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The Proposed Chentikheda Dam: Policy Control, Social Justice, and the Adivasi Experience of Pre-Displacement

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The Proposed Chentikheda Dam:

Policy Control, Social Justice, and the *Adivasi* Experience of Pre-Displacement

by

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ABSTRACT

In the 20th century, development encapsulated power through industrialization projects, such as dams; this was especially true in India. India is still the largest country proponent of dam building, displacing millions of *Adivasis*, India's indigenous, causing an increase in poverty and a decrease in livelihood; this is well documented within a post-displacement context. However, more pre-displacement research is required in India. This ethnographic study took place in India at the location of a proposed dam. Policy control, social justice, and the *Adivasi* experience of pre-displacement were examined. Locals are learning about displacement through a confusing and emotive experience due to a lack of policy control, yet show a low level of activism due to government power, *Adivasi* biases, and complacency. Additionally, locals are willing to accept the dam through a local understanding of social justice. It is suggested that pre-displacement research can inform civil society, providing evidence for advocating intermediaries.

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*I dedicate this work to my Mom,
Who I miss everyday,
And to the millions of Adivasis in India who have been displaced.*

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

DC - District Collector

DID - Developed-Induced Displacement

DFDR - Development Forced Displacement and Resettlement

DPR - Detailed Project Report

IDP(s) - Involuntary Displaced Person(s)

IRR - Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction

Kuno - Kuno Wildlife Sanctuary

LAA - Land Acquisition Act

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

NPRR - National Policy of Resettlement and Rehabilitation

PAP(s) - Project Affected People(s)

SDM - Sub-Divisional Magistrate

SIA - Social Impact Assessment

UN - United Nations

WCD - World Commission on Dams

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The objective in Chapter one is to introduce the research rationale, including my thesis question, which focuses on local experiences of pre-displacement, as well as supplementary questions that look at policy control, and social justice. The research rationale discusses dam building in India, which has caused the socially unjust displacement of millions of India's indigenous; this is well documented within a post-displacement context. However, there is not enough research done prior to displacement within an Indian context. It is suggested that pre-displacement research could highlight poor planning as it occurs, inform civil society for improved advocacy, and highlight the need for local research in development planning. This case study primarily took place at the location of a proposed dam in rural central India.

1.1 Research Rationale

India is the 7th largest country in the world with a population of 1.2 billion people, the 2nd largest population after China. With such a large population comes a plethora of contradictions, among them poverty and wealth. Since independence from the British in 1947, the government of India has focused on economic development and growth through industrialization and infrastructure projects to alleviate poverty. However, such development models have largely helped only India's elite to prosper while half the population remains in poverty, thus creating an enormous poverty gap between the rich and poor. Within India's development models and growth plans, dams are the most

popular of projects, as well as the most controversial, causing human rights violations and social injustices for *Adivasis* and Scheduled Tribes, India's Indigenous.

Social injustices occur primarily through Development-Induced Displacement (DID), whereby dams or other development projects cause locals to lose and/or be forced to leave their home, land, and/or community. Estimates suggest dams have displaced 16-55 million *Adivasis* alone and 40-80 million people worldwide since 1950 (Kedia, 2009; Leslie, 2005; Vora, 2009). *Adivasis* have been displaced from fertile homeland that has sustained their self-sufficient livelihood and culture for multiple generations. The lack of concrete statistics or additional data on the number of people displaced in India gives an insight into the poor planning and implementation that comes with dam displacement.

Dam building in India has caused injustices, such as homelessness, landlessness, increased marginalization, and loss of livelihood. Vora (2009: 10) explains: "The dam building bureaucracies believed that the displaced people should be ready to sacrifice their lands and homes for the sake of the country's overall progress". *Adivasis* are expected to sacrifice in the name of bettering the lives of others. As a result, most, if not all, of India's dams have been built with little attention to both, displacement planning, and testing for less damaging or alternative measures (Leslie, 2005). Post-dam displacement has been well documented as increasing poverty and decreasing livelihood in India, but my research focus is on pre-dam or pre-displacement, before the dam is built and displacement occurs. This is important because pre-displacement research could bring light to displacement planning as it is happening, such as being devoid of rights, in hopes of improving post-displacement conditions. Such a focus is relevant to social justice, which is concerned with what is just for the social whole, rather than what is just

for the individual (Capeheart & Milovanovic, 2007). In order to have a socially just dam project that is focused on the country's overall progress, *Adivasi* rights must be implemented into development planning.

If displacement is not sustainable nor socially just, then what is occurring before displacement to cause this, and can we learn from doing research during the dam proposal stage before the dam is built? To determine how to improve displacement planning, my research question asks: **what is the local experience of pre-displacement?** In order to assess this experience I ask: how do locals feel about their impending displacement? how do they learn about it? and how do they feel about that learning process? In addition, to address this research question and the levels of experience I also ask the following supplementary questions: **What is the level of policy control? and are there any implications of social justice?** Studying aspects of social justice and policy control can determine firstly, if pre-displacement is benefiting those impacted and secondly, if the laws created to improve displacement planning are being used.

Post-displacement is not documented as being a fair or just experience, but what about pre-displacement? Is it any better? The goal of this research is to establish needed improvements during the pre-displacement stage that can ensure displacement does not increase poverty and decrease *Adivasi* livelihood. I suggest that temporally specific research conducted prior to displacement could inform and better equip civil society. Temporal research could provide leverage to agencies that advocate for and mediate between *Adivasis* or other marginalized populations, and officials in order to improve development and displacement planning.

Anti-dam activists say the choice alone to build a dam, regardless of the outcome, is a socially unjust act; therefore, any research around making displacement socially just is moot (Baviskar, 1995). Nonetheless, it is important to empirically highlight injustices, as well as what is needed to stop them. If a dam is going to be built, there must be socially just planning and implementation to allow the dam to benefit all involved. Not just a select group should benefit, nor should a select group, such as *Adivasis*, suffer (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). Examples of injustices in dam building in India are numerous (Leslie, 2005; Thukral, 1992). There is much research in India covering the injustices of relocation, however, most is done after the dam is built and displacement has occurred. Pre-displacement research conducted in India has focused on anti-dam movements and livelihood changes that occur with displacement, rather than the pre-displacement experience (as it is happening) in order to advocate for displacement planning for that particular project (Baviskar, 1995; Leslie, 2005). In the case of the Chentikheda Dam, pre-displacement research is found to be integral because there is not an anti-dam movement, but rather an understanding of the need for the dam with some well argued demands ensuring the benefits of the dam and displacement planning are socially just, benefiting all.

