefit of the environment. Economic globalisation influences the environment and sustainable development in a wide variety of ways and through a multitude of channels. In India, globalisation has had a huge impact on people and the environment, taking into consideration that the country is rapidly industrializing and has a huge rate of population growth. The economic, cultural and political differences between Indian provinces have become more emphasized since 1990 after the country initiated neo-liberal transformation. 12 Growing inequalities, as well as the uneven development process, has been concealed by high economic growth rates. It is important to note that the globalisation has also had its share of impacts on the environment. Since the onset of the current era of economic liberalization, the tribal or the indigenous people have been involved in incessant protests and movements against these development projects. The sustainable livelihoods of these people are now under extreme threat. It is argued that the investments by MNCs in mineral-based industries in the tribal region, which are rich in natural resources, will increase export earnings and accelerate economic growth, which in turn will bring about the progressive socio-economic transformation of the indigenous population. For instance, nuclear abolishment movements have often been motivating by the rapid spread of modern technologies. Moreover, abolition agendas have been spreading through globalisation processes as environmental conservationist pressure governments and major organizations to adopt pollution free technologies. 13 Experts have been influential in educating the public on the importance of conserving the environment and the dangers that are posed by the certain technologies. Examples are given of environmental disasters such as the Hiroshima nuclear accident that led to massive environmental pollution. Such information would not have spread rapidly in the absence of rapid globalisation processes. Rapid transfer of technology and creation of manufacturing hubs has led to environmental pollution and massive emission of greenhouse gases. Globalisation is regarded as a leading and most severe factor that faces the global community. However, some individuals are of the opinion that the crisis related to the extinction of various species is also critical but has been avoided due to human-centeredness or anthropocentricity. Urbanization has made people invest in activities that have led to conflicts with the environment and other natural resources. In the 21st century, wars and conflicts have led to competition over the usage and over exploitation of natural resources. Therefore, a huge number of non-violent, unarmed peacekeepers need to call upon to safeguard the environment. As globalisation continues to have a major toll on the environment, experts have persuaded governments and major organizations to change their technologies and adopt those that are less severe on the environment. The processes of globalisation have greatly increased the pressure. Earlier, the pace of penetration was limited by the availability of resources and the state-driven pattern of development. With the liberalization of India's economy, there are huge FDI in India, especially in the industrial and mining sectors. The state governments have signed a number of memoranda of understanding (MoU) with private corporations for development projects, which have and will displace a large number of people since these proposals would require thousands of acres of

land and simultaneously destroy huge areas of the forest resource. The local movement was supported by various activists' organizations, local and international NGOs. (Saxena, 2005, pp. 266–267). The environmental degradation also further depends on the types of technology used in production. With technological sophistications, nations are putting efforts to extract energy from various renewable sources such as solar and wind powers and through cost effective ways. There remains to establish the link between technological innovations on the one hand and environmental quality and resource use on the other. A significant attention has been paid to the economic benefits of globalisation but reasonable attention has not been paid to the social and environmental implications. For instance, analysts continue to debate if nuclear energy will reduce global warming, or if it will simply substitute one type of dirty non-renewable source of energy for another. In developed countries, nuclear energy was highly popular until the recent Fukushima nuclear accident. Some individuals still believe that nuclear power is crucial in enabling the current society to maintain its current lifestyle. As business operations continue to become global, organizations are trying to find out more ways for conducting their activities. In India, critics argue that nuclear scientists are not subjected to the same form of scrutiny as that of climate scientists. Climate scientists are subjected to criticism, threats and smear campaigns from individuals who want to cover the impact of environmental pollution, and who are mainly sponsored by major polluting companies like Exxon. Production of nuclear energy leads to the generation of nuclear wastes, yet organizations have not effectively addressed the problem of radioactive waste. It is argued that this problem is being postponed to the future generations that will be forced to pay for it. In addition, the security, secrecy and centralization of nuclear power are regarded as anti-democratic and unsustainable, as opposed to minimal security and decentralized nature of renewable. Studies have shown that as one of the most industrializing countries in the World, globalisation has a huge impact in terms of rapid spread of information. Modern technologies have enhanced the spread information, thus enabling people to be knowledgeable on the activities of the government. Moreover, local activists to pressure the government to make certain changes aimed at improving the livelihoods of the citizens have utilized social media. Peaceful resistance and non-violence struggles have been effective not only in Japan but also in other parts of the world. When it comes to environmental issues, globalisation has enabled conservationists to present their ideologies to new audiences. In addition, it has motivated different types of individuals and agencies to form strong linkages and work with distant regions and countries, and collaborate in different projects and raise their voices as one.

