

Global Environmentalism II

10.1.20

- Relationships with nature.
- all contextual
- product of time and space.

Q. What did Founders of Sociology say about Man-Nature relationships?

A. Weber:

→ Durkheim: misses social/economic impacts on nature and vice versa.

Marx and Engels: "Nature" is historically produced
labour in transforming, alienating nature.

Modern Sociology?

Giddens: first sociologist to go beyond "industrialism without capitalism" debate and
says **Capitalism + Industrialism** → env. catastrophes.

Ulrich Beck: - comes up with idea of **Risk Society**.

- influenced by Bhopal disaster and Chernobyl disaster

new risks that are fundamentally new need new institutionalised responses.
requires shift in "organised irresponsibility"

Now looking at the Politics of it - Environmental Movements.

Giddens
Habermas

All social theorists talk about the need to DEMOCRATIZE state-citizen relationships.

- Limitations of representative Democracy.
- theories of pressure groups that aim to influence public perception.
- Habermas: problem with civil society groups → lobbying can be successful, all aspects of discourse are not considered.

idea of "public sphere" for rational discourse, [eg of Indira Gandhi policy: listening to influential policymakers that were close to her
by this national policy, entire villages could get removed entirely for the parks.]

- Beck: no policy is without politics

- response to "rampant organised irresponsibility"
- ecological democracy.

why did anti-immigrant issues rise only in Assam?

- specificity of geography in the NE and specificity of hill economies.

Most famous work on
Sociology
shortly thinking
about human-nature
relationships
But no theoretical
analysis

Does not give a
full Marxist theory,
but gives some ideas.

Roots of Rise in Global environmentalism

Factors allowing the rise of Western Environmentalism

- Lynn White → places the roots of issue in Christianity.

"God created men in his image" → used to prove inherent superiority of human species over other species. Other species have no soul.

(most religions have this).

Main argument: since Bible makes this distinction clear,
Anthropocentric view of the world.

- John Muir → roots at commercialism.

"America's issue is excessive focus on individual free enterprise". Increasing commercialism is bad.

- Why was it so easy to romanticize nature?

this does not come from tropical regions.

| indian villages near forested areas don't have any such romantic view of env.

temperate climate allows for romanticism.

Ramachandra Guha:

Three strands of Western Environmentalism.

- Agrarianism Gandhi, Jefferson.

⋮
Relationship between village and town, organic symbiotic relationships.
TRIBAL bad, INDUSTRIAL bad. as they are extreme ends.
the idea that consumption, mass production is a problem.

Focus ON

STAGE II

- Wilderness / Primitivism.

- ideal civilization is pre-agrarian
- eliminate 90% of the human civilization if necessary.
- very low levels of technology.
 - the plough is an agent of evil, decimates mother earth.

Focus ON

STAGE I

Ishmael

Conversation, grills and men.

First middle: Agriculture (soil)

- Scientific Industrialism

- needs to be regulated.
- does not trust the market to self-regulate.
- Taming done by
 - institutions of state.
 - legislations.
 - "leave it to the experts"

Focus ON

STAGE 1/1

These three trends borrow from 3 philosophical foundations.

- golden mean of Stewardship Agrarian
- human submission to nature Wilderness
- conquest of nature, scientifically. Scientific

There are dominant models in different areas.

((slides are good here))

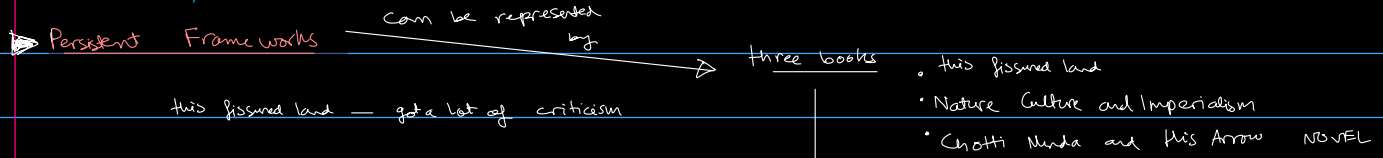
Landmarks in Global Environmentalism

- 1962 Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring" — talks of usage pesticides have caused species to die out.
- 1972 Club of Rome's "Limits to Growth" — Did a modelling of the world
- 1972 UN conf on env in Stockholm — Indira Gandhi goes and says "in India, poverty is the biggest problem"
Brazil says "smoke is the sign of progress"
Thatcher — pollution is a third world problem.
- 1973 Schumacher's "Small is Beautiful" — Buddhist economics, "the middle path"
- 1977 Hirsch "The Social Limits to Growth"
- 1983 formed: Brundtland Commission.
- 1987 Brundtland Commission's book.

