CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENTAL NGOs: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Service is the Rent we pay for the privilege of living on the Earth
- Eldon Tanner

Significance of NGOs in the Modern Times:

Non-governmental organisations have become an overwhelming global force today. The term 'NGO' is a catchword and its importance is growing in the operations of civil society. In "The Rise of the Non Profit Sector", Lester M. Salaman maintains that a global "Associational Revolution" is taking place.¹ The world has been witnessing an upsurge of such voluntarily established organisations in recent years. These institutions are known variously as voluntary organisations, non-governmental organisations, non-profit sector, third force, non-state actors etc. "This growth of the voluntary sector – third sector – has been phenomenal, particularly over the past two decades". Lester Salaman (1995), who recently completed a large-scale study on NGOs in twelve countries, writes, "The global rise of the non-profit sector may be as important a development of the latter twentieth century as the development nation state was in the latter nineteenth century..... We found a surprisingly large scale of non-profit activity in almost every place we looked".² Thus, the presence of NGOs in the modern world can no longer be ignored.

"Today, NGOs are serving millions of citizens in scores of countries. Their reach and scope often eclipse both the private and public sector, touching and affecting the lives of every citizen, often more profoundly than the forces of the market place or agencies and bureaucracies of government".3 The United Nations Development Programme estimates that the total numbers of people “touched” by NGOs in developing countries across the world is probably 250 million and that this “will rise considerably in the years ahead”.4 The world has witnessed an explosion of NGOs activities, in the past few decades. The number of GROs runs into the millions and is growing exponentially, with new ones appearing daily.5 This size of the NGO sector has grown unevenly between countries. In Britain they are estimated to be over 500,000 NGOs, Zimbabwe has an estimated 800 NGOs, in Bangladesh there are at least 12,000 local groups and in Australia more than half of all the country’s welfare services are supplied by not for profit charitable organisations.6 It reveals that the NGOs have grown enormously and their activities have also widened, covering almost every aspect of human need and endeavour. Hence, we cannot imagine a society without NGOs.

NGOs represent the true fire of democratic spirit and are an important watchdog of democracy. They provide the platform for citizens’ action and are also dynamic instruments of civil society.

3 Julie Fisher, Non Governments NGOs and the Political Development of the Third World, Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi, 2003, p.VIII.
NGOs have been known for their virtues for human touch, dedication, flexibility, self-reliance and nearness to the community. As such, they have the multifaceted strength to reach the unreached, remotest of the remote and the poorest of the poor. NGOs have also a challenging role to play as catalysts of social change, harbingers of silent revolution, as innovators, as awareness builders and in short, as 'friend, philosopher and guide' of the people in general and the downtrodden sections of society in particular.

Invested with these qualities of excellences, NGOs have been at the forefront, and involved in a wide spectrum of activities. They are engaged in such fields as environment, human rights, peace, gender awareness, the rights of indigenous people and so on. Thus, NGOs include the most outspoken advocates of human rights, the environment, social programmes, women's rights and more.

It is important to note at the outset that NGOs have been part of the UN System since its inception, but they have focussed primarily on civil, political and economic aspects. With the UN conference on human environment in 1972 a new group called environmental NGOs or ENGOs came into existence. With the UN conference on environment and development (UNCED) in Rio in 1992, the term has been broadened to include the entire civil society. The recent World Summit on Sustainable development, which was held in Johansburg, South Africa from August 26 to September 4, 2002, identified the key role of civil society and NGOs in protecting the environment.

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9 [www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/index.htm](http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/index.htm)
Therefore, NGOs activities particularly in the sphere of environmental protection are the most crucial, because of the transboundary nature and severity of the problem. The global environment is deteriorating, and deteriorating all the quicker because of runaway resource use and development in an increasing number of countries. There are growing global problems of climate change, loss of biodiversity, pressure on freshwater, marine pollution, hazardous waste accumulation and so on. However, it seems, the record of the national governments in addressing themselves to these environmental problems is not worthwhile due to their overburdened activities. Governments frequently talk 'green' but in practice, usually give priority to economic growth over environmental protection. It shows that governments have not been able to respond positively to the environmental problems. Environmental NGOs, at both global and national levels have successfully filled this void. During the 1970s and 1980s there was an explosion of environmental NGOs. Porter and Welsh Brown estimate that by the early 1980s there were approximately 13,000 environmental NGOs in developed countries. The World Directory of Environmental Organisations described more than 2600 environmental organisations in its 1996 edition but these are the bigger NGOs. These are groups organised across state boundaries and committed explicitly to regional or global environmental protection. Green Peace International, Friends of the Earth and the Worldwide Fund for Nature

(WWF) are probably the best known of these kinds of NGOs. This indicates that environmental NGOs have been the most effective force for environmental protection.

India has been described not only with the well-worn aphorism “the world’s largest democracy” but also, no less suggestively, as the “NGO capital of the world” estimates of non-governmental organisations in India vary from 10,000 to 100,000. As a matter of fact, Non-governmental organisations have come to occupy significant place in India. Today, the country has a vibrant NGO sector, and there is a great proliferation of NGOs’ activities as in many parts of the world. These institutions are engaging in a wide spectrum of programmes encompassing welfare activities, development oriented initiatives, empowerment of women and weaker sections, protecting the environment and so on. The first ever sample survey of the size of the non-profit sector in India places the number of such organisations at 1.2 million. These groups involve as many as 19.2 million people. Many of whom work on a voluntary basis. Thus, the country has an impressive record of NGO participation, particularly after independence. But the intervention of NGOs in the protection of environment is of recent one. Environmentalism in India is now more identified with activities of non-governmental organisations. The directory of environmental NGOs in India published in 1989 lists 879


large and small NGOs spread throughout the country of which half were involved with forest related issues. There has been considerable growth in the number of environmental NGOs in recent years. Their present number is estimated at around 3400, the vast majority being very small, grass roots organisations. Mention may be made of some of the NGOs like Centre for Science and Environment, Kalpavriksha, Delhi Science Forum, Bombay Natural History, Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal in Chamoli etc., which have been playing an indispensable role in creating environmental awareness among the people.

