

# Ecological Nationalism

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**Abstract** The debate over the changes in climate system and greenhouse effect has reached its top during the transition from modern to postmodern age. The authors/ess argued that the ecological problems are more important than the national problems. Therefore the regionalization and formation of Unions formed in order to achieve better quality of life are necessary. Why should we accept the ecological nationalism idea? K. Sivaramakrishnan founded that ecological nationality represents the idea that is hard to be defined and his definition involves personal insight such as intersection of cosmopolitanism and nativism in devotion towards the nature. Barbara Adam, eminent sociologist developed the concept of global time, as time that involves web of people living in contemporary are to which the same ideas, news and inventions are transmitted at the same time. Globally, we can say that global time involves the society of contemporaries who share the same idea of the most important societal changes and inventions. Changes of climate are problems that had raised interest in all fields of human knowledge, biology, physics, sociology, philosophy, law, chemistry, politics etc. Environmentalist nationalism represents superior form of nationalism that is based on bioregionalism and together with an idea of cosmopolitan democracy, offers an alternative perspective for global future societies.

**Keywords:** *ecological nationalism, ecofeminist, transnational, international, cosmopolitan democracy*

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## 1. Introduction

The debate over the changes in climate system and greenhouse effect has reached its top during the transition from modern to postmodern age. The authors/ess argued that the ecological problems are more important than the national problems. Therefore the regionalization and formation of Unions formed in order to achieve better quality of life are necessary. Ecological problems of contemporary age unified all nations and perspectives in need for their best possible solution. Climate changes are one of the most significant problems in global society. Global becomes local, and term glocal(global +local) is much more appropriate in order to avoid xenophobia and to emphasize the meaning of bioregional cooperation. Barbara Adam, eminent sociologist developed the concept of global time, as time that involves web of people living in contemporary are to which the same ideas, news and inventions are transmitted at the same time. Globally, we can say that global time involves the society of contemporaries who share the same idea of the most important societal changes and inventions. Changes of climate are problems that had raised interest in all fields of human knowledge, biology, physics, sociology, philosophy, law, chemistry, politics etc. The destruction of ozone layer influenced the higher rates of CO<sub>2</sub> emission into the air resolution in all sorts of pollution. Even though there are the significant cognitions and resolution on climate changes, the involvement of politics into their implementation represents the obstacle to adequate

solution of problem. The Kyoto and Montreal protocol are the most important legal documents on regulation of climate changes. The global demand for society to change its system of heating until the year 2050, had found significant support in feminist thought, especially multicultural feminism and eco feminism. Cosmopolitan democracy, suggested by Daniel Archibugi is radical idea of ecological nationalism in which the supranational expert team working on the regulation of climate changes represents the paradigm for future society. Multicultural feminism and its representatives such Speavak, Yuval Davis, Narayan, Mohanty, Anzaldua, in idea of transversal politics of identity promote supranational identity over the old concept of nation-states. Therefore, we are about to investigate, in words of contemporary pro feminist English sociologist Giddens, the interpolation of three most important problems ecological problems(climate changes and greenhouse effect), gender(deconstruction of traditional gender system, in eco feminism and multicultural feminism) and order( ecological nationalism, cosmopolitan democracy). Global risks report had shown following future prognosis for the world regarding the risks. All religious perspectives( Christianity, Muslim Sufi thought, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, etc) promote the protection of nature as work of God and therefore the religious leaders should support the idea of regionalisation in order for better life quality to be reached. Humanity is formed only as more complex state of being in universe, that has to respect the all parts of human creation. But how can we avoid rising the antropocentrism that has religious fanaticism for its consequence? This book follows the notion of contemporary problems raised