Indian Environmentalism must move beyond pretty trees and figers.

Indian Themes in Environmentalism-1

17.1.20



Common: persistent framework.

→ seeing things in binary

a lot of the reading is "things changed for the worse"

there is some evidence, of course, but

made more interesting by the theory of degeneration in history.

1. Perfect Utopia, human-nonhuman relationship is perfect.
2. Exact opposite, const. struggle

→ writing history as moving from local control to settled, centralised control.

Ram Guha
there is a continuity of peasant unrest against rulers.
"strong a reason"

- persistent enemy in the environmental narrative is the state.

- Both these persistent frameworks lead themselves to a reading of history as Colonialism being an ecological watershed, disrupting human-nature relationships — as it disrupts local control, etc.

Looking at the first book (this fissured land)

- writing a history of resource use in this area
- time span: massive (ancient India → modern times)
- not working with usual categories (bases of communism, capitalism, etc.)

→ tried to come up with patterns etc.

PART I

4 patterns of resource use in India

- hunting-gathering and shifting cultivation.
- nomadic resource use patterns.
- settled agriculture.
- Industrialism.

(not necessarily one after the other).

(all to exist currently in India)

→ each mode brings with it an ideology, way to explain things.

→ Comes with a certain kind of technological use.

→ Comes with its own economics. (they were criticized for being economic determinists)

Issue with writing ecological history:

figuring out tensions between types of resource use.

example of conflict

The Kishore case as conflict between settled agriculturalists and nomadic pastoralists.
• over time, became a conflict of religion

Book: existing battles between resource usage becomes something else as per shifting political climate

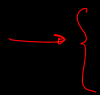
PART II

Shift of large society from hunter-g to settlement society caused massive ecological crisis in the 4th century (hasn't been read as such so far).

— (rise of Jainism and Buddhism) in India happens at a specific ecological environmental crisis

↓
which leads to alternative ways of looking at this.

Interesting point



typical history → rises as a response to Brahmanical tyranny.
Gandhi, Gandhi → " " " " " environmental crisis brought around by settled agriculture.

Rise of village level environmental conservation systems.

PART III

○ "British came, and British destroy"

Black and white perspective. follows the traditional frameworks

• slow and steady destruction of local conservation networks.

PROBLEMS with the book.

— cherry picking case studies.

eg: missing Dams.

— Linear history that does not look at certain evidence.



Edited collection of Articles
Nature Culture & Imperialism

— follows framework (see title)



Novel, originally in Bengali.
Choti Munda and His Arrow

— referring to 1908, Munda.

— British introduce Ernest Dams



Standard Environmental Narrative.
Problems in the Rigid Framework

• serious methodological problems with this study of history

(*) Archana Basak: — Rejects SEN.

— SEN requires a reading of tribes as technologically backward, without trade networks, etc.

— Baigas and Gonds became attracted to them cultivation due to factors:
1. Resistance to centralisation and state

(*) Tigers: — Humans always had boundaries between field and forest.

— What British did was probably not a fundamental reworking of human-nature relationships.

(*) Weak Evidence to suggest SEN is.

Global model of conservation : keep the business out of control

FIRST THEME

Agrarian Change / Forest Transformation

• CSE's first Citizen's Report.

• British categorize forests.

— strict rules on mode of control.

• for locals, suddenly forests become inaccessible.

• While the SEN framework is contested, there is evidence of Colonial Rule affecting stuff.

• Concept of Wasteland.

- Viewing of Nature as a resource → notions that become more concrete with the coming of colonial rule

Agarian Change / Forest Transformation

- Pattern of criminalising marginal lifestyles

— Nature is a resource to be product-ized

— not using these is a criminal act.