As in the global and national level, in Karnataka also the time has come for non-governmental organisations. The boom of the NGOs covers entire civil society of the state. Karnataka in the mid 1990s, with a population of 48 million, had probably roughly 400 NGOs involved in development issues with at least some environmental interest. At present in Karnataka there are 193 major NGOs working in various fields of which 35 NGOs have been exclusively involved in environment protection activities. Many of the Karnataka government's developmental policies have resulted in severe environmental disturbances. This has captured the attention of environmental NGOs, which paved the way for organising people's movements against government's anti environmental policies. At this juncture, we can mention some of the prominent environmental NGOs,

21 David Potter, Democratisation and the Environment: NGOs and Deforestation Policies in India (Karnataka) and Indonesia (North Sumatra) in David Potter (ed.) NGOs and Environmental Policies Asia and Africa, Frank Cass, London, 1996, p.12.
like Samaja Parivarthana Samudaya of Dharwad (SPS), Citizens for Alternatives to Nuclear Energy (CANE) Bangalore, Society for Environmental Awareness of Sirsi, Parisara Sourankshana Samiti of Yellapur, the Snehakunja at Kasargod, Society for Ecological Awareness at Karwar etc. These NGOs have made significant contributions to protect the environment in many parts of Karnataka.

**History of NGOs at the Global Level**

In order to understand the role and functions of NGOs today, it is pertinent to examine their historical roots.

Voluntary action is as old as human civilization. Human society is a creation of voluntary association. As such, voluntary organisations have a parallel evolution with the evolution of human society. The history of these organisations goes back to the Palaeolithic period. Since then it has undergone a process of historical evolution and developed as a concept in the twentieth century, especially after World War II. Missionary zeal, war and calamities, socio-economic discriminations and ideological interest are the chief attributes that promoted the growth of voluntary agencies. The ideals of welfare state, creation of world bodies, the terrible and increasing disasters both man-made and natural, ethnic riots and clash of interests widened the sphere of voluntary organisations worldwide.23

NGOs have a long history of international voluntary action. Many NGOs are involved in what can be termed “Care and Welfare” activities inherited from the charitable work or philanthropy, which

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flourished in industrialised countries from the 19th century onwards.24 This has resulted in many changes in society, including the abolition of slavery and child labour. This kind of function has been termed as 'voluntary action', and it has paved the way for the establishment of NGOs, Charities, Charitable Organisations, or Welfare Organisations.

Many of the contemporary international NGOs were originally established to help the victims of World War II in Europe. These include Catholic Relief Services, CARE, OXFAM, UK and the Danish Association for International Cooperation.25 Nevertheless, until the foundation of the United Nations, there were no established rules for dealing with NGOs.26 Even the term non-governmental organisations or NGO was not in general currency before the UN was formed. When 132 international NGOs decided to co-operate with each other in 1910, they did so under the label, the Union of International Associations.27 The first draft of the UN Charter especially in the ones made in Dumbarton Oaks did not make any mention of NGOs. However, a variety of NGOs from national and international, lobbied to rectify this at the San Francisco Conference, which established the UN in 1945. Thus, the term "non-governmental organisation" or NGO came into currency in 1945 because of the need for the UN to differentiate in its charter between participation rights for intergovernmental specialized agencies and those for international private organisations.28 Article 71 of the UN Charter states, "The Economic and Social Council may make

24 Collin Ball and Leith Dunn in Supra No.6, p.14
28 Ibid p..3
suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organisations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organisations and where appropriate with national organisations after consultation with the member of the United Nations concerned. This Article was an important addition to the UN Charter and provides the framework for co-operation between the UN and NGOs. In addition to these developments, NGOs have undergone various generations of change. Here we can discuss four phases and correspondingly four groups of NGO activities. Abolition of under development and poverty were the main focus of the first generation of NGOs after the establishment of the United Nations. In the 1960s, aspects of the peace movement formed the second phase in the development of NGOs. The early 1980s environmental movements became an integrated part of the global community of NGOs. In the 1990s human rights drew the attention of NGOs. But in the present context the study is more concerned about the evolution of environmental NGOs. Therefore, a "new breed" of NGOs has emerged over the past few decades, spawned by growing concerns about the environment. As such, a number of environmental organisations have been operating at the global level, with their headquarters in Europe and United States. Their activities are not restricted to specific countries, and some of them have established national branches in the nations where they work. Two distinct waves of environmental NGOs mobilisation can be identified in this context. The first wave, from the nineteenth century to the 1950,

29 Helmut Volger, in Supra No. 26, p.379.
30 Colin Ball and Leith Dunn, in Supra No. 6, p.17.
saw the emergence of major conservation groups today, including the Sierra club and the National Audubon Society in the USA, the National Trust and the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) in the UK, had their roots in this period. The second wave was a manifestation of the 1960s modern environmentalism, which heralded an explosion in the number, and size of groups such as Friends of the Earth (FOE) and Green Peace rapidly became international organisations with national affiliates in many countries.\(^{31}\) Among the first NGOs with a focus on the environment were the societies for the Protection of Birds (created in Britain in 1889) and the Sierra club (founded in the United States in 1892).\(^{32}\) But the growth in the number and reach of ENGOs accelerated after World War II. In 1947, the Commission for the International Protection of Nature was reorganised as the International Union for the Protection of Nature, becoming the first INGO with a global outlook on environmental problems. Renamed the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in 1956, it became the precursor to the later creation of many more environmental INGOs, notably the World Wildlife Fund (WWF); later renamed the Worldwide Fund for Nature outside the United States, it was created in 1961 to raise funds for IUCN Projects.\(^{33}\)

The 1960s witnessed an increased awareness in environmental problems in industrial countries. The clearest example is the writing of Rachel Carson, a former biologist at the US fish and wildlife service. Her book, "The Silent Spring" (1962), sounded the warning of an

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\(^{31}\) Neil Carter, in Supra No. 12, p.32
\(^{32}\) John McCormick, in Supra No. 14, p.57.
\(^{33}\) Ibid. p.58.
impending environmental crisis and had an enormous impact on both sides of the Atlantic.34 Until the publication of Silent Spring, governments were slow to act to the problems of indiscriminate use of DDT. Therefore, it was the 'silent spring' that awakened the public attention to these growing problems. The other important environmental organisations, which emerged during the late 1960s and 1970s, were Friends of the Earth (FoE) and Greenpeace. Friends of the Earth (FoE), founded in San Francisco in 1969 by David Brower, a renowned American naturalist, created the new organisation after failing to convince the Sierra Club, of which he was an officer, to adopt a more activist strategy on environmental issues, especially nuclear power.35 Green Peace was founded in 1971 by Canadians protesting against a planned US Nuclear test on a pacific island.36 Both groups quickly established a reputation for creative campaigning. Green Peace, in particular drawn international awareness through its high profile actions against nuclear testing, whale hunting and the killing of sea pups. Today, both groups are huge international organisations: FoE International Federation has member groups in Sixty-six countries and Green Peace International has twenty-five national offices with a presence in forty-one countries.37