If civil society has access to such temporal research, it could persuade officials to allow locals and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) to participate in development and displacement planning. The practicality of such temporal research may not be feasible for all such projects within all sectors of civil society. Nevertheless, suggesting such research focuses on the overall importance of building studies of local experience into development planning and decision-making processes.

Field research was conducted at the site of the proposed Chentikheda Dam in the central state of Madhya Pradesh, one of the poorest states in India. The site consisted of villages along the Kwari River, where the dam will be constructed, which runs along the northern part of the state. The dam is expected to completely submerge approximately eight villages and partially submerge a few more by 2014. Villagers only learned of the proposed dam when they saw surveyors working in the area in 2011; they had not been approached or formally informed by government officials as required by law in India. Insufficient information given to locals could lead to socially unjust displacement due to government officials not seeking local participation; this has been a leading factor in poor relocation planning in other displacement cases (Leslie, 2005; Vora, 2009). I focus the majority of my research on Chentikheda for several reasons: it is the namesake of the dam, it is the oldest village in the area, it has the largest *Adivasi* population in the area of the proposed dam, and it is central to the dam submergence area.

My case study consists of ethnographic research in *Adivasi* villages through participant-observation, community gatherings, and semi-structured and unstructured interviews. In 2011, I lived in Agra for two months at the office of a local NGO, Samrakshan that was instrumental in supporting *Adivasi* needs during displacement from the Kuno Sanctuary created for Asiatic Tigers that ironically were never delivered. Samrakshan staff acted as advocates between displaced persons and government officials, intermediating demands from locals that improved the resettlement package. Agra is located about 1.5 km from Chentikheda, just across the Kwari River and the central submergence area. Not having any means, due to language constraints and a shortage of

contacts, to arrange a stay in Chentikheda, where the majority of my research took place, Agra made for an excellent central location.

1.3 Summary

Development projects, such as dams, have caused the displacement of millions of indigenous peoples in India, further causing an increase in poverty and a decrease in livelihood; this has been well documented within a post-dam context, after displacement has occurred. Within the pre-dam, pre-displacement context, not enough research has been done in India. The central question of this thesis concerns the local experience of pre-displacement. The levels of policy control, as well as the implications of social justice, are also questioned. My research is within a pre-displacement context, during the proposal stage of the Chentikheda Dam in Central Madhya Pradesh, India.

In order to introduce this case study, in chapter two, I provide a historical background of dams in general and in India. Dams have been part of India's strive towards modernization since independence and a clear history of displacement showcases this. Chapter three, the literature review, introduces development and displacement scholars, such as Penz, Drydyk and Bose (2011) who discuss the need for participatory action and multiple-approach planning. Post-dam case studies are introduced to show the relationship between displacement and social justice. I also suggest that there is a deficiency in pre-displacement research and literature within the Indian context. This temporal element can inform civil society, advocating for improved displacement planning. Pre-displacement research can also suggest the need for local studies in development planning and decision-making processes. Chapter four introduces my

chosen methodology, holistic ethnography, and data-gathering methods. Data analysis, such as thematic analysis and multiple coding, findings, and analysis and discussion take up Chapter five. Findings are thematically organized and analysis and discussion is organized within my primary and supplementary thesis questions. Finally, in Chapter six, I provide a summary, recommendations, as well as ideas for future research in India, such as longer-term pre-displacement research that incorporates informing civil society as part of the overall study.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF DAMS AND DISPLACEMENT

In order to fully analyze dam displacement before it occurs, it is important to provide a historical context of dams, including how they became such a popular development option in India. Below, the history of dams is discussed in general to understand how they became symbols of power in the Third World, as well as the history of dam building in India. The governmental environment of modernization and economic growth plans allowed dam building to prosper despite large anti-dam movements that discouraged dam building in the rest of the world. Lastly, displacement in India is discussed through the introduction of several case studies that highlight social injustices that have caused an increase in poverty and a decrease in livelihood.

2.1 History of Dams

The recorded history of dams seems to date as far back as the 1700s, and by the beginning of the 20th century, nearly 600 dams existed, primarily in Africa and Asia (Khagram, 2004; Thukral, 1992). There was a huge spike in dam building between the 1930s and 1950s. Subsequently, a progressive decline occurred in the 1980s and 1990s as anti-dam movements against social injustices created pressure to stop building dams (Khagram, 2004). The acceleration of dam building really began in 1935 when the Hoover Dam was built. The U.S. Government and Reclamation Bureau that commissioned the dam immortalized dams as a symbol of power. At the ribbon-cutting ceremony, it was proclaimed that, “pridefully, man acclaims his conquest of nature” (Khagram, 2004: 5; Leslie, 2005: 4). One activist quoted by Leslie (2005: 3) points out

that if the Hoover Dam were removed, “you return the silt...to a free-flowing river, allowing it again to enrich the downstream wetlands and the once fantastically abundant, now...refuse-fouled delta.” The environmental havoc that was created by the Hoover was also replicated globally, especially in India.

Dams are built for a variety of reasons, such as drinking water, irrigation, hydroelectricity, and flood control. Dam building is also a multi-million dollar industry and a profitable business (Khagram, 2004). Dams became symbols of development and hence of growth and they “gave a sense of achievement to the technocrats, bureaucrats and the political elite” (Vora, 2009: 10). Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the World Bank was spending anywhere from US\$4 billion to US\$12 billion per five-year plan on dam projects alone, mostly in the developing world (Khagram, 2005: 199). World Bank dam projects have over-promised, under-delivered and were usually over budget, leaving even less money for Project-Affected Persons (PAPs) who would be displaced. Proposed growth, according to the World Commission on Dams (WCD), on every dam built in India, has also been over-promised and under-delivered (Leslie, 2005: 44). By the mid-1990s, almost 45,000 dams had been built worldwide with about 10 percent alone in India (Khagram, 2004; Leslie, 2005). While dam projects were declining in developed countries, they were increasing in India. In the 1980s, India already had 1,500 dams, but today it has more than 4,500; in 2009, 40 percent of all global dam construction was in India (Vora, 2009: 9).