} Change in perspective on environment.

history written by victors.

1908 legislation

Chota Nagpur tenancy act. → State recognizing their way of living.

Battle between Agriculturists and Nomads is something that exists to this day.

Gujar- Mine tensions.

↳ tensions around resource use patterns

Agriculture:

- Large canal irrigation as the primary irrigation system in British India.

- earlier, there were many types of systems, suited to ecosystem

— Hilly: water wheels.

— South: Tank irrigations

indigenous ways of dealing with irrigation

- British wanted to grow area under irrigation (especially rice)

— need a system not relying on rain

— Canals setup as a permanent irrigation source.

(ILT Roorkee setup for civil work to man PWD)

: could not coexist very nicely with existing mechanisms of water management
best eg: Kosi

Impact of Canal Irrigation on various Aspects of Life in India

▷ Imperial State as a major source of socioeconomic changes.

— massive increase in net cultivated area

— " " " agricultural output

— " " " trade

— " " " revenue returns

} given, most commonly noted.

Other changes

1. Slow ecological changes

2. displacement of pastoral production system

- overcropping
 - salination at a massive scale → water sitting on soil changed its composition over time
 - Destruction of older systems
 - ↳ more of a systematic neglect
 - Creation of swamps via percolation
- long term, salination made agriculture hard.

Control of the river flow underground

Slide 6, I think

- Canals were constructed without consideration for ecological specificity

- no natural drainage system checks.

ideological way of looking at water shifts.

Siltation is a reason big dams work suboptimally.

Change in Social Structures

- Existing dominant castes allotted more land for agricultural growth and tax collection → increase in influence

- contraction of grazing grounds

- Destruction of nomadic lifestyles. } both due to
 - reduced land
 - climate change.

Chenab region story, by Indu Khatri: Land usage in Punjab.

Relationship with Animals

- Reiteration: always been sort of informal human - nonhuman boundary.
 - never was a romantic loving relationship.

- Village economies that relies on agriculture, relationship with (say) elephants.

- On tiger conservation.

- Sub-economy of poaching
 - the ^{direct} poachers are the ones most experienced with the forests.
 - One reason is purely economic.

Check Slides

— Before Colonial Rule, no long State-sponsored project to eliminate carnivores.

1. Hunting is not this

Multi-headed problem: — saving cultivated land from cattle
— saving cattle from carnivores } multiple legislations to deal with this

implement western conservation policies in India, (National Park Model)

— inspired by romantic views of nature.

Shifted from

One Extreme

to

Another extreme

↓
boundaries constantly breached (daily).
→ requires extensive policing.

"Joining the Dots", CSE report

Entire Communities eliminated/removed for this.

Other reason why model has collapsed. story from Africa

Elephants: strong community
intelligent
non-violent

'An Elephant Gradual'

elephants now raping and killing rhinos
other elephants.

Changing animal Behaviour an external pressure changing direction of conservation.

NARRATIVE OF ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

- New examination of Religions from an ecological perspective.

• attempts to reinterpret the original text.

1. pick up specific quotes

2. read between the lines.



suggest that ecology was at the foundation of the religion.

NOT A FOCUS IN THIS COURSE.

• Deep interconnections in nature

• Claims that we cannot see all of this.

multidisciplinary

Ecological

Examination of
hindu caste.

[[Read castes as ecological niches]]

- partitioning of resource usage among castes

traditional view of

Caste as:

- measure of social purity, rather than occupational.
- endogamic
- mutual repulsion
- hypersymbolism

Goadgil and Malhotra:

- see caste as having a natural (ecological) basis.
- castes evolved to reduce competitive exclusion
- " " " improve resource partitioning.
- caste is a social system by which ecological wisdom is transmitted over time.

PROBLEM WITH THIS EXPLANATION

- analogy with animal species.

- methodological flaw: generalising a single region to the entire country.
- shifting caste occupations are not explained by the argument (should lead to ecological collapse, don't)
- at times, castes will reframe themselves. Some sort of permeability within units.
- Does not explain territorial/environmental mobility.

Are we potentially seeking ecological reasons to things that don't have any?