International institutions have played a major role in the evolution and strengthening of the NGO sector, especially in the last three decades. The NGOs attendance at international conferences gives them a domestic visibility and strengthens their role as

36 Neil Carter, in Supra No. 12, p.136.
international players. New NGOs were created in response, and public interest reached a new peak in 1972 with the convening in Stockholm, Sweden, of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, attended by representatives from 113 countries and more than intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations. Among the many outcomes of the Stockholm Conference, two in particular were prominent. First, the attendance of so many national and international NGOs at the conference drew the attention of international community. Second, the conference resulted in the establishment of 1973 United Nations Environment Programme, which provided a new forum to NGOs and INGOs.

Environmental NGOs took active role before, during and after the convening of the Earth Summit. More than 1,400 environmental NGOs were officially accredited with the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and a total of about 7,000 NGOs took part, in one way or another, in the Global Forum organised as a special event for NGOs apart from the UN Conference itself. Thus, Rio-Summit was considered as the mega environmental conference and a milestone in the history of environmental NGOs.

After ten years of Rio Summit, another largest and most important environmental conference was held at Johannesburg, South Africa from August 26 to September 4, 2002. Opening the conference, South African President Thabo Mbeki made a fervent appeal for

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coordinated international effort to translate rhetoric into action. According to official reports, he lamented on the current state of the earth; poverty, underdevelopment, inequality within and among countries, together with the worsening global ecological crisis, sum up the dark shadow under which most of the world lives. At the inaugural session, Mr. Nitin Desai, United Nations Secretary-General of the Summit said: Three million persons die each year due to indoor air pollution. Five million people die every year from water-borne diseases. We have to start addressing ourselves to these problems through partnerships and long-term vision. In addition, the conference was attended by the representatives of Non-Governmental Organisations, World leaders, Government Officials and Labour Unions, and they have discussed initiatives and partnerships for achieving the goals of sustainable development.

History of NGOs in India:

India has a long history and a great tradition of voluntary activities. The earliest history of voluntarism can be traced back to the Rig Vedas, dating back to 1500 BC. The evolutionary growth of voluntarism is clearly seen in the records of past history. Chankya’s Arthasastra, written around 325 BC is an example in this regard. Emperor Ashoka organised a group of volunteers called ‘Gopas’ for social welfare work. During the Gupta period, the state had established workshops for the amelioration and training of handicapped persons.

40 http://www.teri.res.in/teriin/terragreen/issue19/news.htm p.1
41 Ibid p.2.
43 Joel SGR Bhose, in Supra no.23, p.24.
During the Mughal period, the state had a separate department to supervise charity and endowment to the poor. Though the roots of voluntarism in India are traced back to ancient period, it was during the nineteenth century that voluntarism emerged in an organised form and gained its new momentum. Therefore, we can trace the development of modern voluntarism to reformist movements of the nineteenth century. The voluntary movements in India grew with the emergence of various religious social reform movements like Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ram Krishna Mission etc. The leaders of the reform movements were Raja Ram Mohan Roy of the Bramo Samaj who fought against sati, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who promoted western education among Muslims, Swami Dayanand Saraswati whose followers emphasised the need of Vedic education and Swami Vivekanand who promoted spiritualism beyond the frontiers of India. Ramakrishna Mission came in the wake of Hindu resurgence. The Arya Samaj started a number of schools and colleges. Christian Missionaries have also contributed to relief and welfare through their institutions during this period. It reveals that the functions of the voluntary organisations in this period were confined only to the social and religious reforms, awakening public to social evils and to the need for their elimination.

**British Period:**

During British Period, the first known voluntary organisation, according to the records maintained in the National Archives of India,
was the 'Friend-in-Need Society of Madras', which applied for financial assistance to the Governor General in the 1858-59 through the Governor of Madras.47 It was during the period 1858-1860 that the need for registration of societies on the pattern of a similar act in the United Kingdom was felt on the receipt of an application from Calcutta Public Library. Another land-mark in the history of voluntary action in India was the enactment of the Societies Registration Act of 1860, which is still operative today with minor amendments and adaptation by the Central and State Governments.48 Thus, the enactment of the Societies Registration Act of 1860, paved the way for the establishment of more and more NGOs. As a result of this during the freedom movement, a number of NGOs came into existence.

**Gandhian Influence on NGOs:**

With the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi on the political stage, voluntarism became more active and widespread.49 The impact of Mahatma Gandhi and his philosophy further strengthened voluntary movements in the 1920s and 30s. This was evident in his call for constructive work and the way he inspired thousands of young women and men to work among the rural poor, scheduled castes, and those deprived of education, health, employment and income generation. This period witnessed the flowering of the spirit of voluntarism and the sacrifices of volunteers to the cause of socio-economic upliftment of the poor and the weak.50 Gandhi also made another significant contribution

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48 Ibid. p.9.
50 Kranti Rana, in supra no.25, p.156.
in so far as he taught people to look at technology critically and not to mechanically emulate whatever came from the west. In this, he laid a basis for a search for environmentally sound alternative development strategies. It is less surprising, therefore, that most of the Voluntary Organisations today owe their inspiration to Gandhi both in their aims and approach.51 Hence, for the NGOs engaged in environment related activities, Gandhian influence is far-reaching.