2.2 Dams in India

The introduction of dam building in India directly correlated to an economic development model (Vora, 2009). The continued increase in dam building in India occurred as the government strove for power and development models that focus on Americanization and Western ideals of Third World catch-up (Khagram, 2004). This is well explained by Khagram (2004: 4):

These changing transnational dynamics surrounding big dams further highlight...competing visions and models of development. A range of powerful, transnational allied groups and organizations have historically promoted the construction of these projects...these big dam proponents generated an informal international 'big dam' regime by the 1950's, legitimating and naturalizing the construction of these projects around the world. A central underlying aspect of this regime were the deeply rooted norms and principles, which taken together promoted a vision of development that remained hegemonic for the subsequent half-century. This vision equated development as a large-scale, top-down, and technocratic pursuit of economic growth through the intensive exploitation of natural resources.

As an example, "two-thirds of the big dams built in the 1980s and three-quarters under construction during the 1990s were in the Third World" (Khagram, 2004: 10).

Modernization and economic development models initiated dams into the realm of development not only in Western and developed economies, but the developing, and especially Indian, economies.

Such models were used and taken up by India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, who initiated dam building after independence in 1947 by including such projects as the infamous Sardar Sarovar Dam into governmental five-year plans. It is easy to see Nehru striving towards a Western development model in his address at the opening of the 1956 session of the *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East* in Bangalore, India just as dam building was on the rise. He stated: "We are not going to spend the next

hundred years in arriving gradually, step by step, at that stage of development which the developed countries have reached today. Our pace and tempo of progress has to be much faster” (Fisher, 1995: 364; Lustig & Kingsbury, 2006). With this model, Nehru and his successors are said to have “denied India a share in the prosperity” (Gurcharan, 2006: 8). Nehru saw dams as the new way of worship and was reported to view dams as modern temples of India (Patel, 2009: 27).

Dams, a symbol of power for a new and independent India, were seen as a modern device to harness resources in order to improve the lives of the fastest-growing population in the world; this is still relevant today. Dams gave evidence to the political stature of India that it had arrived as a nation, and that it was truly equal to the West (Patel, 2009). Some in India intrinsically questioned the use of such development models because they “resulted in the increasing impoverishment of large sections of working people...while serving the interest of the ‘dominant class/caste groups’ ” (Menon, 1999: 21). Allowing a certain group, such as the elite, to benefit, while allowing a certain group, such as *Adivasis*, to suffer is a clear violation of social justice. Injustices in dam displacement are causing increased poverty and a diminished livelihood for the less dominant class, rather than benefiting society as a whole.

2.3 Dam Displacement in India

Displacement has caused upwards of 55 million people to lose their homes and land in India (Leslie, 2005). The number of people displaced in developing countries by development projects is higher than the number of people displaced from both natural disaster and war thus far in the world (Jaamdar, 2001: 16). Dams are a non-stoppable

force in India. One of the largest dam projects in India is the Narmada Valley Project that consists of more than 3,000 dams. The largest dam in that project is the infamous Sardar Sarovar dam built between 1979 and 2006. It received extensive media coverage due to a large anti-dam movement created by *Adivasis* who would be displaced and prominent Indian activists, such as Mehta Patkar who, in 1989 founded the “Save the Narmada Movement: The Andolan” (Leslie, 2005: 24) and Arundhati Roy, an award-winning novelist. The movement was so strong and compelling that the World Bank pulled its funding from the project in 1993, a first for the bank (Leslie, 2005). Despite this, after the funding was pulled and numerous court dates halted construction at times, the Indian government went ahead and successfully implemented the project through corporate and governmental funding, showcasing that dam projects have more power than social justice in India.

There were numerous social justice issues in the 1980s with the Sardar Sarovar Dam relocation plan in Gujarat (west of Madhya Pradesh), the Tawa Dam¹ in the 1960s and 1970s in central Madhya Pradesh, and the Kuno Sanctuary, a forest reserve, in 1997 in northern Madhya Pradesh. Three problems in particular had a large impact on increasing poverty and decreasing livelihood for these communities. Firstly, village residents were not relocated together into properly planned resettlement areas, which

¹ In 2010, a team of researchers travelled to the area of the Tawa Dam, conducting interviews and community gatherings in villages that had been displaced due to the dam. The team was organized and led by Dr. Kumar Sanjay Singh from the University of Delhi, Dr. Margaret Walton-Roberts from Wilfred Laurier University in Canada and Mr. Simon Chilvers from Macquarie University in Australia, as well as additional scholars. The team also consisted of several students from Canada, Australia and the UK, including myself and Ian Coe. Coe was the primary interviewer, with Dr. Singh translating. Coe audiotaped his interviews and thus owns the rights. I received approval from Coe in 2011 to use his data in this thesis and cite him appropriately. The tapes were copied into CD format and sent to me here in Canada. Coe resides in London, England. Research shared in this thesis about the Tawa Dam either consists of information from Coe’s data and is cited as such, or is taken from my personal field notes during our site visit. The Tawa Dam is briefly discussed here, and in-depth in Chapter three.

broke apart communities (Armstrong, 2002). Villages, when situated as a community, are able to work as a unit in order to support each other with labour, childcare, and financial loans (Coe, 2010). If relocated to an existing community, residents of the receiving community will not know them and may not trust them enough to provide a loan, for example (Kabra, 2010). Families have also been geographically separated due to being sent to different relocations sites (Coe, 2010). Secondly, when land was provided, the soil quality was very poor, and lacked irrigation, leading to non-arable land that could not be used for agriculture (Armstrong, 2002; Coe, 2010; Kabra, 2010). *Adivasis* primarily live off the land, which provides food for human and animal sustenance, as well as to sell for income. Without good quality land, a family is not able to feed nor support themselves, cycling further into poverty and eventually landing “into the vast ranks of the urban unemployed” (Leslie, 2005: 34). Thirdly, the location of the relocation sites had a negative impact because they were situated away from forest and natural resources, such as plants and trees that are used to provide food, medicine, nutrients, and an income (Coe, 2010; Kabra, 2010).

