
Indian Vs Global Environmentalism: The Question of Marginality

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Introduction

Environmentalism as a general term denotes various activities having their primary concern for the conservation, protection and improvement of natural environment. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, environmentalism got its international status and for the first time it was considered that environmental problems are global issues that can be resolved through global efforts. The global character of environmentalism is generally attributed to the dawn of globalization in the 1990s that redefined the character of international politics. Globalization is usually understood as a process in which barriers (physical, political, economic, cultural) separating different regions of the world are reduced or removed, thereby stimulating exchanges in the realm of knowledge systems and goods.

However, most of the current literature on environment and globalization points to the negative impact of globalization on environment. Such an understanding, we believe, is the result of myopic interpretation of globalization that explains the processes of globalization in terms of generation of capital through internationalization of national economies and increased use of natural resources. The other aspect of globalization identified as universalization involves the "process of spreading ideas and experiences to people in all corners of the earth so that aspirations and experiences around the world become harmonized." This understanding of globalization explains the recent development of social movements across the world. The last decade of the past century saw a surge of vast literature on social and environmental movements worldwide. The processes of globalization led to the sharp increase in the production and sharing of

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knowledge on environmental issues. The generation of common knowledge on environmental issues at global level was helpful in the consolidation of environmental movements around the world and the emergence of global environmentalism. Given this background, we have divided this paper in three parts. The first section of the paper studies the factors/processes of globalization that led to the emergence of global environmentalism. The second section argues how the global character of environmentalism identifies itself only with the western environmentalism. And, the last section explains that the Indian environmentalism is unique and does not ally itself with the global environmentalism since its primary focus has been on the question of marginality and equity.

Global Environmentalism

Environmental issues became global due to various factors that prevailed after 1970. These factors were: first, the global nature of current environmental problems; second, the publication of vast literature highlighting the gravity of the issue; third, the conclusions of some big international environmental events and the fourth, emergence of new environmental organizations and

institutions of global nature, which started making demand for international regulations to control the environmental degradation. The globalization of environmental issues became possible only because of the emergence of objective and subjective conditions that galvanized the environmental issues at international level. The objective conditions emanated from the scientific research which explained that certain environmental problems were global in nature. The criticality of these problems was further highlighted through scientific research by establishing that these problems respect no national boundaries or any other ideological divide of the world. The subjective conditions on the other hand elevated the environmental issues to the agenda of international politics. These subjective conditions can be recorded as the publication of literature on environmental issues which created awareness among people to work for viable solutions of the environmental problems. It is this public awareness that led to the conclusion of two land-mark developments at international level – the *Stockholm Conference* and the *Rio Conference*. The end of cold war coupled with the dawn of globalization, the information technology revolution and the new social movements have been other

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important subjective conditions that led to the globalization of environmental issues. Another very important factor which led to the globalization of environmental issues is the emergence of various environmental institutions, both, the non-state and supranational. It is under this institutional framework that the global environmental politics operates. It is important to note that both the objective and subjective conditions helped in the emergence of these institutions.

Objective Conditions

Environmental issues which emerged after 1970s became nearly global from different angles. First, some environmental problems like emission of CFCs were inherently global, which deplete the protective stratospheric ozone layer irrespective of its point of origin. Second, the exploitation of global commons by the few privileged has marginalized the interests of many others. Third, certain problems are intrinsically transnational, if not global. For example, emission of sulphur dioxide by one state often gets carried by winds resulting in deposited acid rains on downwind countries. And finally, the problems of over exploitation of resources and environmental degradation are linked to broader political and socio-

economic processes, which themselves are part of a global political economy. Thus, it is widely recognized that the causes of most environmental problems are closely related to the generation and distribution of wealth, knowledge, and power, and to the patterns of consumption, industrialization, population growth, affluence, and poverty.¹

An increasing number of people, at least in Western countries, came to recognize that human economic and social activities were taking place in such a way that threaten the environment. They began to realize that environmental problems such as acid rain, ozone depletion, global warming etc., have international implications. Air pollution does not stop at borders and acid rain from France, for example, threatens people, ground water, fish in lakes, and forest not only in France but also in neighboring European countries. The production of chlorofluoro carbons (CFCs) used for refrigeration, air conditioning and other industrial products has proved to be a major threat to the ozone layer, which protects the earth from the ultra-violet rays of the sun. Carbon dioxide and other chemical compound locks in heat close to the surface of the earth and thereby produce global warming, the so called *greenhouse*