Soon after Independence, Gandhiji wanted the Indian National Congress to be converted into a Lok Seva Sangh (People's Service Association) to lead, organise and channelise people's power at the grassroot.52 Gandhiji believed that with Independence, the Congress Party had outlived its utility 'as a propaganda vehicle and a parliamentary machine'. He urged congress members to leave politics for 'constructive work', which he considered more important.53 With his death, Nehru became the chief supporter and promoter of voluntary action, particularly in the field of social services and welfare.54

When we look at the development of NGOs in India in a historical perspective, we find it has analogous development. If national sentiments derived from an involvement in the freedom struggle, motivated the people to form voluntary organisations in the fifties, the reasons were different later. One could then notice the expansion of NGOs more in development activities such as income generating

51 M.V. Nadkami, in supra no.49, p.78.
52 D. Paul Chowdhry in Supra no. 46, p.10.
54 D. Paul Chowdhry in Supra no.46, p.10.
programmes in the sixties. In the latter part of the sixties and early seventies the orientation changed. The shift turned in favour of issues associated with ecology, environment, technology and development. This shift of NGOs activities can be compared with the changing face of government from a police state to welfare state, and subsequently to a development state. Correspondingly, NGOs have also undergone numerous generations of change. Korten says that functions of voluntary development organisations changed over the years such as:

a) Relief and welfare

b) Community development

c) Sustainable system and

d) People's movement

This indicates that the ‘NGO Sector’ consists of diverse groups engaged in a variety of activities. But the concern for the environment in the activities of NGOs was not explicit and direct till 1970s.

Similarly, a series of international conferences on environment have influenced Indian NGOs to fight for the cause of environmental protection. Since the beginning of 1970s a number of NGOs have emerged in India which have raised very crucial issues of environmental policies, like the need for forest preservation, the environmental impact, assessment of various multi-purpose dam projects, and to protecting rights of the people affected by the

governments or industrial organisation's lack of concern for environmental hazards of the undertakings.57

We start with Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal (DGSM), the group that pioneered the Chipko Movement, under the leadership of Chandi Prasad Bhatt.58 Therefore, we can consider DGSM the first Indian Environmental NGO and a guiding force to subsequent ENGOs. The early eighties also saw emergence of influential, urban based, NGOs, like the Environmental Services Group, the Centre for Science and Environment, the Kerala Shastra Sahitya Parishad and Kalpavriksh, just to name a few. It saw publication of documents, which had a profound influence on the minds of the urban, educated, and foremost among these undoubtedly being the two "State of the Environment" reports published by the Centre for Science and Environment.59

Hundreds of these organisations are working at the micro-level, and although environmental concerns are relatively new, they are an overwhelming phenomenon. Indeed, since the beginning of the last decade, almost all Indian NGOs have been working with environmental issues.60

Karnataka was also one of the earliest states to recognise NGOs in development activities. The broad rubric of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) is being applied to a variety of institutions that have emerged in recent years.61 Throughout history, there have been

57 R.B. Jain, in Supra no 7, p.144.
several religious and radical movements in Karnataka in response to the perceived need of human welfare and culture.\textsuperscript{62} When it comes to NGOs activities particularly in the sphere of environment protection, they have been playing a significant role to influence the policies of the state at various levels FEVORD-K can be cited as an organisation, which has achieved significant results to check the blind eucalyptisation of all available land.\textsuperscript{63} In recent years, more professionally managed and relatively large NGOs have also emerged and developed with assistance from external donors.\textsuperscript{64}

The brief history of NGOs at the global, National and state levels indicates their concern towards human welfare in general and collapsing ecological systems in particular, which is increasing, and has been growing steadily in scope and reach during the last two decades.

**Relations of NGOs with Government:**

NGOs have complex relations with governments, sometimes co-operating, sometimes in conflict and often both simultaneously over different issues.\textsuperscript{65} Nature of the government is one of the influencing factors in government – NGO relationship. Governments may be autocratic or democratic, stable or unstable; they may be subject to strong political cultures or traditions, and they may differ from one another in their ability to implement policy.\textsuperscript{66} As increasing numbers of NGOs contribute to the emergence of stronger civil societies,

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid, p.173.

\textsuperscript{63} D. Rajasekhar, *Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in India: Opportunities and Challenges*, The Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore 2000, p.54.

\textsuperscript{64} *Human Development in Karnataka*, in Supra no.61, p.173.

\textsuperscript{65} *Human Development Report 1993*, in Supra No.4, p.90

\textsuperscript{66} Julie Fisher, in Supra no. 3, p.37
governments face a changing political context, which forces them to re-evaluate previous policies towards NGOs. Governments also re-examine policies toward NGOs because of the changes they make in their own management. It is clear from the above that the debate of NGOs relations with government relies upon the type and form of government and differs regionally and from one country to another. Therefore, in this context, it is necessary to analyse some examples of government – NGO relations with reference to specific countries. According to World Human Development Report (1993), Bangladesh has one of the largest and most diversified NGO sectors in the world. NGOs in Bangladesh do have an influence on government development policy, and the government has given some leading NGO figures important advisory positions. This could be seen as an endorsement of the value of NGOs – or as a way of co-opting potential opposition.

The Environmental Congress - a network of NGOs in Sri Lanka initially adopted a fairly confrontational style with respect to the government. On one issue the government proved receptive to their concerns, and dropped plans for a major project. After this, the NGOs developed a more constructive dialogue with the authorities. The government, in turn, invited five NGO representatives on to the National Environmental Council, which reports to the prime minister on the environmental ramifications of all major development projects.

In Brazil GRSOs by building a mass base pressurised government to withdraw ‘Amajon Project’ for saving the rainforest. Brazilian GRSOs

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67 Ibid. p.37.
68 Human Development Report 1993, in Supra No. 4, p.92.
69 Ibid, p.92.
working with the Catholic Church in the 1970s raised money, initiated a massive popular education process in the Amazon, collected information from the government and other sources, and shared it with GROs and the environmental movement in Europe and the United States. GRSO and GRO representatives came to the United States to get more information about Brazilian government plans and pressurised the European community and the World Bank to stop supporting them. In 1987, the World Bank stopped providing money for the government’s Amazon project.\(^{71}\)

In Indonesia also we find a fairly substantial environmental NGOs sector, even though it is a non-democratic regime. The reason is most environmental NGOs are part of global NGO network. For example, WALHI is part of Friends of the Earth International, SKEPHI is part of the world Rainforest Movement.\(^{72}\) In such an international context, it would be politically unwise for the Indonesian Government to wipe out the Indonesian end of these global NGO networks (Ibid, p.32). Therefore, one cannot evaluate government – NGO relationship or NGOs ability to influence an environmental policy merely on the basis of governmental system. As far as NGO influence is concerned, Alan Thomas held an alternative view. According to him, democracy is not significant; factors relating more directly to the particular environmental issue are more likely to determine whether or not NGOs can have influence. Such factors might include the political and economic centrality of an issue in a particular country, its relation to