by philosopher, feminist and ecologist Mallory [10], about nature as place of exclusion rather than inclusion of women, colored people, homosexuals, as well as nonhuman categories of existence, their political status, natural self excluded out of the political domain, towards the constitutions of the contemporary and advanced studies of society that would form the theories on race, queer theories, and postcolonial theories that should and will help ecological project of overcoming the anthropological~ domination over the natural world? "In order to stop the subordination of women, nature and queer persons and for women to become equal participants in future organization of society, we need insights of these disciplines" [10]. Ecological nationalisms: Nature, Livelihoods, and Identities in South Asia, of Contemporary authors such as Gunnel Cederlof<sup>1</sup> and K. Sivaramakrishnan<sup>2</sup> involves interdisciplinary approach with special focus to local context, that is of South Asian society. "Ecological nationalism, in my usage, refers to a condition where both cosmopolitan and nativist versions of nature-devotion converge and express themselves as a form of nation-pride. In what follows I will elucidate how this form of nationalism has coloured the writing of history even as environmental history more generally has challenged other histories in their polemical moments, states K. Sivaramakrishnan" [22]. The main hypothesis of this work is that "Environmentalism nationalism represents superior form of nationalism, because of its luck for tendencies towards the racism, ethnical violence and militarism, it is rather based on bioregionalism" [8]. This approach is supported by the ecofeminist and environmental protectors, and therefore offers better perspective on formation of non-conflict societies and solution of conflicts together with formation of potential for peace and agreements.

#### **Ecological nationalism (ecology, gender, nation) vs. rising religious fanaticism**

Global risks involve different problems from medical problems, ecological issues to religious problems. What are the highest societal risks in 2013? The water supply crisis, unsustainable population growth, food shortage, **RISING RELIGIOUS FANATICISM**, vulnerability to pandemics, rising rates of chronic diseases, migration, ineffective drug policies. Therefore the question of religion, nation and ecology, influence the global risk of raising religious fanaticism, leading to terroristic acts and massive formation of mass destruction weapons in area of geopolitical risks, therefore making the global threat to human survival. The society must discuss and embrace the religious worldview that will regard the similarities and have mutual respect for the differences. The best possible solution are gender egalitarian perspectives, involving ecological and religious consciousness and emphasizing the prevailing care for quality of life on Earth and regions, human survival and making obstacles to global geopolitical, environmental, societal and technological

risks in society. The negative interconnections and dependence in between the parameters of nation, gender, and ecology might be found in the map of risks interconnections. The contemporary social problems could be situated in interpolation of ecology, gender and nation. This perspective was proposed by sociologists Giddens in his book *Sociology*, where he presupposes that most important problems of contemporary age involve question of gender equality and women rights, inadequate theory of social system and no possibility for classification of modern social orders and ecological problems with the prevailing discourse of apolitical scenario for future of human. National politics oppress identities with mass executions and extreme violence. Therefore, the antidiscrimination project and pro-queer alternative approach to reality, demands active struggle against oppression, domination, sexism and it might be the only place of stability in femicide, urbicide, ecocide and queer bushing era. Hitler's nationalistic approach promoted the anti-Semite and anti-homosexual ideas, and extinction of all those who cannot reproduce qualitative biological national material. Nira Yuval Davis [5] as famous REI feminist authors and sociologists, dealing with nationality discourse and striving to find the best possible politics for female identity in post modernity, distinguishes three types of approaches to understanding of nation: „people as power, Malthusian discourse, eugenic discourse“.

#### **Terrorism as one of the emerging geopolitical risks in society**

Geopolitical risks, according to the Global risks report, involve the global governance failure as the highest risk of all in 2012 and 2013 as well. But the failure of diplomatic conflict resolutions, terrorism, critical fragile states, diffusion of mass destruction weapon, nationalization, organized crime, militarization, had shown that Giddens's presupposition (2010) on gender, ruling system and ecology as the main future risks had proved to be right. Therefore the idea of social reflexivity had shown that the global governance failure influenced the diffusion of mass destruction weapons, failure of diplomatic relation, nationalization and militarization, and terrorism. The project of environmental nationalism demands the opposite process, in order to stop racism, sexism, and violence. The religious perspectives therefore must be controlled and involve the plural perspective approaches and perennial wisdoms. Ethic of care as eco feminist intervention in global governance must involve the care for Other (race, class, species), and better relation in neighborhood and in society. Global governance failure together with the failure of climate adaptation constitutes the most important risks of contemporary. These contemporary risks in 2013 have different risks as their consequences such as mass destructive weapons, terrorism and fanaticism. What can religion do regarding the global risks in society and the process of reconciliation? What are the roles of religions in contemporary society regarding the post transitional justice? People as power are discourse that proposes reproduction because of the necessity for national reproduction and stability in certain area. Therefore, the women are glorified as mothers, who gave birth to sons and therefore „reproduce the nation“. Eugenic discourse proposes the idea of quality of national reproduction. Negative example of this is Hitler's ideology,