These three impacts – loss of community, poor quality land, and location – resulted in increased poverty and a decrease in livelihood for those displaced because of the Sardar Sarovar Dam, the Tawa Dam, and the Kuno Sanctuary (Armstrong, 2002; Coe, 2010; Kabra, 2011a). These sites struggled for a decade and more after displacement and are still struggling today (Coe, 2010; Kabra, 2010). In 2010, the National Committee on the Forest Rights Act in Madhya Pradesh “found that rights of persons affected by dam-related displacement, e.g. Sardar Sarovar, Tawa dam...etc were not addressed” (Chakma, 2010: 41). In addition, poor implementation of displacement schemes and the

loss of land caused about 72 percent of tribal children in Madhya Pradesh to suffer from malnutrition (Chakma, 2010). Even in cases where participation was actively enlisted into displacement planning and locals were able to make objection claims, such as Chief Minister Chouhan did with *Vanvasi Samman Yatra* in the *Adivasi* districts of Madhya Pradesh, “71 percent of the total claims were rejected by the State Committee” (Chakma, 2010: 42). Poorly planned displacement is a common theme and has created unjust living for *Adivasi* populations as is seen in the history of dam building and displacement in India.

2.4 Summary

Dams were globally constructed in large numbers during the 1950s and 1960s. Throughout this time, modernization and economic development models were being used in developed countries in order to affect power through industrialization, such as the building of dams. The drive towards power was also taken up by developing countries, such as India, whose first Prime Minister began introducing dams into governmental five-year plans. Dams historically began to and still cause environmental harms and social injustices through the displacement of millions of people. In India, this has decreased livelihood and increased impoverishment of *Adivasi* populations. Two dams in particular, Sardar Sarovar, and Tawa, and a forest reserve, Kuno, were introduced; all within the same or neighboring state as that of the current case study, the Chentikheda Dam. Dam displacement injustices are well documented within a post-displacement context.

In order to further understand dams, displacement and *Adivasi* populations in India, the next chapter introduces literature that is available in Canada, on the World

Wide Web, and solely in India. The literature review introduces and defines development within the context of dams and displacement. It also defines social justice, connecting it to displacement through the above three case studies. Finally, the literature review focuses on post-displacement and pre-displacement literature specifically, in order to showcase the context of this study.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review was drawn from sources accessible electronically and in hard copy in Canada, and from materials available only in India. This provided a mix of mainstream and independent scholars, researchers, activists, and publications. The relevant literature is vast and global in reach because dams are a worldwide problem, but the focus in this thesis is on literature primarily written within the context of India. In India, literature was gathered from various organizations in and around Delhi, such as the Nehru Memorial and Library, and Ambedkar University, as well as from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and peoples working with displaced populations in Madhya Pradesh, including in and around the proposed Chentikheda dam.

The literature is thematized into four categories: first, development and displacement terms that relate to the study at hand, how they are defined, and how pre-displacement research can help inform civil society; second, a wider approach to and definitions of social justice and how social justice directly relates to displacement as explained through case studies; third, post-displacement literature, that is, research that took place after displacement, which forms the bulk of displacement research in India; and fourth, pre-displacement literature, or research that took place prior to displacement occurring – this last theme suggests a research gap within the context of India.

There is a vast amount of displacement research highlighting relocation injustices, of which the majority is conducted after Project Affected Peoples (PAPs) have relocated. In the past, research conducted before displacement focused on anti-dam movements. In current pre- and post-displacement literature, the focus is also commonly on how

displacement affects PAPs in relocated sites. There is insufficient research in India, firstly, at proposed dam sites, and secondly, that directly approaches those who will be displaced to understand how PAPs are learning about dams and displacement. We know that displacement planning must be changed, but how and at what level? I suggest that proactive research prior to displacement can inform civil society causing change that is needed before it becomes a reactive environment, post-displacement. Many if not most post-displacement cases in India, including the three in this thesis (Sardar Sarovar, Tawa and Kuno) provide evidence that displacement can take between a few years and decades to occur. This leaves time for intermediation and advocacy prior to displacement occurring. In cases where temporal research is not feasible, it is still suggested that it should be implemented into overall development planning and decision-making processes.

3.1 Displacement and Development

For the purposes of the current study, a development project equates to the building of a dam, or a dam project. The term development is widely contested and debated; development is never a static term. One definition is “enhanced production or distribution of perceived public or private goods” (Penz, Drydyk & Bose, 2011: 57). Development defined as equitable distribution as opposed to development based on cost-benefit analysis allows for socially just development (Penz, et al., 2011; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). Development based solely on cost-benefit analysis creates unjust outcomes, such as poorly planned displacement.

Displacement terminology is also debated. Institutions such as the World Bank and Indian governmental policies such as the National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation 2007 use the term *resettlement* rather than displacement (Lustig & Kingsbury, 2006). However, using the term resettlement instead of internal displacement or displacement, “can easily minimize what displacement actually means” (Lustig & Kingsbury, 2006: 415); therefore, the term displacement is used most often in this thesis. Some researchers have started fusing the two together using Development-Forced Displacement and Resettlement or DFDR (Oliver-Smith, 2009). Terms used to describe peoples affected by displacement, such as “oustees”, are also contested. This thesis follows Oliver-Smith (2009), by using the term Project Affected People (PAPs) because it is inclusive and truthfully non-predictive of the outcomes.

Development-Induced Displacement (DID), or displacement induced *by* development (Penz et al., 2011), is defined as the outcome when a development project occurs in a location with human inhabitants who must leave their home either voluntarily, in return for resettlement or compensation, or involuntarily, such as by force (Penz et al., 2011: 57). Persons affected by DID include “those experiencing displacement due to infrastructure projects...such as mines, dams and roads” (Grabska & Mehta, 2008: 2). In previous cases when resettlement or compensation was offered and displacement labeled voluntary, PAPs felt intimidated by state officials and thus involuntarily forced off their land (Baviskar, 1995; Coe, 2010; Kabra, 2010). Oliver-Smith (2009) explains this phenomenon arises because DFDR pushes people to move rather than pulling or attracting them by better possibilities elsewhere. As such, “DFDR is entirely involuntary, despite the inducements devised to attract people to resettle voluntarily” (Oliver-Smith

2009: 4). In the case of the Kuno Sanctuary, near my study area, Samrakshan, the NGO that hosted my stay in the area, worked as an intermediary between PAPs and officials, and locals felt less intimidated by this. Civil society, such as voluntary and local community organizations, have the capacity, however informal, to be independent from the state and advocate for the public good (Helmich & Lemmers, 1998; Mitlin, 1998). Whether displacement is voluntary or involuntary (or labeled as such), there is the question of who is responsible for displacement planning. Developers, government, or maybe both? Or can civil society provide checks and balances between locals and the private and public sector?