4.2.2: Chipko Movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan India's ecological history has been often turbid, with frequent floods and droughts greatly affecting the lifestyles and livelihoods of hill peasantry. The 1970 flood in the Himalayas marked a turning point in the ecological history of the region. Locals realised that the deforestation that had occurred in the years up to 1970 was the root of the massive flooding, subsequent loss of homes and agricultural land, and displacement of human and bovine life. This realization among the hill peasantry led to the Chipko movement, which aimed to diminish deforestation and the exportation of logs. Over a dozen agitations occurred across the Uttar Pradesh region during the Chipko movement as it spread from community to community. In all of the agitations, classic non-cooperation techniques, called satyagraha, were adopted. Globalisation has affected Chipko movement indirectly because the programs of movements are shared with rest of world like satyagrah,

hug trees and other non-violence methods, which have made this movement unique in nature. This movement has been considered as first environmental movement in India. This was beginning of the awareness of environment and necessity of environment for the survival; those thoughts are imbibing by the western countries. The media also played an important role in development of the movement at large stage. Due to globalisation, civil societies are also lend their supported the movements in different capacities. Women at every level participate Chipko movement as the ecofeminism movement because movement was leading by the women at various stage. This movement gave an opportunity to women to develop the decision-making skills and leadership's skills. Globalisation also affected role of women in the chipko movement. Before this movement, women led none of the movement. This movement also empowered women and recognised the role of women in society. In Indian society, women are not working outside of the home but in the movement women worked at different public places like rally, Strikes and Dharnas etc. After this movement, different movements related to environment was started in different parts of India like Apikko Movement, Silent valley Movement etc. these movements have been getting support from outside in terms of leadership, financial, and organizational etc. These movements are affecting by globalisation like media debates and foreign research, International organizations support, Policies and programs. The movement against the Narmada project in India reveals that coalition of local and global civil society organizations can be a potent force in persuading both the government and their international collaborators to devote more attention to the concerns of the people affected by these huge projects. The state's insularity to pressure from the civil society organizations and movements produces differential out comes. A democratic state cannot remain insensitive to the demands of the civil society groups for long. Discussions on huge dams and their consequences lead us to raise larger questions of democracy and the rights of the people. Social movement such as "Save the Narmada Movement" (NBA) which has aroused a great deal of public concern in India. Since environmental problems transcend nation-state, a global civil society will be in a more viable position to deal with the problems with all their complexities by creating a favourable and sustainable politico-cultural framework. In 1978, the Indian government sought the World Bank's assistance to build a complex of dams along the river as part of the Narmada Valley Development Project. Indian government promised that the dams would help provide potable water, irrigation of land, and hydroelectric power for the entire region. After local hesitation arose, then the World Bank formulated a penal and facilitated the inspection of the dam sites in terms of economic and technical feasibilities, accordingly the World Bank withdrew the financial support from project. Narmada Bachao Andolan was getting support from different international organisation and International Non- governmental organisation related to Human rights and environment because the movement was developed on the issues of the loss of habitat of local people and agricultural land. The foreign organisation are also provided the support in the term of media and debates. The Narmada Bachao Andolan itself is a symbol of hope for people's movements all over the world that are fighting for just, equitable, and participatory development. Andolan was much affected by the globalisation in terms of media, financial and organizational etc. The Andolan got more effective or bigger in size due to of globalisation, because globalisation provides interconnectivity and interdependence of economy. The gloabalisation was affected the culture and environment of countries through

developmental activities like urbanization, industrialization etc. Globalisation is a global process, and its effects will broaden and deepen over time. In addition to a large number of implications that it leaves behind, it can be said that the most difficult are the ones that threaten the survival of society and the environment. Economic activities are precisely the ones that contribute the most to environmental degradation, and they are directly correlated. Given the high degree of correlation between them, the economic activities must be sustainable, in order for the man to survive while respecting strong moral reasons, environmental regulations, and economic arguments. The concept of sustainable development should be widely accepted as a condition of survival and overall future progress. As an initial solution for combating the negative consequences of the globalisation process, it is necessary to develop environmental awareness of all people, starting with the youngest, who are the future leaders of life on Earth. Expansion of environmental awareness results from the development of a growing number of environmental movements in the world and in our country. Legislative solutions should be reflected in the introduction of stringent environmental standards and environmental taxes that will ultimately discourage non-environmental behaviour. The focus should be on the implementation of environmentally friendly technologies that can be applied in the production process, and imposing requirements for adherence to strict environmental standardization in carrying out economic activities. In addition to these solutions, strategic solutions are needed as well, in terms of adherence to sustainable development strategy, based on the concept of sustainable development and smooth economic, environmental, and social prosperity. Interventionist role of the state is vital for the creation and implementation of required environmental principles and standards in doing business. The future is definitely in the green economy, which will be able to reconcile the problems posed by globalisation and the environment. Perhaps the current environmentally shaken trajectory of human development can be change, but it requires globalisation of efficient social and political actions for the purpose of sustainability.