<sup>1</sup> is associate professor of history, Uppsala University, Sweden.

<sup>2</sup> is professor of anthropology and international studies and director of the South Asia Center, Jackson School of International Studies, at the University of Washington. Book includes the contributions by Nina Bhatt, Vinita Damodaran, Claude A. Garcia, Urs Geiser, Götz Hoeppe, Bengt G. Karlsson, Antje Linkenbach, Wolfgang Mey, Kathleen D. Morrison, J. P. Pascal, and Sarah Southwold-Llewellyn.

the payment for abortion and forced sterilization of black in America, as well as payment in Japan for reproduction of educated and those regarded as superior. Yuval Davis [5], shows the example of Singapore in order to explain the eugenic approach: "Population politics, specially expresses the premier Lee Kuan Yew, in words that it is patriotic duty of high educated women to give birth to child that will be genetically superior, while poor uneducated mother were given 10 000 USD to consent to sterilization in place of giving birth to their genetically inferior children". Malthusian discourse, in ecological sense and specially in order to stop poverty as well as its feminization, deals with problem of overpopulation, already envisioned in Paul Ehrlich's work *Population bomb*. It is necessary to control the reproduction and growth of population because of lack of food supplies and resources on Earth. Therefore, this significant intersection opens different perspectives in need to overcome the global ecological problems of contemporary era. Nira Yuval Davis proposed the idea of transversal feministic politics. Transversal feminist politics was expression, that Nira Yuval Davis was firstly introduced in year 1993, when Bologna feminist call her on meeting between Palestinian and Jew women. Transversal politic is deconstruction of binaries of "universality and relativity in modern and postmodern period" [5]. The only way of human rights promotion is gathering of different identities regarding the nation, sexuality and gender. Transition of this position in formation of joint political strategies is proposed by this term. Women against of fundamentalism (WAF) are the way of subversion to traditional approaches to nationality. "Every form of politics and coalition demand the respect for personal standpoint, but with the respect and empathy for others" [5]. Transversal politics offers the idea of joint strategy and support in "constant

struggle towards less sexist, less racist and therefore more democratic society, actions in political, economic, and ecological contexts of our constantly changeable life" [5]. Ecological nationalism as project rejects the racial, ethnic and sexual discrimination and promotes the idea of supranational identities formed on bases of need for better quality of life in certain areas. The concept of nation-states should be matter of past, because the areas should be divided by eco borders in order to form team of experts with common goal of formation of better life style as well as the overcoming the ecopathopsychology of postmodern time. "Environmentalism nationalism as superior form of nationalism, because of its luck for tendentious towards the racism, ethnical violence and militarism but it is rather based on bioregionalism" [8]. The world politics and organization should move towards the cosmopolitan democracy based on the ecological borders of joint vision for better life on planet. Globalization as process demands transition to different formation of world politics and organization of society. Sociologist Barbara Adam proposes the idea of global time, based on informatics dominion and transition of idea to globally connected web of contemporary who share the same reality and ideas, and therefore form social communities. Bioregional communication demands ethic of care as feminist ethics in place of traditional logic of dominance, and in the concept of global time influences formation of glocal as synthesis of global and local. Therefore it is possible to stop xenophobia making the societies open to global perspective because local became global, and therefore *glocal*. Overexploitation of species as one of the negative consequences of anthropocentrism, represent one of the key issues and problems raised by the ecological nationalism because ecological nationalism refuses sexism, racism, and specism.