\(^{71}\) Julie Fisher in Supra No.3, p. 87
\(^{72}\) David Potter, *Democratisation and the Environment: NGOs and Deforestation Policies in India (Karnataka) and Indonesia (North Sumatra)* in David Potter (ed.) *NGOs and Environmental Policies: Asia and Africa*, Frank Cass, London, 1996, p.32.
the sequence of policy development and implementation, and the potential for internationalisation of the issue.73

We have looked so far a few instances of Government – NGO relationship across the world. Now let us have a look into the unique Indian situation. There is a considerable apprehension amongst intellectuals in India about the relationship between the state and voluntary associations, which has always been a tenuous one.74 In April 2002, the then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee voiced a vision of NGO – state relations where each brought particular strengths to the task of nation-building. He added, "no doubt greater involvement of voluntary organisations will help the government in providing more efficient delivery of services at substantially lower costs.75 But in reality, the government has a different attitude towards NGOs. On public platforms and in the media, the government spokesmen are never tired of singing the praises of NGOs. As an avowed democratic form of government and further as the constitutionally committed one to the welfare of the people, it cannot but seek the willing cooperation of the NGOs engaged in activities of public interest. They almost talk in terms of a working partnership between equals. Perhaps, in principle, they mean what they say.76 The one-problem that the experts see in the government – NGO partnership in areas of governance and planning is that the former

74 R.B. Jain, in Supra No. 7, p.139.
may not be willing to give the adequate space required by the latter. "There has been enough experience in the past when NGOs had been involved in such exercises. But the government had suggestions that suited them, thereby marginalising the role of the NGOs involved." There is always a fear that after involving the NGOs, the government may start dictating terms. This partnership will have to be free of all pressures and pulls. It shouldn't be that they are funding the NGOs or giving them a say, they will start commanding terms, said Medha Patkar, who spearheaded the Narmada Bachchao Andolan. These statements provide a glimpse into the complicated nature of NGO - state relations. There are areas of agreement and disagreement, of cooperation as well as confrontation. It has been generally observed that the more active, dynamic and radical the NGO is, the more troublesome is its relationship with government. There are areas where NGOs and government agencies can and should work together in the interest of the people. It is a question of who plays what role at what level. Government agencies will implement programmes, which are planned at macro level for the benefit of large sections of population spread over every corner of the country. NGOs will work at isolated pockets, and will work with the issues touching the people at the grass roots. Another role relates to more radical NGOs which take a completely different perspective. They believe that social transformation is a necessity to change the conditions of the deprived and disadvantaged. These NGOs critically evaluate government policies.

78 Ibid. p. 9.
79 R.B. Jain in Supra No. 7, p.141.
and programmes affecting the disadvantaged. Thus it can be said that in India also the relationship between government and NGOs has many complexities, as it appears in many parts of the world.

With this in mind, an attempt has been made to examine the issues involved in the government – NGO relationship. Here, we have identified four types of issues affecting NGO – government relationship. They are as follows:

a) The regulatory framework,
b) Government funding,
c) Foreign funding,
d) Recognition of NGOs role by the government under five year plans.

a) The Regulatory framework:

The state regulates NGOs by requiring them to register, particularly if they seek state or foreign funding, and report their activities at regular intervals. For this purpose, the government has enacted a number of Acts and Legislations for controlling the activities of NGOs. They are: Societies Registration Act of 1860, Indian Trust Act of 1882 and the Income Tax Act of 1965 governing income tax liabilities of NGOs. Another piece of legislation with huge implications for understanding the regulatory capacity of the state is the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) of 1976, which was originally designed to prevent the flow of foreign funds to political parties. The Act was amended in 1984 to more closely monitor the flow of funds to

81 Ibid, p.338.
82 Neema Kudva in Supra No. 75, p.236.
the voluntary sector. Another way of government’s controlling of NGOs is by appointing commissions of enquiry to look into charges against NGOs. NGOs viewed Indira Gandhi’s return to power with apprehension. Her government immediately took steps to increase oversight into NGO activities by changing the terms of FCRA in 1984 and by establishing a commission of enquiry in 1981 under Justice P.D. Kudal to investigate misuses of funds and activities of several NGOs including the Gandhi Peace foundation and AVARD, both of which had actively opposed Indira Gandhi’s government. The Kudal Commission recommended regulatory and punitive measures to control wayward NGOs, and is cited by many NGO activists as the single event that played the largest role in generating hostility and suspicion between them and the government. This kind of government’s regulatory framework has its adverse effects on NGOs, particularly small as well as new NGOs who have suffered and become the victims of government’s policy. Therefore, under the present situation, government has to rethink its policy towards NGOs for achieving better results. The legal and operating environment for the voluntary sector needs to be revamped in keeping with the emerging national, regional and global scenario. Some of the tax and registration laws like Societies Registration Act (1860), the Indian Trusts Act (1882) and the Charitable and Religious Trust Act (1920) which regulate the work of the voluntary sector have all become

83 Ibid. p. 237.
84 Ibid. p. 244
obsolete and need to be amended. In the past, the government has always brought draconian measures to curb the NGOs in the name of national Sovereignty or security. FERA and FCRA are classic examples of curbing the initiatives of the voluntary sector. The Ministry of Home is not the right department for managing FCRA, and this should be transferred to CAPART or Ministry of Financial Economic Affairs, which are really the development departments. For enhancing the quality of voluntarism, the National Planning Commission (NPC) in New Delhi has prepared a policy paper on voluntary sector, which has drawn the attention of the entire country. The draft policy of the NPC says that the state and other sectors must enable the voluntary sector to discharge its watchdog functions, improve the capacity of the voluntary sector to act as a medium for transfer of entrepreneurship, technologies and skills and improve its role in advocacy, awareness generation and social mobilisation and involve VOLAGAS (Voluntary Agencies) in the delivery of services to the excluded and the marginalised. This draft policy of NPC is a right step in strengthening voluntary sector, and it will certainly improve the relationship between NGOs and government in the days to come.

b) Government Funding:

One cannot deny the fact that funds and financial resources of NGOs are significant issues. Therefore the question of government's

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86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.

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financing NGO sector is an important criteria in shaping the relationship between the two. The government’s role as a funder dates back to the grants-in-aid program, which was started in the early fifties. The setting up of Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) in the year 1953 to disburse funds to support the NGOs engaged in welfare programmes was an important step in this direction. Apart from Central Social Welfare Board, there are numerous Government Departments that have come forward for supporting NGOs by releasing funds.