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effect. Global warming in turn leads to severe air pollution and rising sea level threatening half of the world's population living in coastal areas.²

Subjective Conditions

The environmental agenda that emerged prior to 1970s in the Western world was entirely domestic. However, certain innovative ideas emerged in the shape of publication of books and reports during the 1960s that helped in the articulation of environmental discourse at least at domestic level. The publication of various reports and books on the subject like: *Silent Spring*³ by Rachel Carson in 1962, *Unsafe at Any Speed*⁴ by Ralph Nader in 1968 and *The Greening of America*⁵ by Charles Reich in 1970 are important because these volumes articulated the environmental agenda at domestic level and paved the way for its further development at international level. However, the real growth of global environmental agenda started in the 1970s. During this period a range of publications emerged with a *planetary perspective* calling attention to global-scale concerns. These publications helped in galvanizing the environmental problems globally. James Gustave Speth⁶ listed some of the path-breaking publications. These are: *Man's Impact*

on the Global Environment, the Report of the Study of Critical Environmental Problems⁷, *This Endangered Planet* by Richard Falk⁸, *Exploring new Ethics for Survival* by Garrett Hardin⁹, *The Limit to Growth* by Dennis and Dana Meadows and colleagues¹⁰, *Only One Earth* by Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos¹¹, *The Human Future Revisited* by Harrison Brown¹², *The Twenty-Ninth Day* by Lester Brown¹³.

During this period many reports from scientific groups also helped in bringing the global environmental agenda to the forefront. These reports included the 1974 study of Sherwood Rowland Mario Molina explaining the potential of CFCs in depleting the ozone layer; *the World Conservation Strategy* by IUCN and UNEP; *The World Environment: 1972-1982* by UNEP scientific team. *The Global Environmental Outlook Series* by UNEP; *The Global 2000 Report to the President* and its follow-up Report *Global Future: Time to Act* by U.S. government teams organized by President Carter's Council on Environmental Quality.¹⁴

The increasing public awareness on the nature and gravity of environmental issues created by the growing environmental literature ultimately culminated in the conclave of the world's two biggest

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environmental conferences which attempted to generate huge international support in favour of global solutions to the global environmental problems. These two conferences are the testimony to the globalization of environmental issues. In order to find ways to combat the worldwide menace, the United Nations created a Conference on Human Environment (UNCHE), which met for the first time in Stockholm in 1972. The aim of this conference was to establish an international framework to promote a more coordinated approach to pollution and other environmental problems. It marked a turning point in the development of international environmental movement.¹⁵

By the 1980s, the increasing global environmental concerns had assumed a near universal character when it came to be labeled as “the decade of discovery of environment.”¹⁶ All this made it eminently possible to debate the issue of the relationship between people’s social and economic demands and the natural environment in a scientific way.

Following UNCHE the next historical event took place at Rio de Janeiro. The Rio de Janeiro UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) also known

as “Earth Summit” was held from 3 to 14 June 1992. This was the first global summit on environment. The conclusion of Earth Summit was marked by the signing of a document known as “Agenda 21”, termed as “plan of action” to save the planet, by the representatives of all the countries, the adoption of United Nation Frame Work Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the United Nation Convention on Biological Diversity and Non-binding Principles on Forests.

Till date many international environmental conferences, conventions and summits have taken place. All these have helped in globalizing the environmental issues. Beside these conferences, the end of power politics after the disintegration of Soviet Union and the growth of new social movement ranging from the feminist cause to the consumer protection have filled a new enthusiasm among people across the world to rise above the national boundaries to embrace environmental issues globally. However, the global environmental discourse as we know today primarily emerged out of the environmental concerns of western countries of the world. Since the dialogue was initiated and controlled by the western world, the global environmental agenda predominantly

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responded to the concerns of the western countries. Consequently, it was the western environmental discourse, which, with the passage of time got transformed and recognized as the global environmental agenda. The following analysis, explains the journey of western environmentalism and its subsequent transformation into global environmentalism.