Photo 1. Cyborg, alien, Gea/Mother Earth, cloning, xeno engineer, transpecies [23]

The technological advancements had influenced changes that opposed to any kind of traditionalism and patriarchal in religion, culture and society. Women as spiritual leaders, women conducting the religious ceremonies and egalitarian religious approaches are the only Possible approaches for global future that were stop the religious fanaticism and terrorism. Creating the opportunity for all, avoiding the exclusion of others, the multicultural citizenship and transnational identities make possible the understanding of different perspective without getting into conflicts. The democratization of religious services that should involve the gender equality, and oppose to patriarchal reason would form the good foundation for contemporary society and stop the fanaticism. The possible apocalyptic scenario for world globally and consciousness about it can move the society into striving for better quality of life for all Global risks report [21]. Globally known ecological problem of acid rain, global warming, light contamination, radioactive light, conservation of waste, nuclear armament, biotechnological waste, genetically modified organisms, are problems that all human beings populating the Earth face daily. In that sense already mentioned syntagma Barbara Adam writes on global dimension of time, were it is designated that World Organization with goal of establishing the global cooperation and global overcoming the world crisis “World Bank (WB), World Commission on development and environment, Conventions for nuclear disarmament, and Organization for countries exporter of Petroleum (countries exporters of petroleum, OPEC)” [2] work on systematic global solution of whole world environmental protection, which could be made possible ethic of care. Ethic of care is concept formed by feminist in order to show different perspective and to

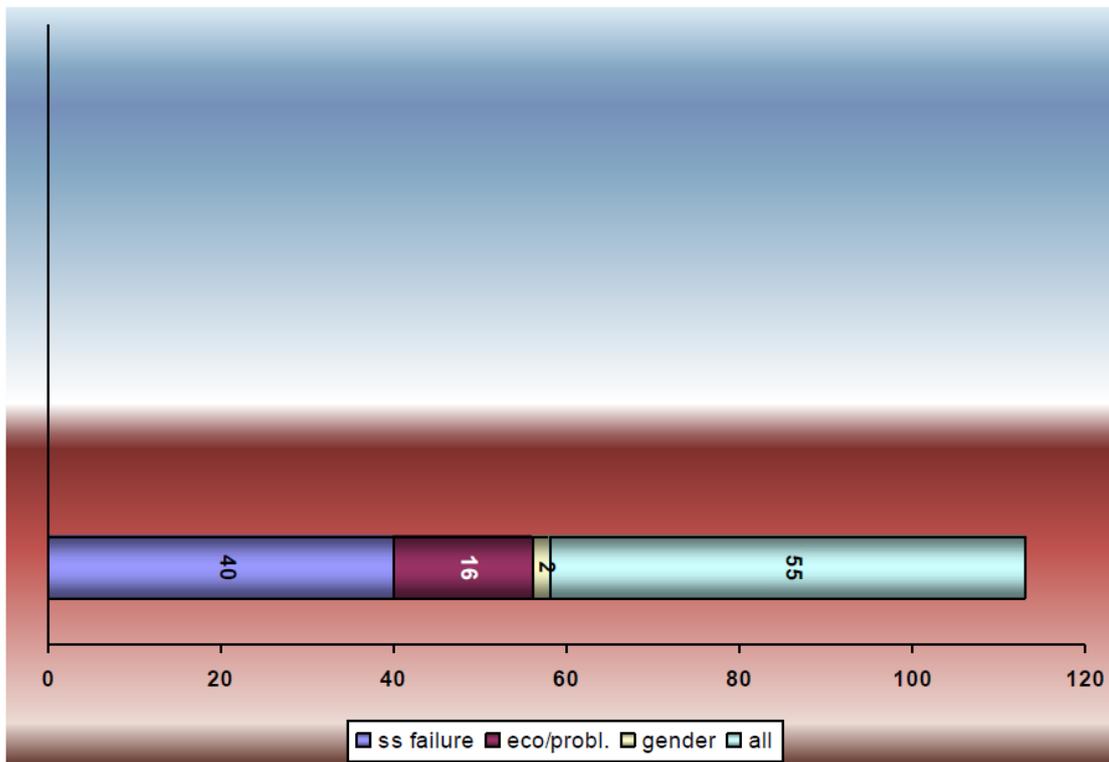
criticize white male capitalistic colonial culture as oppressive and problematic. Sociologist Daniel Archibugi proposes the concept of cosmopolitan democracy. Archibugi [9] questions „Can the power that west wields today be used to involve and include rather than to dominate and subjugate? Is it possible to enlarge the number subjects among whom to distribute the benefits? Cosmopolitan democracy has the objectives of representing an intellectual contribution to the attainment of these objectives“. The example of this is the international unions and societies, membership in UN, formation of European Union. “World political life is beginning to assign to nongovernmental organizations, multinational corporations, cultural associations, and transnational pressure groups” [9]. Archibugi argues that cosmopolitan democracy stops the discrimination of indigenous people, strangers, emigrants, stopping the negative side of democracy, ethnocracy noticeable in “need to homogenize those who are different by means of assimilation, expulsion, or even elimination” [9]. The similar is with the negative or opposite side of cosmopolitanism, or fundamentalism based on lack of tolerance towards differences. “The EU is shown that it is possible to accompany citizenship existing inside the states in some form of transnational citizenship” [9].