**Funding from CAPART:**

Government financing of Voluntary Organisations is provided departmentally and through specialised institutions such as Council for Advancement of People’s Actions and Rural Technology (CAPART). In 1986, for example, the Ministry of Rural Development took the radical step of combining two existing funding units to create a trust, Council for Advancement of People’s Action and Rural Technology (CAPART), to fund and support NGOs. The growth of state funding is exemplified by the growth in CAPART’s funding portfolio from over Rs.545 million for about 4,000 NGOs in 1993-1994 to about Rs.3 billion to fund over 10,000 NGOs in 2002 – 2003.88 From 1990s onwards significant funding agencies like CSWB have changed its perception from funding only for welfare activities. Now CSWB allocates grants for creating awareness and empowerment of women

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88 Quoted in Neema Kudva in Supra No. 75, p.237
activities. According to Planning Commission's Directory of Centrally Sponsored Schemes for Voluntary Agencies, there are over 200 government schemes initiated by the central and state governments with an NGO component. It was estimated recently that the central government had spent about Rs.10 billion in 2001 to fund over fourteen thousand NGOs.\footnote{Ibid, p.246} It shows that in recent years there is a phenomenal increase of government's fund to NGOs.

**Procedure of Grant-in-Aid:**

The government has laid down a prescribed procedure for getting grant-in-aid to NGOs. These NGOs which want to seek financial assistance have to fulfil certain essential qualifications in order to be eligible for grants. The General Financial Rules are as follows:

i) NGOs should be registered,

ii) It should have been in operation for the last three years,

iii) Should have the capacity to collect matching contributions,

iv) Should furnish the details of three years audit reports,

v) They should give in writing that they will follow the conditions of the grant-in-aid.

vi) They should be free from corrupt practices and

vii) Should have ability to carry out the scheme for which they have applied.
The conditions that are put forth by the government in releasing grant-in-aid to NGOs has led to some criticism. Here, one cannot question the rationale of rules and conditions of the grant-in-aid, but their actual implementation has generated a few problems. The time consuming bureaucratic procedures, corrupt practices of government, delayed release of grants are some of the hurdles in which NGOs have been complaining. There have been cases where DOE has taken two to three years to decide whether it will fund a particular programme. Its response is particularly sluggish and unhelpful when the NGO programme deals with a controversial subject. But often it is plain bureaucratic whims that lead to delays and problems.90 As a result of this, many times NGOs have been facing hardships in getting grant-in-aid.

On the other hand, NGOs are also not free from blemishes. Empirical evidence shows that blacksheeps amongst NGOs in India have been operating and sullying the fair name and fame of the really upright, honest patriotic voluntary agencies in the country.91 Since these non-profit organisations, environmental activists receive funds from various sources for implementing numerous programmes, they are accountable to the society and government for good performance. The NGOs should realize that they cannot have the cake and eat it too. They have to submit themselves to the prevailing government rules and


59
regulations concerning accounting, auditing and use of public funds. In sum, it can be said that both government and NGOs must realise their responsibilities, and work with true spirit. Then only it is possible to expect the chances of environmental survival.

c) **Foreign Funding:**

The changing socio-economic and political scenario and the growing ecological imbalances at the national and international levels have resulted in diversified problems, especially in the countries of the third world poverty, inadequate health services, poor quality of life, growing environmental degradation and the resulting economic crisis are some of the major issues of grave concern. It appears that governments of the Third World have shown their ineffectiveness in dealing with these problems and even they are not in a position to allocate enough grants to NGO sector due to financial constraints. These are the problems which forced NGOs to think about the external aid. In India also a large mass of the NGOs depend on foreign funds. Noticing this, the government enacted foreign contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) in the year 1979. Under this law, NGOs have to register themselves in order to become eligible for receiving foreign grants. By 1997, about 14,000 NGOs were registered with the Home Ministry under the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA). From 1980 onwards there is a massive increase of foreign aid to Indian NGOs.

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92 Ibid, p.270.
93 Snehlata Chandra, in Supra No. 1, pp.178-179.
This has reminded the government to amend the provisions of FCRA for ensuring full knowledge of the total foreign grants flowing to the voluntary sector. All organisations receiving foreign funds were earlier expected to inform the Home ministry about each foreign contribution they received, and its origins. But the new rules make it mandatory for all organisations receiving foreign funds to first register with the Home Ministry before they receive such funds or if they are not registered, to seek prior permission before they accept any foreign donation. The 1990s witnessed an increased foreign aid being channelised to voluntary sector through various ministries and state agencies. This aid is particularly aimed at environment, health, family planning, rural development and women's development issues. The details of foreign aid received by NGOs are given below at Table 2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of NGOs</th>
<th>Total Foreign Aid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>9,316</td>
<td>945.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>9,012</td>
<td>14,121.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-93</td>
<td>10,201</td>
<td>15,843.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>10,963</td>
<td>18,657.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Week, September 15, 1996, Kerala, India, p.31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>Aid (million rupees)</th>
<th>% of Total Foreign Aid (1992 - 93)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>1992-93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>1,175.1</td>
<td>1,478.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>113.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>477.9</td>
<td>551.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa*</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>356.0</td>
<td>403.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>162.2</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>1,481.1</td>
<td>1,638.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>1,527.3</td>
<td>1,597.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>366.2</td>
<td>424.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>1,325.8</td>
<td>1,644.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>80.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>156.9</td>
<td>176.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>281.5</td>
<td>352.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>126.0</td>
<td>329.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>122.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>2,655.9</td>
<td>2,727.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>366.5</td>
<td>358.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>849.0</td>
<td>1,182.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Union Territory</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andman &amp; Nicobar</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadra &amp; Nagar Haveli</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>2,267.5</td>
<td>2,320.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>14,121.3</td>
<td>15,842.92**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes Daman & Diu.

** 50 percent of the aid is contributed by USA & Germany.

Source: Government of India, the Ministry of Home, Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act (FCRA) as quoted in Snehlata Chandra in supra No.1, pp.235-236.
Table 2.3
Increased foreign Aid to India upto 1997
Amount in Crores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Volume of Aid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994-95</td>
<td>1,892.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>1,168.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>2,571.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the total foreign funding in 1996 – 97, nearly 50 percent was received by Southern States (Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka).

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs as quoted in D. Rajasekhar, Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs): In India opportunities and challenges, The institute for social and economic change, Bangalore, 2000, p.14.