The Global environmentalism

The western environmentalism primarily comprised the history of American and European environmental movements. Several authors who documented the growth of the American environmental movement traced its origins to the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries.¹⁷ During this period, the "Farmers were trying over more and more of the vast prairies to grow crops; north eastern forests were disappearing under the onslaught of ship builders and loggers; the communities of grasses wildflowers in the high meadows of the west were being grazed to extinction by sheep."¹⁸ This reckless individualistic pursuit of private profit resulted in severe overexploitation of land and resources. As a reaction to this, conservation movement was launched¹⁹ by concerned individuals²⁰ who wished to preserve land for public use such

as parks.²¹ The Sierra Club²², one of the largest environmental organizations in the United States, was established in 1892, and several other organizations formed in the earlier part of the 20th Century. However these early American organizations tended to focus on preserving wilderness and wildlife for the enjoyment of the social elite. In many cases non-whites were excluded, and even condemned as destructive to the *natural wilderness*.

The history of environmental ideas, organizations and activities notwithstanding, the popular environmental movement as we know today was developed only in the period from the late 1960's or early 1970's onwards. This phase replaced the conservation movement by the ecological movement.²³ In fact, in the recent decades, much has been written about the environmental movements, often in association with the peace movement. Australia has a rich history of this movement, with the events in Tasmania precipitating its growth. In Canada, the movement has also received much attention, particularly with the establishment of well-known environment organization, Greenpeace.²⁴

It is generally accepted that the latest phase of the environment movement developed in the late

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1960s, the first wave, followed by a second wave in the late 1980s. It is important to note that the periods identified thus far have all followed periods of sustained economic expansion, for example during the 1950s and 1960s when social progress, social stability and upward mobility were secure dreams for Western populations, and, more recently, during the 1980s.²⁵ During the first wave, a realization began to emerge about the connection between population growth and increase in pollution levels. Until this time, there was not a general willingness to acknowledge a potential resource shortage as this would have signified a limit to economic growth. Other factors identified as underlying the rise of this first wave were the existence of a growing disillusionment among affluent and educated middle classes with the materialistic philosophy that supported their affluence; the effects of technological advancements; the widespread concern about a plethora of issues, not just those strictly of an environmental nature, such as the fear of the nuclear threat in the use of nuclear power and weapons, with a growing realization of the mass nature of the threats to society; and, the development of a mass movement where environmental concerns entered the mass

consciousness of the public through the media and large demonstrations.

By some accounts, it would appear that concerns regarding environmental issues were beginning to find their way into the public consciousness in a significant way during the 1960's, and it was during the 1970's that this concern consolidated itself into a "movement".²⁶ Some scholars argue that the First Earth Day celebrated in 1970 was the beginning of new environment movement while others argue that the release of Rachel Carlson's *Silent Spring*²⁷ in 1962 was the catalyst that sparked the movement. Her writings helped Americans to understand that humans were not separate from nature, but were connected to the earth as part of an interconnected web of life.

The most important legacy of *Silent Spring* was a new public awareness that nature was vulnerable to human intervention. Rachel Carson had made a radical proposal: that, at times, technological progress is so fundamentally at odds with natural processes that it must be curtailed. For the first time, the need to regulate industry in order to protect the environment became widely accepted, and thus environmentalism was born.²⁸

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After the publication of *Silent Spring*, communities began to organize into groups to voice their concern to the government about pesticide spraying. In fact, many argue that *Silent Spring* was instrumental in launching the American and global environmental movements as well as the notion that we possess a fundamental right to a clean environment. Several environmental interest groups including the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Wilderness Society, and the Environmental Defense Fund were formed after the publication of *Silent Spring*.²⁹

The European experience, on the other hand, different from that of the US due to the simple reason that large tracts of unused public land did not exist and hence national park systems did not appear in most European countries until after the World War II. The national park concept did not penetrate England itself until 1949.³⁰ The majority of the members of the movement at this time were supportive of industrialization and capitalism, and saw no conflict between conservation and economic growth.

The industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries reshaped the landscape of England. The installation of textile mills and big

coal mines, a vast network of rail roads and building of giant shipyards were some of the features of developmental agenda, which England followed after the onset of industrial revolution. All this made England a foremost economic power in the world.