Chapter - 5 Conclusion States and social movements cannot escape one another, and the outcomes of their interaction give shape to the political world. The state continues to be important in providing base for movements, and the important possibility of movements is transforming the state itself in a new direction that has not established. This dynamic entails reshaping of the state as it incorporates movements, but the 'life cycle' of movements as they relate to states is much more than a one way drive to inclusion. Whether we care about the substantive ends sought by social movements, the transformation of the state, or the continued democratic wellbeing of society. The conclusion is that civil society is

playing important role in social movements for connecting the issues and

state. It is meaningful and sometimes crucial as a site of political action in its own right. The old Movements are starving for state power and class-consciousness

among participants. These movements are oriented towards political institution for changing the existing system. New social Movements are demanding autonomy within the state power and class-consciousness are not present among participants. These movements are developing based on identity. These movements are inventing new institution and

forms of solving problems. Social movement not only highlights and resolve problems but also affecting politics and policies introduced by government. Political parties are achieving the political power through making agenda on issues of movement. They are gathering the mass support based on agenda, which was formulating on issues of society. The movements are raised issues or problem, which faced by society, and create pressure on authorities through mass mobilized, which lead to be government action on issues in form of policies or law. The movement have informal power to influence the government action because movement are legitimized by the mass support of people, which are recognised the power of movement. The environmental movement has received considerable support from both the media and the judiciary. Its relationship with the political and bureaucratic systems, on the other hand, remains weak and often antagonistic. However, given the availability of 'democratic space' within the country, the environmental movement has been growing rapidly since the last four decades. The environmental movements has played an important role in creating awareness among people about the importance of balance between environment and development, and opposing development projects,

which are creating problem

to social and environmental. The organised model projects that show the way forward towards development of participatory, and community based natural resource management systems.

In India,

the most significant feature of success of environmental movements are the local voluntary organizations are involving to protecting and preserving the environment from degradation. Major issues of developing environmental movements in India are state control over natural resources, western policies of development, socio-economic conditions, environmental degradation

by industries, and environment destruction from human activities and, spread of awareness about environment and media highlight the problem of environment.

The environmental movements (chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan) gave a new direction to India. Village women through nonviolence started Chipko movement against the cutting trees. Chipko movement gave new strategies to other movements in these regions. The chipko movement is successfully achieved the goals and government formulated the policy related to this issues. The chipko movement considered as a new era in Indian Environmental movements. Actually, the Chipko movement had many demands, out of which only one demand was related to a complete stoppage of commercial cutting of trees. Other demands are associated to development of forest like a reorganization of traditional rights should take place and arid forest should be made green with local people's participation. Village committees should be form to manage forests and

develop forest related home-based industries. The forests raw materials should be make available for the local people that based on local conditions and requirements. The local varieties of trees

should be give priority to afforestation. The associated demands were marginalised and could not be highlight during last phase of movement, so that associated demands could not achieved by the movement. The Narmada Bahavo Andolan started against the construction of Dam on Narmada River. This Movement has main concerned, to proper rehabilitation to the people who are affected and the height of Dam should be decrease. This Movement going through different tactics like dharnas, Strikes etc. this movement attracted different section of society. This movement also affected the foreign aid, which will be given by the World Bank. This movement arises some prominent leaders in the environmental movements. This movement was somehow achieve some goals but the dam was constructed which helps in the irrigation and electricity production. The Narmada Bachao Andolan attracts media attention through their dramatic forms of opposition; like hunger strikes to legal action, and their actions are significant enough to attract the attention of media and academicians across the world. The Narmada Bachao Andolan gains legitimacy through the press coverage and academicians that treats the movement and its leaders as recognizable actors. Through media coverage, they are able to spread word of their passion and of their resistant actions to more people, and to recruit new supporters. They were even able to create discussion to the point of changing meaning at large platform. The Narmada Bachao Andolan has raised a multiple discourses for agitations such as loss of habitats, displacement risks and resettlement provisions. Other issues are like impact

of environment, issues of sustainability, forceful displacement, issues of planning and management of valley projects, violation of civil liberty,

and implications of Western growth model. The andolan uses various non-violent methods of agitations such as Satyagraha, Jal Samarpan, Rasta Roko, demonstrations and rallies, hunger strikes and blockade of

project sites. The movements are wanted more welfare nature of the State. In the period of globalisation, the movements exert more pressurize on State for protecting the minorities and under privileged section form exploitation. In the globalisation period, people are more market oriented so that they are get more and more benefit form minimum resources that is lead to exploitation. The globalisation leads to increase in competition among people, which leads to harassing the rights of others for personal benefit. In the period of globalisation, environment most sufferer because everyone in the race of the accommodation of wealth without the concerning of nature which lead to environmental movements for protecting the nature from overexploitation. The environmental movement is mainly concern to the state policy related to the environment like India having pollution rules. These movements are demanding to the State to protecting the nature through introducing different methods like creation of new institution and formulation of law.

In era of Globalisation, environmental issues are more global in nature because the problems of environmental are hamper the economy and development of a nations. Nations are

interconnected and interdependent, which are affected directly the world economy. Any environmental issues or problems of nations became global with the help of media. Media will be highlight the issues and getting support from every part of world in every dimensions like financial; participation and debates etc. globalisation process was helping the local issues to raise at global level. Globalisation was also provide the new tools or techniques to protect and preserving the environment.

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