Morvaridi (2008: 59) discusses resettlement and responsibility with respect to development-induced displacement:

In the case of resettlement associated with development projects, such as dams, the private sector tends to regard displacement...as the responsibility of the state...however, an increasing awareness of the need for the private sector to promote corporate social responsibility becomes evident when we look at...private companies' involvement in the project.

The responsibility should lie with the state, but owing to the overarching power that companies have in dam building, they too should be held responsible for the role that they play in displacement planning. Penz et al. (2011), as well as additional scholars, posit the Responsible Approach as key to a development ethics framework that allows development to be socially just, benefiting all while not being reduced to economic growth. The Responsible Approach calls for participatory development, which allows for officials, developers, and planners to be involved in displacement planning, as well as those who will be affected, rather than solely by the state; without participation, “fundamental rights are being violated” (Penz et al., 2011: 15).

Participatory practices can enable poor and marginalized populations to provide insights and local values and priorities (Chambers, 2007). This would entail PAPs to assist in displacement planning during the pre-displacement stage, ensuring that the new location provided equal/similar or improved benefit and sustained livelihoods. Partnership and participatory research and development also empower local populations (Chambers, 2007; Kassam & the Soaring Eagle Friendship Centre, 2001). Local populations are able to realize that they not only have knowledge to share, but can contribute to the overall planning process (Freire, 1993). Baxi (1989: n.p. in Mahapatra, 1999: 197) states that without participation development planners will not consult with PAPs on any matters, including cultural issues and dam displacement. Muggah (2008: 33) refers to displacement planning done by central planners and donors as simply, “social and economic engineering”. Penz et al., (2011) agree that participatory practices in displacement planning are essential to reducing social injustices and inequalities. The common theme is that it is imperative that PAPs are integrated into displacement planning, during the pre-displacement stage. PAPs have knowledge of the area and livelihoods that planners lack, and can advise on alternative methods that may lead to decreased or negated displacement or displacement with improved and socially just planning. Pre-displacement research can provide an avenue for shared knowledge between locals and development planners.

Commonly used in displacement research, Cernea’s (2000) Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model shows how displacement goes hand in hand with physical, social and economic exclusion. Cernea (2000) identifies seven impoverishment risks induced by displacement: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization,

food insecurity, morbidity, and social disarticulation. However, some critique Cernea's model as non-participatory and best suited to planners because it ignores the views of locals and displaced persons (de Wet, 2001; Grabska & Mehta, 2008; Mehta, 2008). Morvaridi (2008) argues that on account of the multiplicity of actors in displacement planning, it is not easy to determine who holds the job of ensuring rights and justice. As described by Morvaridi (2008: 59), a multi-agency approach, including the Responsible Approach, is necessary in development planning; this would include the participation of civil society and allow for temporal research prior to displacement.

Civil society, an ambiguous term, includes voluntary and local community organizations, and cultural and research institutions (Helmich & Lemmers, 1998). It can also be termed the third sector, with government being the first sector and business being the second. However, as Garton (2009) explains, this alludes to being the third choice and undermines the changes civil society has created for the betterment of marginalized populations. Garton (2009), and Cohen and Arato (1995: 3-4 in Helmich & Lemmers, 1998) align civil society with organizations that operate outside the public sector, private market, and the family unit. As discussed above, participation is essential to socially just development, allowing local populations to work in partnership with civil society, researchers, and/or development planners. Helmich and Lemmers (1998) explain that participatory development can only be improved if civil society advocates for much needed changes in economic political systems. As stated in the 1997 Association Committee meeting of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), "civil societies are central to the evolution of participatory and transparent systems of government" (n.p. in Helmich & Lemmers, 1998: 7).

A common theme within the discourse of development is the social cost of displacement, considered by developers to be tolerable and a just sacrifice in order for the elite to benefit (de Wet, 2001; Grabska & Mehta, 2009; Muggah, 2008; Oliver-Smith, 2009; Penz et al., 2011). Scholars and activists heavily documented the social cost and injustices of resettlement in the 1980s, but the influence of this work was meagre (Muggah, 2008). Muggah (2008) adds that central planners and donors consider *Adivasi* ideologies to be backward and thus would not and do not plan for just displacement. Lustig and Kingsbury (2006) label this phenomenon majoritarianism and explain that without safeguards against this phenomenon, such as integrating local participation, rights of the displaced are not guaranteed.

As mentioned above, Development-Induced Displacement can be labeled voluntary or involuntary. Documented cases outline clearly involuntary forced displacement void of any pro-right concentration or local participation. Violence is not uncommon, as this 2006 incident illustrates (Grabska & Mehta 2008: 2):

Twelve *Adivasis* affected by displacement were shot by the police... in Orissa, India. The police, under the auspices of senior district officials, had opened fire on a large group of *Adivasis* resisting displacement and the appropriation of their lands for the construction of a steel plant by the Tata Industries. It was later discovered that the bodies of half the victims had been severely mutilated, including two women and a young boy. Never before had so many protestors been killed at point blank range in one instance. Protests against displacement and land acquisition for so-called Special Economic Zones have been on the rise since then all over India.

In addition, in 2010, 7,000 *Adivasi* men, women and children were forcefully evicted and rendered homeless without any notice as the Forest Department burned down hundreds of homes, several schools and places of worship in 59 villages (Chakma, 2010: 30-31).

Some families attempted to return to their homes, as is seen in other displacement cases,

but a second round of evictions occurred. Officials opened blank fire while tearing down makeshift homes; there was also a horrifying account of an *Adivasi* child being thrown into the fire by a Forest Department Official (Chakma, 2010).

PAPs forced out of their homes in the above 2010 case had been living in the area since 1964 and the permissibility of their displacement was based on the Forest Conservation Act of 1980 (Chakma, 2010). Yet, under the Forest Rights Act of 2006 (note the incident was in 2010), *Adivasis* cannot be evicted from forest areas they have inhabited for a decade and longer (Chakma, 2010). When laws are in place to uphold social justice and human rights allowing *Adivasis* to maintain their livelihood, officials find a loophole or counteracting law. For example, witness this court case involving the implementation of guiding principles on Involuntary Displaced Persons (IDPs):

The Court observed that Article 19(1)(e) of the Constitution of India states that all citizens shall have the right to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India...[however,] Article 21...states that no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty *except according to procedure established by law* (Chakma, 2010: 65, authors italics)

Citizens have the right to live in a location of their choosing in India. Despite this, Article 21 counteracts by stating that any legal procedure shall override life or personal liberty. Due to counteracting laws, social justice scholars are demanding a full change within the Indian Constitution (Chakma, 2010). Such violent instances of involuntary or forced displacement further show that social injustices are evident in the process of displacement and that officials marginalize *Adivasi* populations. Officials have used violence in displacement cases, though resistance and protest against being displaced has primarily been non-violent (Baviskar, 1995; Grabska & Mehta, 2008; Leslie, 2005).