The reaction to this industrial development found its way in the rich literary tradition, flowering in some of the finest work in the English language. The writings of William Wordsworth, John Ruskin, William Morris and Edward Carpenter helped inspire the establishment of an array of environmental societies in the late 19th century in England. One of the most influential of these societies was the National Trust, which was established in 1895. The aim of these writers was to “turn the clock back, to restore England as a country of cozy villages and manageable oak forests, and clean swift-flowing rivers.”³¹

With the development of science and technology, scientists in the West started believing that prompt intervention in the form of public ownership of forests and other natural resources might arrest environmental decline and provide a basis for steady economic growth. This belief was the basis of one of the influential strands of environmentalism, scientific conservation, which remained quite

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popular in the European countries.³²

In Europe, under the scientific conservation movement, scientific forestry had its oldest roots. In the eighteenth century Germany emerged as the front-runner in the field of scientific forestry. Thereafter, throughout Europe, in Austria, Poland, Russia, Finland, Sweden, even in France, forest schools and departments were established on the German model. Thus, much of these early environmental activities were dominated by state governments. During the 1960s, however, non-governmental environmental and conservation organizations became increasingly active on transboundary and international environmental issues in Europe.

In some respects the environmental movement spans the Western world and beyond, in the sense that events and organizations in one part of the world are often reflected in other countries. However the movement takes very different forms in different locations, and has different histories. For example, in Central Europe communist governments played an important role in the formation of environmental groups. In all the four countries of Central Europe, environmental organizations existed under the supervision of the communist

governments. These groups were established by the communist party or were as a part of communist youth organizations. These types of organizations were established around the 1980s; mostly depending on one or more governmental bodies and focusing on nature conservation or environmental education. During the 1980s two categories of environmental organizations could be found throughout Central Europe; those created *from above* and those created *from below*.³³ The first type of organizations are mentioned above; the second type are to be found in the political oppositional groups. The environmental movement played an important role in the political changes in Central Europe during 1989-1990.³⁴ The communist regimes allowed just little space for individuals to participate in private and autonomous groups; so opponents of the political system had to work either through officially established and legal groups or set up underground organizations.

The extended history of Western environmentalism clearly explains that the fundamental concerns of Western environmentalism were development of national parks, preservation of nature or conservation of natural resources, and later scientific forestry. These issues were common to almost all the

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western countries with the exception of certain central European states.³⁵ The discovery of ozone hole in the Western world and the subsequent findings in the West during the last decade of the 20th century that climate change and other ozone depleting substances were causing threat to the whole world got further flip with the dawn of globalization. The globalization helped in consolidating such environmental issues at international level (UNCHE and UNCED) and thereby articulated the global environmental agenda. The designated global environmentalism, however, could not embrace the Indian environmentalism since the so called global environmentalism was perceived by the Indian stake holders as a new form of eco-imperialism of the West.

The Indian Scene

The processes of globalization could not penetrate into the Indian environmental movements and somehow failed to integrate the Indian environmentalism with the Western environmentalism. The reason for this failure may be explained from the very nature of respective questions that Indian environmental movements address.

The Indian environmental movements have generally been

designated as 'environmentalism of the poor' to distinguish them from the Western environmentalism.³⁶ This division of environmental movements into two dialectically opposite groups at the world level is much the same as the Marxist interpretation of political economy of the world, which divide the world into two opposite poles i.e. north and south on economic grounds. The Indian environmentalists focus more specifically to the questions of marginality, equity and environmental justice particularly in the south. They emphasize the need to dismantle the unjust social order through struggle. They argue that any attempt to reverse this process would entail in it the radical social transformation or social revolution.

The main ideas that draw attention of the Indian ecologists are: one, removal of private property and social ownership of resources. The ecologists argue, "if wealth is owned in common it will be used in the interests of all which means the long term interests of humanity."³⁷ Two, uncritical acceptance of Malthusian dogma - pointing out that unequal distribution of resources and the dynamics of capitalist expansion, rather than the 'tragedy of commons' (a euphemism for population growth) better explain the patterns and processes of environmental