**What is the ecological nationalism as an idea?**

In order to analyze the importance of defining the term and idea of ecological nationalism, during 2013/2014, following investigation was conducted.

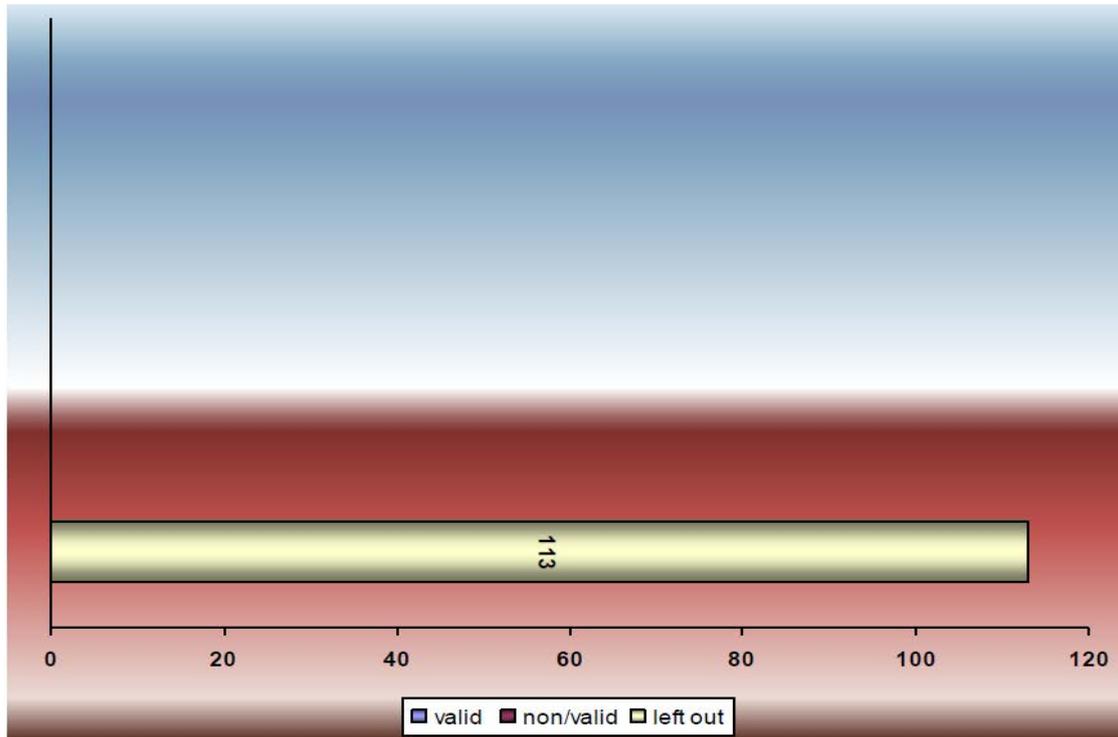
This survey was conducted in group of 113 students of BA and Master level at two Departments (Sociology and Social Work), at Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo.