Grabska and Mehta (2008) suggest that in order to provide an environment of social justice within displacement, planning must move beyond accepting social costs; the displaced must not sacrifice for the greater good. Grabska and Mehta (2008: 2) believe that the right to “livelihood, survival, autonomy and even the right to veto either projects that displace people or settlement schemes that inadequately address their rights and interests” should be inherent in any development planning that causes displacement. Lustig and Kingsbury (2006: 412) agree that rights of the displaced should be inherent in development: “a rights-based approach gives greater importance to human dignity, and is better at capturing the more intangible damage done by displacement, such as changes in socio-cultural identity, geographical space, [and] worldviews”. Lustig and Kingsbury (2006) and Grabska and Mehta, (2008) go on to critique risk (versus rights) models of development, such as Cernea’s IRR model and others. Lustig and Kingsbury (2006: 412) explain: “The focus on risks may attenuate the focus on the *rights* of displaced people”. A rights-based or responsibility approach is commonly called for among scholars studying cases of displacement and social justice. The Land Acquisition Amendment Bill, if passed, could bring hope, though, it has been criticized as “a framework in which the response to displacement remains at the discretion of the government, denying PAPs the chance to have their rights enforced” (IDMCR, 2010, n.p.). Additional displacement literature focuses on those displaced from armed conflict and ethnic violence, and largely ignores dam displacement figures (IDMCR, 2010).

Development can be considered solely for economic gain. Development can also be defined as a basis for social change and equality, even if displacement takes place. Displacement in India is currently unjust owing to the view that some of society must and

inherently will sacrifice in order for the betterment of the rest of society. In India, those sacrificing are primarily *Adivasis*, the already most marginalized population in the country (Mehta, 2008). Both sectors need to benefit from any given project in order for development to be socially just. However, de Wet (2001: 4644) questions if “everybody can win when it comes to development projects involving resettlement”. He questions whether socially just development that focuses on the whole rather than the individual is possible.

In social justice, no one “wins”, but everybody benefits in some way. In order for social justice to be claimed in a development project, pre-displacement research is imperative as a prescriptive feature to “winning” (de Wet, 2001). *Adivasis* enabled “to be the agents or subjects of their own development” hinders maldevelopment (Penz et al., 2011: 60). As seen from the varying displaced communities in India documented above, displacing large numbers of people does not ensure successful resettlement practices (de Wet, 2001). Tension between national and local development needs demonstrates a problem with development outcomes (Oliver-Smith, 2009). Engagement with social justice and documented socially unjust case studies showcase this tension and the inherency of insufficient and unsuccessful development and displacement planning.

3.2 Social Justice

Social justice can be defined as what is good, fair, and equal, and offers a human rights lens when approaching a particular topic, such as development (Capeheart & Milovanovic, 2007). Social justice is concerned with society as a whole instead of the individual. As discussed above, a common view in development or displacement is that

Project Affected People (PAPs) are a just sacrifice for the betterment of others. This is not social justice because some benefit and some sacrifice – heavily – as we have learned. In the case of displacement, the important stream of social justice is distributive justice, which focuses on the fair allocation of societies’ rewards and burdens, which means *both Adivasis* and societal elite would prosper from a dam (Capeheart & Milovanovic, 2007; Fraser, 2010; Penz et al., 2011).

Distributive justice, as envisioned by Penz et al. (2011: 59), is “an ethical requirement in responsible development”. Distributive justice advocates for the discussion of actual compensation within displacement, allowing PAPs to participate in the process. PAPs included within displacement planning allows for a pro-rights project where PAPs “are viewed as part of the ‘common good’ and thus development projects that have social justice in mind” (Grabska & Mehta, 2008: 3). Human rights “encompass all sections of society. They include the powerful, the powerless, men, women, ethnic minorities, and indigenous peoples. At the experiential level, however, historical as well as newly created disparities are continually eroding these rights” (Srinivasan, 2001: 4111). Development actors and policy makers who do not follow distributive or socially just models will increase the erosion of rights, thus justifying the need for a responsible and/or a multi-agency approach.

There is some evidence that the Supreme Court of India believes displaced peoples should be treated within a rights-based and socially just approach. An example is the ruling, from 2000, concerning the Sardar Sarovar Dam:

The displacement of tribals and other persons would not per se result in the violation of their fundamental or other rights. The effect is to see that on their rehabilitation at new locations they are better off than what they were. At the rehabilitation sites, they will have more and better amenities

than which they enjoyed in their tribal hamlets. The gradual assimilation in the mainstream of the society will lead to betterment and progress. (Narmada Bachao Andolan v. Union of India 2000: 3787, in Lustig & Kingsbury, 2006: 411)

The ruling shows that the Supreme Court is not against displacement, but that when displacement must occur, it must occur in a just manner. However, the ruling shows naïveté due to the evidence that displacement cases have not been socially just; this particular ruling only slowed down the construction of the dam, and was and is not a reflection of what is currently occurring in displacement. The ruling also says that tribals should assimilate into mainstream society and that this will lead to a better life. There is insufficient evidence of positive assimilation after displacement, and because of large anti-dam movements and resistance, it is not a common goal among PAPs. Those few who believe life will improve are quickly corrected once displacement occurs (Baviskar, 2005; Leslie, 2005, Kabra, 2010). While forcing *Adivasis* to enter mainstream society in the name of assimilation, the government is focused on a “balancing approach rather than a rights-as-triumph approach” (Lustig & Kingsbury, 2006: 411). *Adivasis* should have the choice to be able to sustain their livelihood because a socially just project denies anyone having to sacrifice, and for many *Adivasis*, losing their livelihood is the ultimate sacrifice (Baviskar, 2005; Capeheart & Milovanovic, 2007).