[[Sacred Groves, Kerala]]

Kavu: worshipped as it is the garden of a deity, to keep the deity happy.

Rich Freeman: found evidence of varying rules across KAVUS.

• How are these rules emerging?

- "the deity desires"

- cannot see env. cons. as single reason.

↓ human beings are constructing needs for the deity.

Needs are defined by culture

[caste has a role in this]

parallel to Royal Garden.

Depictions of Jesus.

- used to show that people construct gods in their image.

from here,

Similarity.

Examining narrative of a "loving relationship with nature"

- praying before entry to the forest: "please ensure I stay alive"

((check slides, pretty comprehensive))

Common Land

Narrative of British despoiling 'Commons' as wastelands.

Freeman :: not that simple.

Commons are controlled by kings/people from upper castes.

↓
even here, They rent it out, under some condition.

there are hierarchies, social structures.

Adivasis and
'subsistence',
as 'forest
dwellers'

The 'Secular Catechism': Adivasis free tribes

" had good relationships with forests.
etc.

} Not a very correct answer.
Reality not too clear.

Archan Pandey work on Gonds and Baigas.

| narrative of British converting forest dwellers to settled agriculturalists.

| gonds and baigas did the opposite.

Development and Environmentalism

Going over first class slides

- 1700s, Bishnoi
- Chipko
- Sardar Sarovar dams

Slight Aside

- Public Hearings for development projects
 - Representatives of the company sell the project to the public
 - Usually, conflict arises between Resources and Resource Usage

- Elephants getting burned
 - Road construction
 - can destroy migratory routes
 - can change ecological balance

Water

- commonly in South Asia: Water as a common resource.

- impact of development on water resources

- "Water Conflicts in India"

- Constant theme of rural-urban conflict
 - resource use benefits the cities, not so much villages near the resource use plant.

◦ Types of conflicts

- << Slides >>

- usage conflicts ... Industrial usage vs rest.

Agriculture vs personal

...

- equity, access, etc. Assume everyone's use case is the same. How will it be used and distributed?

India: Caste, Gender, class

- Asia Bibi case | Christianity vs Islam
actually caste

Same Resource Use ←

- Throwing Kerosene into a well to ensure Dalits can't access it.

- Water quality:
- Sand mining: Changes course of river
- Micro-level:
- Dams
- boundary water conflicts:

- Privatization

◦ Sometimes about resource use (Kamru)

◦ Sometimes about pollution (Delhi vs the rest)

Models

- infrastructure only
- distribution

ECONOMIC

- now something can be derived on the basis of money
- commodification

PHILOSOPHICAL

Back to development

◦ Some consequences are intended

- Some/Many " " " unintended
 - eg: Connecting island to mainland with a bridge.
 - bridge completely alters ecosystem

◦ General examples of environment fluxes:

- eg: Cats introduced to an island eliminate entirely a smaller species
- eg: Wolf in Yellowstone ⇒ river revived.

Official Inequity

- Water allocation per capita in Delhi

◦ Impact on poor, landless. See SA, Johannesburg Case

◦ Radius Water Limited: Extreme case

Concept of "Water/locks"

↓
comes from social custom, not state sponsoring.

Other aspects of Development

• Urban pollution

— Case of Delhi

Developed: greater percentage of population in cities

Questions Raised by the Bhopal Gas Tragedy

- questioning development
- considering democracy and decision making
- Equity

Common Property Resources

— Community assets

— cushion . Act as emergency risk-sharing mechanism.

— Key to local economy many ecosystems.

— CPRs are declining. Why?

— human intervention had an impact on ecology

- o CPRs → private land
- o Distance to markets ↑
- o Increase in land costs

— Public Welfare leads to less focus on CPRs

— 30-40% work very community-based

⇒ focus on community projects drops

— reduced mandate of the community

— Increased inequality

o Green Revolution : overall increase in inequality

o what are CPRs

o what has development done to traditional CPRs.

Check Slides

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Check Slides :- Gender, Poverty, and Environment: Impact on Women

✓ Example of the Buffalo scheme

Summary Dev has often caused

— decrease in access to resources

— increase in inequality