1. What risks do present highest treat of all?



The highest risks of all, represents the combination of the social system failure, gender problems and ecological disasters. Social system is the prevailing factor of contemporary life risks, than eco problems and disasters, and only two of the examinees think that the highest risks represent the gender problems. Therefore there is strong feeling that risks are developing in Bosnian and Herzegovinian society, in their multiple forms and dimensions.

## 2. Can You define an idea of environmental/ecological nationalism?



Not a one student was able to define environmental nationalism idea. Therefore the environmental nationalism as the subject matter of these investigations proved to be the justified object.

## 2. Discussion: Climate Changes and Religions

It is well established fact that all religious tradition support the appreciation for the environment, protection of all species and kinds, respect for the biodiversity of earth, as well as the admiration for the creation of God. Even in polytheistic religion the admiration to natural resources is present especially well expressed in Japan haiku poetry, in verse about the beauty of cosmological order and nature that transcends even single life of human being. Earth and creation of humans out of different soils, planets and cosmological order of universe in Islam and Christianity represent the proof of Good existence and priority to human as well as the natural catastrophes such as tornados, tsunamis, and different exodus and genocides. The most important global treat of contemporary represents climate changes. Climate changes are result of inadequate use of fossil fuel and sources of energy, which resulted in global warming, iceberg calving, desertification of Earth surfaces, floods, and disappearance of plant-covering that would protect ground from flood, drought, and spreading of diseases. This caused the temperature growth for even 0, 5 percent in short period of time. The most important documents on climate changes are Montreal protocol and Kyoto protocol. These two protocols haven't yet been ratified in some countries because of political reasons, geopolitical strategies and need for monopoly over the certain resources such as petroleum. Wien declaration (1985), Montreal protocol (1987), UN Convention on climate changes (1992), Kyoto protocol (1997). Critical system failure results in cyber attacks, massive incident of data fraud/ theft, massive digital misinformation, terrorism,

rising religious fanaticism, failure of diplomatic conflict resolutions. These are called the *Digital wildfires of the modern world* according to Global risks report [21]. It is important to notice that the advance of technology also influences the traditional social movements, such as religious movements. The repatriarchalization and retraditionalization occurs because the traditional mechanism of religious or religious fanaticism violence use the advanced technology for the negative causes, therefore becoming even stronger than before making the global treat for survival of human.

There are interconnections according to Global risks report recently, from 2013 that are shown in Figure 1.

Global risks report [21] had shown the connections in between the several social phenomena that also had formed basis for construction of fundamental problems in 2013. This statistics had shown that there are higher rates of religious fanaticism in the contemporary world that produce terrorism. These risks are higher than other risks and represent the highest threat to the society.

### Important questions raised: How to stop terrorism?

In order for us to investigate the formation of adequate strategies that can stop the terrorism and its further development, we have to engage in the act of analyses the figures, introduced by the Global risks report from 2013. This report has been written by the World Economic Forum that gathered Faculty members of Oxford, Singapore, Wharton Risk Centre (Pennsylvania State University) as well as the Companies Marsh and MacLennan and Swish and Zurich Reinsurance and Insurance Group. Critical system failure influenced terrorism, rising religious fanaticism, failure of diplomatic conflict resolution, massive incidents of data theft, but even more to cyber attacks and massive digital misinformation.