It was during 2004-2005, Rs.6,2565 Crore foreign contribution was received by registered associations by the FCRA. This was about 22 percent higher than the figure during 2003-2004. The increasing foreign aid to Indian organisations indicates the growing trust and faith of foreign donors. Therefore, it is imperative for the NGOs to utilise these foreign funds for the purpose for which it was received. Then only the trust and faith of the donors get strengthened.

d) Recognition of NGOs Role by the Government under Five Year Plans:

During the last 55 years, we have formulated Ten Five Year Plans and the government has realized the importance of Voluntary Organisations as ‘Junior Partners’ in its activities. Ever since Government of India launched its First Five Year Plan in the year 1951, it expressed faith in the inherent potentialities of voluntary organisations and committed itself to actively support them, facilitating their participation in nation building. The Plan document says: “A

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major responsibility for organising activities in different fields of social welfare like the welfare of women and children, social education, community organisation, etc. falls naturally on NGOs. These private agencies have long been working in their own humble way and without adequate aid for the achievement of their objectives with their own leadership, organisation and resources. Any plan for social and economic regeneration should take into account the services rendered by these agencies and the state should give them the maximum co-operation in strengthening their effort. Public co-operation through voluntary social service organisations is capable of yielding valuable results in channelling private efforts for the promotion of social welfare”.\footnote{First Five Year Plan, The Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, p.607.} This was strengthened in the second –Five Year Plan to say that, in order to achieve plan targets involvement of voluntary organisations is essential and desirable. In the Third Five Year Plan again it was stated that properly organised voluntary effort may go far towards augmenting facilities available to the community for helping the weakest and the most needy to a somewhat better life ... It is through the quiet influence of voluntary workers, steadily engaged in the act of selfless services that voice of reason can prevail.\footnote{Third Five Year Plan, The Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, pp. 292-93.} This indicates government’s commitment to involve voluntary organisations in the process of planning and implementation of programmes. Therefore, we find similar statements explaining the merits of voluntary action in the subsequent five year plan literature. The government has also supported NGOs by releasing funds in every five year plans for pursuing various activities.
### Table 2.4

**Governments allocation of funds to NGO Sector under Five Year Plans**

(Upto VIth Five Year Plan)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan Period</th>
<th>Funds earmarked for NGOs</th>
<th>Programmes under taken</th>
<th>No. of NGOs benefited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Five Year Plan 1951 – 1956</td>
<td>40 million</td>
<td>Welfare programmes for women and children</td>
<td>2,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Five Year Plan 1956 – 1961</td>
<td>233 million</td>
<td>The scope of welfare programmes was enlarged</td>
<td>For about 6000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Five Year Plan 1961 – 1966</td>
<td>190 million</td>
<td>Again special attention was given to the welfare of women and children</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Five Year Plan 1969 - 1974</td>
<td>500 million</td>
<td>Special programmes for women and children, eradication of beggary, social defence, rehabilitation of handicapped persons etc.</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Five year Plan 1974 – 1979</td>
<td>830 million</td>
<td>Emphasis was given to poverty alleviation schemes like Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Scheme (RLEGP) etc.</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Five Year Plan 1980 – 1985</td>
<td>500 million</td>
<td>Implementation of schemes under the twenty-point programme.</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on Five Year Plan Documents from First Five Year Plan to Sixth Five Year Plan, Government of India, Planning Commission, New Delhi.

It is evident from the above table that though the Government of India has encouraged the NGO sector by releasing substantial funds only for the welfare programmes, it indicates that the government was reluctant to provide financial assistance to environment protection activities. In the six plans that we have completed, not only has the environment been neglected, it has been damaged seriously due to mismanagement of natural resources.\(^{100}\)

\(^{100}\) Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, Plan to Preserve the Environment, *Yojana* 33 (14-15) 15th August 1989, p.28
It was in the Seventh Five Year Plan that serious efforts were made to involve voluntary organisations in various development programmes. It included an entire section on the voluntary sector with a budget allocation that was reported to be five times larger than the assistance provided in the earlier plan.\(^{101}\) The basic approach to the Seventh Plan would thus be sustainable development in harmony with the environment.\(^{102}\) As one observer put it, “voluntary agencies have now officially arrived”.\(^{103}\)

The Eighth Five Year Plan stressed the need for involvement of NGOs in prevention and control of pollution and monitoring the natural environment. During the Eighth Plan an outlay of Rs.675.00 crores has been provided for Ecology and Environment Sub-sector in the central plan.\(^{104}\)

The Ninth Five Year Plan identifies the significant role of NGOs in the implementation of environmental programmes. The plan document states, “A Challenging task is mobilisation and involvement of the people in environmental protection. Environmental protection is not the sole responsibility of the Government. All sections of the society have to participate in this national endeavour”.\(^{105}\) In the Ninth Plan Rs.3013.84 crores has been allotted for Ministry of Environment and Forests.

In the Tenth Five Year Plan also efforts have been made to strengthen voluntary action in the country. An outlay of Rs.5945

\(^{101}\) Quoted in Neema Kudva, in Supra no. 75, p.244.
\(^{103}\) Quoted in Neema Kudva, in supra no.75, p.245.
\(^{105}\) Ninth Five Year Plan, Government of India Planning Commission, New Delhi, Vol. II, 1997, p.955
crores has been fixed for Ministry of Environment and Forests in the Tenth Plan.  

From what is stated in the Five Year Plan documents, it appears that there are continuous efforts to involve NGOs, especially in welfare programmes but little emphasis was given to ecological issues.

**Types of NGOs:**

Environmental issues involve numerous conflicting ideologies and differ in many respects. In view of this, current studies on NGOs have identified different types of NGOs based on their activities. The intention of the typology is to know how different activities of NGOs can be able to influence the policy makers, educate the public and mobilize and organise citizen's to express their concern about complicated nature of environmental problems. If one were to roughly classify the environmental voluntary groups, then we would have most of them involved in:

i) education and advocacy relating to the environment;

ii) opposing public or private sector projects that could be harmful to the environment or people dependent upon it; and

iii) activities directly aimed at solving environmental problems.  