Development-Induced Displacement (DID) disproportionately targets minority groups in India, according to Lustig and Kingsbury (2006), who suggest the adoption and legalization of policies, which in India are currently not law, but only suggestions to conform. Still, turning a policy into a law does not guarantee the use of it. Officials choose to override them with unjust and counteracting laws; therefore, even if policies became laws, who is upholding the responsibility of officials to follow them? Without a

system of checks and balances between state and regional or national offices, it does not matter what the Indian Supreme Court rules; its view that PAPs must benefit from displacement must be taken up by officials. The view that displacement is inevitable in order to achieve the benefits of development and that PAPs must integrate into mainstream society have flowed through governmental agencies since independence in 1947, leading to social inequalities.

Beyond the Indian Supreme Court, there exist international policies or guidelines to help displaced persons, such as the United Nations *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*. However, as with Indian policies, they are not legally binding and receive poor attention (Lustig & Kingsbury, 2006). International law has faltered in relation to Development-Induced Displacement injustices (Lustig & Kingsbury, 2006). Social justice and distributive justice are not being upheld despite any policies or laws available, especially within the topic of displacement.

3.2.1 Social Justice and Displacement

In relation to distributive allocation and social justice, Sheppard, Porter, Faust, and Nagar (2009) discuss five problems in particular that arise from and in conjunction with unjust displacement: displacement, disease/injury, degradation, disaster risk, and dispossession. Each of these five problems are presented below primarily through displacement outcomes from the Tawa Dam (see section 2.3) in central Madhya Pradesh, but also through two additional post-displacement cases: The Sardar Sarovar Dam in Gujarat (west of Madhya Pradesh); and The Kuno Sanctuary in northern Madhya Pradesh. All three cases were briefly introduced in Chapter two. Showcasing Sheppard's et al. (2009) five problems through these displacement outcomes makes evident the

connection between social justice and displacement. It also makes evident that displacement is socially unjust in India, and thus confirms a need for improved development and displacement planning.

Displacement. Construction of the Tawa Dam, a hydroelectric project, began almost 30 years ago and displaced 44 villages (Coe, 2010). For PAPs of the Tawa Dam, the most commonly cited threat from displacement was loss of culture, which has been documented in other dam displacement communities (Behura & Nayak, 1993; Coe, 2010). This was partly due to the submergence of many cultural and sacred sights, dismantling rituals and customs. Cultural and sacred sights were submerged from the Sardar Sarovar Dam as well (Baviskar, 1995). Village communities around Tawa were also not relocated as whole units; they were re-dispersed creating new communities, thus social supports and customs were lost.

The second major concern with displacement, which occurred in all three cases, was inadequate provision of land; either no land or poor quality land was provided. At the Tawa Dam, officials lured villagers off their original land with promises of land-for-land agreements, but these promises have yet to be met decades later (Coe, 2010). Any given land could not sustain an *Adivasi* livelihood. This can result in broken communities because family members had to travel to urban slums, or migrate seasonally for work (Thukral, 1992). Integrated populations “are reduced to a relentless struggle for survival” (Thukral, 1992: 18). Without sustainable land that was similar/equal to or improved from what they had prior to displacement, PAPs are unable to provide an economic resource for their families, creating a second-generation phenomenon. Children displaced from the

Tawa Dam were forced to enter urban areas, which in turn further increased cultural loss. In all three cases, worker migration occurred within elder populations as well.

Disease/Injury. Disease and injury can occur from dam building in several ways. Increased water levels increase mosquito populations, thus causing higher levels of Malaria (Sheppard, et al., 2009). Families who are forced to migrate into high-density urban slums are at increased risk of sickness and disease. The primary cause for increased disease in the Tawa Dam community was from lost forest access (Coe, 2010). In many cases where displacement occurs to make way for a dam or forest reserve, access to the river and/or forest becomes illegal.

In addition, in the case of the Tawa Dam, lost access to medicinal plants in the forest created an increased need for accessible health facilities, which were not available; even when available, *Adivasis* could not afford associated costs and many died unnecessarily. In Daudi, another relocation community that the Tawa Dam research team visited in Madhya Pradesh, 16 people died during 2005-2009, all aged 25-39 years. Additional health concerns resulted from a governmental hunting ban that caused a large decrease in dietary protein; this was also a concern in the case of the Kuno Sanctuary (Kabra, 2010). Injury claims were also said to have increased because ministers and forest department officials forced villagers off the land using forest fires and wrecking crews (Coe, 2010).

Degradation. Degradation occurs because the water line in the dam reservoir is so high that it drowns the forest area along the river, which is the richest and most diverse environmental ecosystem within any given area (Leslie, 2005; Sheppard et al., 2009). Without access to dense forest area that can endure *Adivasi* practices and use, extraction

of resources must occur within a forest area that may not be as sustainable, thus causing further degradation. This increases if there is a ban on forest access in two ways: First, any small area that is not banned will be overused and quickly degrade, and second, this forces PAPs to illegally access the forest in order to stay alive. The threat of being caught forces locals to move quickly, and unsustainably in border areas, depleting those areas at a high rate. Degradation also occurs if the land is not dense or hearty enough for crop rotation and animal grazing because it will not sustain the use needed to provide a healthy and economic livelihood. Degradation of forest and community land occurred in all three cases: Tawa Dam, Sardar Sarovar Dam, and Kuno Sanctuary (Baviskar, 1995; Coe, 2010; Kabra, 2011a).

Disaster Risk. Disaster risk is increased when a dam is built because the water level increases, which causes flooding (Sheppard et al., 2009). This phenomenon results from insufficient scientific planning, such as building a reservoir that is not deep enough for the median annual monsoon rain in a given area (Leslie, 2005). Therefore, water overflows the reservoir onto surrounding land, which is often agricultural land. The Tawa Dam research team learned that a neighboring resettled village was surrounded by water three months of the year. There is no access in or out of the village without a boat, but access to the river is considered illegal and boats are considered a luxury item.

Dispossession. Dispossession is caused due to the forestry commission and other governmental sectors detracting land rights and resource access (Sheppard et al., 2009). The largest concern among locals near the Tawa Dam was the loss of forest and water access (Coe, 2010). Forest access can become hindered in a few ways: the forest is submerged; the relocation site is too far away; or, access becomes illegal as mentioned

above. Water or river access can be hindered by either location or access if access becomes illegal.