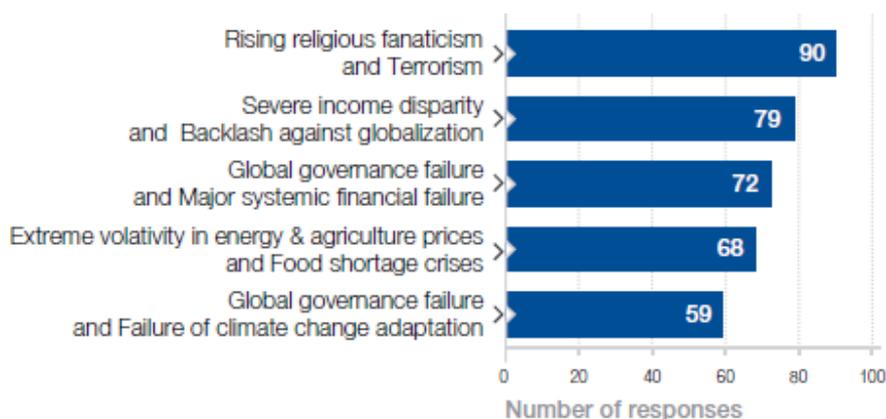


Figure 1. The top five most selected connections [21]

### Research results: Terms that are related to environmental nationalism idea

“Environmental nationalism represents superior form of nationalism, because of its luck for tendencies towards the racism, ethnical violence and militarism; it is rather based on bioregionalism” [8]. Why should we accept the ecological nationalism idea? “Beck, Addam: The advancement of advance = the advancement of risks” [1]: “Advocate for stronger participation of women in climate change institutions and processes: In addition to pushing for stronger political commitment to the principles of gender equality, it is essential to advocate for greater presence of women at the negotiating tables, whether at international meetings such as the COPs or at national and regional dialogues on climate change. Conduct institutional gender audits to identify gender-blind structures and processes: Social and gender audits help to assess levels of gender blindness in climate change institutions and architecture. Conduct gender-responsive budgeting to ensure that planning, programming and budgeting contribute to the realisation of gender equality and women’s rights. “Ensure all policies are grounded in human rights principles: Human rights, including women’s rights, can inform both our understanding and our responses to climate change. The current international framework for addressing climate change would be enhanced and strengthened by drawing on existing human rights instruments such as CEDAW and the international human rights conventions to integrate stronger principles for empowering women and promoting gender equality” Skinner [17]. “Learn from people-focused, gender-aware approaches at the local level and apply these lessons to national and international policy. Link mitigation and adaptation approaches: More synchronised policies around mitigation and adaptation are needed that reflect the needs of poor women and men in the South for energy sources and for adaptive capacity to climate change. Promote alternatives to market-based responses: If market-based approaches are used to address climate change mitigation, measures are needed to ensure they do not exclude or further disadvantage women, and that women and men benefit equally from them Skinner [17]. “Move beyond generalisations that place women and men in two polarised groups. These stereotypes are not helpful in understanding complex realities where both women and men are both vulnerable to the effects of climate change and – in many cases – also actors in managing its responses.

### 3. Conclusion

While it is true that climate change has increased many women vulnerability and deepened their existing levels of poverty in many cases, it is important to see this in social terms – caused by the intersection of social, economic and political processes which prevent women from exercising their full rights – rather than as an inherent element of being female. A social vulnerability approach can be useful for contextualising the issues in this way. Therefore, there is strong intersection in between gender, nation and ecology. “Global governance, gender, and ecology as presupposed field of future problems” by sociologist Giddens. Environmental nationalism, cosmopolitan idea of nationalism, transnationalism represent the best possible problems for this problematic intersection. Why should we embrace the environmental nationalism idea? Ecological nationalism as project rejects the racial, ethnic and sexual discrimination and promotes the idea of supranational identities formed on bases of need for better quality of life in certain areas. The concept of nation-states should be matter of past, because the areas should be divided by eco borders in order to form team of experts with common goal of formation of better life style as well as the overcoming the eco pathopsychology of postmodern time. Deconstruction of binary opposites and dichotomies by the means of Environmental Nationalism. Gender dichotomies deconstruction involves the traditional gender dichotomies or question of natural/non-natural “involves exclusion of homosexuals, women, colored people, and non-human categories of existence” [10]. Sandilands demands formation of eco polisphere, and Ariel Salleh ecologically literate sociology. Environmental Nationalism diminishes gender, racial, and hatred between species. Transgenderism involves all kinds of perspectives that include transcending the traditional gender division or already mention gender binaries, female/male into postmodern status of feminine masculinity or masculine femininity.

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