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degradation.³⁸

The Indian environmentalism covers variety of ecological activism. Some ecological movements are moderate and some are more radical in nature. The moderate ecological movements in India are *chipko* and *Narmada Bachao movements* (NBM). These movements “rely heavily on a religious idiom in its rejection of the modern way of life. It upholds the precapitalist and precolonial village community as the exemplar of ecological and social harmony: Gandhi’s invocation of Ram Rajya being taken literally, rather than metaphorically.”³⁹ The two best known leaders of the Chipko movement Chandi Prasad Bhatt and Sunderlal Bahuguna, themselves, exemplify the highest traditions of Gandhian constructive work to make this movement a success. The present *Narmada Bachao Andolan* also shows its high indebtedness to the Gandhian ideals. The NBA leaders Baba Amte and Medha Patkar have repeatedly underlined their own debt to Gandhi and they have relied heavily on Gandhian techniques of non-violent protest or Satyagraha in their struggle to save the Narmada. It has been carried out much in line with the *Chipko* movement, which is considered to be the precursor of environmental movement in India. The declared objective of the NBA is

that of “creating an alternative political culture based on Gandhian principles”.⁴⁰ The movement’s leaders deeply rely on the Gandhian belief that the modern mega developmental projects do not cater to the needs of villages and poor masses. The central objective of the movement has been Gandhian, i.e. “...the decentralization of power, with local people having the right to decide how their resources should be utilized”.⁴¹

This shows that the very concern of these movements has been question of equity and marginality. These are basically social movements which have become environmental movements by default in the process of their struggle. For example, the primary objective of Chipko movement was to secure forest rights to the native peoples against the state sponsored commercial deforestation. In the same way, the NBM has been more concerned with the rights of the people who have been displaced due to the rise of water level and submergence of adjoining areas of the dam. The stand against deforestation as in the case of *Chipko* and resistance to Sardar Sarovar Dam in the case of NBM were indirect repercussions of their struggle for rights and equity of the people concerned.

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The other types of radical ecological movements in India embrace a variety of groups, including some elements of the Naxalite movement and radical Christian groups, but they most closely identify themselves with the Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad – a Peoples Science Movement – whose initial concern was to take science to the people but later on also included environment in its ambit by widening its scope of action.⁴²

Amita Baviskar argues, “Among the various streams of environmentalism, ecological Marxism has been the most dominant. Its marring of two concerns – social justice and ecological sustainability – has made this ideology highly appealing to social activists working with tribal communities in western India.”⁴³

Baviskar argues that many environmentalists in India agree with the fact that Indian environmental movements combine ‘red’ and ‘green’ aspects, though this consensus is difficult to forge. She pointed out:

The claim that the sustainability of natural resource use (the ecological question) is dependent on the social relations of ownership, control and management (the equity question) is

thus a bid to recover a submerged stream of social thought so as to repudiate environmentalism’s associations with affluent consumers.⁴⁴

In India, there are many resistances at local levels⁴⁵, which combine both the ‘red and green’ agenda, but generally these movements are not perceived as environmental movements. Baviskar argues that in India “the ‘environmentalist’ representation of particular social movement is only one among several contending and converging subjective meanings that people attach to these struggles.”⁴⁶ Therefore, these movements can be called at one point of time the environmental movements as it raises the issue of environmental degradation and at the other level the social movements with red agenda as these ponder to the question of marginality and equity.

Conclusion

The Indian environmental movements are primarily centered on those issues which are in one way or the other concerned with the livelihood of people. They have been concerned with the issue of marginality, equity, poverty, justice and development. The global environmental issues like global

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warming, ozone layer depletion, etc. do not constitute the agenda of Indian environmentalism. The reason for nonalignment of Indian environmentalism with the so called global environmentalism is the different nature of their respective issues that they deal with. Moreover, the social movements in India have taken the form of environmental movements and they are more concerned with the social issues arising out of environmental crisis. Their struggle is not for protecting the environment for its intrinsic value. Indian environmentalists believe that issues of marginality, equity, poverty, justice and development having a direct bearing on environmental sustainability and are more serious as they are going to immediately and

directly harm the local people. Therefore, environmental activists from India generally consider it wiser to stick to those issues, which according to them need to be redressed immediately since they show some sort of urgency. Given the inherent contradictions among the Western or so called global environmentalism and Indian environmentalism due to the differences in the respective questions that they address, the global environmental spillover was not obvious in the Indian context even in the age of globalization. Moreover, the ideological underpinnings of Indian environmental movements inhibit the forces of globalization to penetrate into the Indian environmentalism. ■

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6. For more detail see, Speth, no. 30. p. 84.