In this context, an attempt has been made to fit in the activities of environmental NGOs under this broad typology.

i) **Environmental Advocacy and Education Oriented NGOs:**

In the field of environmental policy-making, advocacy-type NGOs provide the public with information about the state of the environment

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gleaned from reports produced by research institutes, international organisations, or state agencies, thus generally operating as transmission belts for, and interpreters of, scientific knowledge. They often use sudden external shocks, like accidents in nuclear power plants (Chernobyl) or Chemical firms (Bhopal) as windows of opportunity for communicating their concern to the public and asking for decisive political action.108 Such NGOs as Centre for Science and Environment, Kalpa Vriksha, Delhi Science Forum and Citizens for Alternatives to Nuclear Energy (CANE) have been playing a commendable role in this regard. Among these, the centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, has been playing an influential role for environmental management and protection.

The late Dr. Anil Agarwal, the founder of CSE, was considered an international authority on environmental issues. The citizens’ Reports brought by the C.S.E. contain brilliant research articles explaining the status of the environment. An evaluation of the CSE’s reports reveals an alarming situation of the India’s environment.

There are such NGOs involved in environmental education activities as Kerala Sahitya Shastra Parishath (KSSP), Dashauli Gram Swarajya Mandal in Chamoli (DGSM), Environmental Cell of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, Society for Environmental Awareness of Sirsi and Parisara Saurankshana Samiti of Yellapur, which have been involved in creating awareness about environmental problems through workshops, seminars, padayatras, publications and so on.

108 Helmut Breitmeir and Volker Rittberger, in Supra No. 39, p.144.
In the second category, we have NGOs that have critical attitudes towards development projects having adverse impact on environment. These NGOs criticise development policies that carry high environmental risks. This type of NGO focuses on the anti-environmental policies of governments and international donor agencies. Samaja Parivarthana Samudaya (SPS), Bombay Environmental Action Group, Narmada Bachao Andolan, KSSP and Kalpavriksha are some of the important NGOs, which can be located in this category. These are action oriented NGOs.

In the last category, we have NGOs like DGSM in Chamoli, Parisara Samrakshana Kendras (Environmental Conservation Centre) in Sirsi, appropriate Technology Group, Luknow and ASTRA, Bangalore, which are involved in promoting and helping environmental friendly practice of technologies. In the early 1990s, for instance, Green peace made great efforts to persuade consumers to buy CFC – free refrigerators manufactured by the East German Foron. This campaign prompted other firms to change their line of production to CFC – free refrigerators and cooling systems.109

The above typology of environmental NGOs has certain limitations. Here, we cannot argue that many of the NGOs of one category do not get involved in other activities. Hence, we can find some overlapping relationship among these three types of NGOs. For instance, KSSP is providing environmental education as well as it is critical of government’s anti-environmental policies.

109 Ibid. pp.144-145.
Theoretical Framework of NGOs:

The worldwide salience of environmental problems gives rise to environmental NGOs at the local, national, regional and international levels. The effective management of these problems demands cooperation between NGOs and Nation States. It will be argued that in the 'environmental age' states cannot act in isolation from national and civil society; that if they are to ensure the maintenance of environmental quality, the cooperation and participation of NGOs is also essential.110 Due to the technical nature of many environmental problems, states need the scientific knowledge or the policy advice of NGOs for evaluating the short and long-term implications of their policies. For example, the Tata Energy Research Institute (TERI) in India is an influential research institute in the area of energy and environment. It has played a critical role in informing the Indian government, and more broadly the international community of the important environmental issues related to energy production and consumption.111 In this way, NGOs have been playing a pivotal role in environmental policymaking process.

This is all true. Now the question is how the study on NGOs can be linked with the broader discipline of international relations. To seek answer to this question, according to western scholars, the study of NGOs can be well fitted into the broader theoretical framework of international relations.

The period since 1945 has seen an unprecedented growth in the activity of international organizations, a phenomenon that has forced us to rethink the way we try to understand global politics. We still see the world in terms of states, we still see ourselves as citizens of one country or another, and the study of international relations has been heavily influenced by the realist theory, which argues that the state is the fundamental unit of analysis.\textsuperscript{112} Realists describe international politics as a model of billiard balls in which states are the only important actors.\textsuperscript{113} Therefore, in realist theory, there is no space for the analysis of NGOs activities. In contrast with the realist theory, the liberal theory focuses on the influence of individuals, groups and communities in international politics. According to Moravcsik, the liberal theory of international politics is based on the following beliefs.

First, individuals and private actors are the fundamental actors in international politics. Second, the liberal theory conceives the state as a representative institution influenced by the activities of domestic actors rather than as an independent actor. These representative institutions act as transmission belts "by which the preferences and social power of individuals and groups are translated into state policy".\textsuperscript{114} Thus, as compared to realist theory, liberal theory provides a theoretical framework for analyzing the activities of NGOs in both domestic and international politics. The activities of NGOs are also known as interest groups or pressure groups. Therefore, the interest group or pressure group theory is strongly linked to the pluralist

\textsuperscript{112} John McCormick, in Supra No.14 , p. 53
\textsuperscript{113} Helmut Breitmeier and Volker Rittberger, in supra No.39, p.131
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid. p.132.
interpretation of liberal democracy.\textsuperscript{115} In a pluralist world, it is assumed that there are no significant concentrations of power: power is diffused in society and all citizens have some power resources that can be used to achieve their aims or interests.\textsuperscript{116} People with shared visions, grievances or interests are free to form organizations to press their claims in the political process.\textsuperscript{117} In this model, there is enough scope for NGOs to express their concern against harmful environmental effects of economic development.

Thomas Princen and Matthias Finger have put forward the post-modernist theory of NGOs. Unlike the pluralists, Princen and Finger believe that there is an environmental crisis, which demands a new form of politics as a response.\textsuperscript{118} They argue that Nation-states, particularly within any globalised economy are facing global ecological problems. More than that, nation-states are often dangerous to the Earth's ecology. Their primary functions are two-fold: first to provide a basis for an expanding military - industrial complex; second, to promote the notion of a national economy, based on 'growth' and 'progress' at all costs.\textsuperscript{119} This has resulted in the dramatic growth of environmental NGOs. According to Princen and Finger, by supporting the activities of environmental NGOs, we can find effective solutions to the present environmental crisis.

\textsuperscript{115}\textsuperscript{115} Timothy Doyle and Doug McEachem in Supra No. 13, p.84
\textsuperscript{116}\textsuperscript{116} Ibid. p.84.
\textsuperscript{117}\textsuperscript{117} Ibid. p. 84.
\textsuperscript{118}\textsuperscript{118} Ibid. p.85.
\textsuperscript{119}\textsuperscript{119} Ibid. p.86

72