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15. Greene, n.3, pp. 390-91.
16. Jeff Haynes, *Third World Politics: A Concise Introduction* (1996; rpt., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), p. 170.
17. Mark Dowie, *Losing Ground: American Environmentalism At The Close Of The Twentieth Century*. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995.
18. Penelope Reville and Charles Reville, *The Global Environment: Securing a Sustainable Future*, Boston:: Jones and Bartlett Publications, 1992, p.2.
19. The conservation movement was an American invention of John Audubon and others who invoked Christian reverence for the creation to protect natural habitat from man in the 19th century. They lobbied consistently for parks and human exclusion from "the wild". They saw humans as apart from nature, in line with Judeo-Christian ethics of the time, and believed that an awe of biodiversity (as we call it today), would inspire religious piety. They were distinct from the contemporary environmental movement which had anti-political goals and was more closely associated with indigenous peoples. However, the two have grown together in modern times, as the Sierra Club,

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National Geographic Society, and Audubon Society have come to reflect the broader ethics of a more diverse society.

http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/encyclopedia/C/Co/Conservation_movement.htm

20. The early conservationists include George Catlin, Horace Greeley, Ralf Waldo Emerson, Frederick Law Olmsted, Charles W. Eliot, Henry David Thoreau, and George Perkin Marsh., as cited in G. Tyler Miller, Jr. *Living in the Environment: An Introduction to Environmental Science/Sixth Edition*, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1990, p. 37.
21. Yellowstone Park setup in US in 1972 was first such national reserved park in the world. In 1985 Canada created a preserve in a spectacular region in Canadian Rockies. It became Banff National Park, the first Canadian national park, in 1987. New Zealand established a national park, Ruawori, The same year, beginning a tradition that is sustained to this day.
22. John Muir founded a conservation group that later became the Sierra Club.
23. The global ecology movement is one of several new social movements that supported the formation of Green Parties in many democratic countries beginning at the end of the 1970s. It is views on people, behaviours, events centred on the political and lifestyle implications of the science of ecology and the idea of nature as a value in itself. "Ecology movement" is an umbrella term for different groups, ideology and attitudes. An older predecessor of the ecology movement is the conservation movement, going back to the beginning of the 20th century. Many people confuse the ecology movement as a whole with political Greens - who have social concerns beyond ecology. Green parties have roots in the ecology movement, though.http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/encyclopedia/E/Ec/Ecology_movement.htm
24. Greenpeace is an international environmental organization founded in Canada in 1971. Greenpeace has acquired a reputation for the dramatic use of nonviolent direct action in campaigns to stop atmospheric nuclear testing and to bring an end to high-seas whaling. In recent years, the focus of the organisation has turned to other environmental issues, including high seas bottom trawling, climate change and genetic engineering. Greenpeace has

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national and regional offices in 41 countries worldwide, all of which have affiliation with the Amsterdam-based Greenpeace International. The global organisation receives its income through the individual contributions of an estimated 2.8 million financial supporters, as well as from grants from charitable foundations, but does not accept funding from governments or corporations.

<http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/encyclopedia/G/Gr/Greenpeace.htm>

25. See; <http://husky1.stmarys.ca/~evanderveen/wvdv/Environment/environment_movement.htm>

26. Clapp, no.,3, pp.8-9.

27. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962).

28. Ibid.

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30. Revelle and Revelle, no., 7., p. 3.

31. Ramachandra Guha, *Environmentalism: A Global History*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000, p.17.

32. Ibid., p. 27.

33. Fisher et al., as cited in "On the Way: The Environmental Movement in Central Europe"; <<http://www.rec.org/REC/Publications/BeyondBorders/ch31.html>>

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35. In the Central European countries environmentalism took an altogether different form because environmental activities were organized/supervised by the communist party or communist youth organizations of the respective states.

36. See for example; Ramachandra Guha and Juan Martinez-Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

37. Ramachandra Guha, "Ideological Trends in Indian Environmentalism"

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40. Amita Baviskar as quoted in Hardiman, *Gandhi in his time and ours*,
p.225.

41. Suzanne Goldenberg as cited in Ibid., p. 228.

42. Ibid. p. 2580.

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Environmentalism", in Paul Greenough and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, eds.,
*Nature in the Global South: Environmental Projects in South and South-East
Asia* (New Delhi:Orient Longman, 2004), p.289.

44. Ibid.

45. For example, struggle led by Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha; for details see
Ibid., p. 8.

46. Ibid., p. 12.