For locals near the Tawa Dam, forest access is imperative to be able to hunt, as well as to collect firewood for cooking and heating, and building materials, both of which can be used to provide an income (Coe, 2010). River access is primarily for irrigating crops and fishing. With a ban on hunting, forest use, and fishing, *Adivasis* struggle to find nutritious foods rich in protein. The Tawa Dam research team learned that forest department workers were fishing in the river and reservoir, which is illegal for those displaced; this is evidence of class or caste dynamics in India. This provides a benefit to a higher class, a government worker, while decreasing *Adivasi* livelihood, creating further social injustices. In some villages around Tawa, *Adivasis* took forest department jobs in order to gain access to the river and be able to fish. This in turn created tension between villagers because those taking the jobs were said to have “sold out” or “work for the enemy” (Coe, 2010: n.p.).

Locals in all three cases cite three primary concerns to the five social justice problems of displacement: inadequate land for grazing and agriculture to sustain their livelihood and provide economic means for survival; access to forest products and resources, such as firewood and tree bark for medicinal purposes; and river access, for fishing and water usage. These concerns are linked to the distributive rights of land and access to basic needs, as well as to the right to maintain an *Adivasi* livelihood and culture. Displacement and its conjoined injustices provide evidence of the socially unjust basis of development in India because a select group, *Adivasis*, must sacrifice. Nehru, India’s first Prime Minister, said, “if you are to suffer, you should suffer in the interest of the

country” (Vora, 2009: 10). There are glaring imbalances between those who suffer and those who benefit from the building of a dam (Srinivasan, 2001). Social justice advocates for an environment where all benefit.

3.3 Post-Displacement Literature

The majority of displacement research is taken either as displacement occurs or after it has occurred, and focuses on its after-effects and outcomes. The following sections on post-displacement and pre-displacement literature address the deficiency in displacement research within a temporal and Indian context.

The vast body of displacement research available primarily focuses on the impacts of displacement after it has occurred (Mehta, 2008; Scudder, 2009). Relevant research rarely approaches a local level of analysis especially before displacement takes place. Scudder (2009) found there are not enough long-term studies on dam resettlement that occur before and continue until after displacement. Discussions about pre-displacement livelihood primarily come from post-displacement data. Post-displacement studies have already been introduced above; therefore, research factors such as when the study took place, and what was studied, rather than displacement injustices, will be discussed here.

A relevant case is the Kuno Wildlife Sanctuary (Kuno) because it is located in the same *Tehsil* (Block) as Chentikheda, the primary village in the study at hand, and the namesake of the dam. Research on Kuno was done through Samrakshan, the non-governmental organization (NGO) in Agra that hosted me during my fieldwork. Research focused on the displacement of 5,000 people from 24 villages bordering Kuno

who were resettled near Agra (Merajuddin & Kabra, n.d: 1). Samrakshan conducted research and community work to help displaced persons access the government's rehabilitation package and to bring their problems to the notice of government agencies (Merajuddin & Kabra, n.d.). Similar to the case of the Tawa Dam, poor quality land was provided and forest access was denied after displacement (Kabra, 2010). This shifted Samrakshan's research and community work to rebuilding livelihoods through interventions in education, agricultural development, micro-credit, and health (Merajuddin & Kabra, n.d.).

As explained in an interview with Meraj, Samrakshan's research and focus on the displaced began as displacement was occurring, and continued after resettlement occurred. Meraj regrets that they had not learned about the Sanctuary and plans for displacement earlier, as he felt Samrakshan would have been able to advocate during the pre-displacement stage by educating PAPs on their rights and being an intermediary between officials and PAPs during the displacement planning stage. Kuno was created for an ecological and tiger reserve; even though PAPs would be returning to their land illegally, it is essentially still there if they so desired. Dam displacement is final because the land is submerged under water; there is no returning (Oliver-Smith, 2009). Kuno research focuses on post-displacement topics such as "current status of relocated villages" and "the effect of conservation-induced displacement and resettlement of an *Adivasi* population in Central Indian on host community livelihoods" (Samarakshan Trust, 2002: 2; Kabra, 2011a: 4); this is post-displacement research.

The Sardar Sarovar Dam, already mentioned, is another relevant case because of its location and the enormity of literature available. The dam project is located partly in

Madhya Pradesh and partly in the neighboring state of Gujarat. There is a vast amount of research on the Sardar Sarovar Dam specifically and/or the Narmada Valley Project as a whole, of which the Sardar Sarovar Dam is the largest. Most research takes place during or after displacement. Pre-displacement literature is also available; that will be discussed in the following section. There was a large movement associated with the Sardar Sarovar Dam that brought attention to the fact that *Adivasis* were staging drowning protests (suicide) while standing in the water as the reservoir filled up. Therefore, research came along with heightened attention and media; at this point, the dam had already begun and was well on its way to being fully constructed.

Multiple smaller case studies concerning dams and displacement are undertaken in the same fashion and with the same focus, as or after displacement has occurred; research concerns short-term and long-term impacts and outcomes of dam or development-induced displacement and in particular resettlement and/or rehabilitation. Within the context of long-term impacts, a study on the Hirakud Dam in Madhya Pradesh occurred 30 years after displacement (Srinivasan, 2001; Viegas, 1992). Parasuraman (1996) studied affected displaced families in the Upper Krishna Irrigation Project in Karnataka, India which involved construction of two major dams. Mankodi (1992) and Bhanot and Singh (1992) focused on rehabilitation aspects under the Ukai Dam project in Gujarat and the Pong Dam in Rajasthan. Mankodi (1992) called it an important study because other studies on rehabilitation in Gujarat primarily focused on the Narmada project. Dams within the Narmada project were also located in other states, such as Madhya Pradesh. Studying the Ukai dam allowed for a Gujarat state-specific focus. Many dam studies began to emerge after the Narmada project movement because it brought

dam displacement awareness to the forefront.

Some studies focus on the social impacts of large dams under themes of gender, equity, and/or distribution. A study on the Nagarjunasagar Dam in Andhra Pradesh focused on social impacts such as loss of livelihood from resettlement; this study focused on understanding experiences of locals. The research team visited centers where the displaced families were rehabilitated, post-displacement (Singh & Samantray, 1992: 63). Information about the process of displacement was gained from locals some time after the process had already taken place (Singh & Samantray, 1992). Kedia (2009) did 14 years of ethnographic research living among Garhwali peasants, also within a dam resettlement site, studying the effects of the Tehri Dam Project. However, she focuses her study on health impacts during and after dam construction. Her research was also post-displacement.

One study by Hakim (1996) did involve pre-displacement ethnographic research among the Vasavas of Mapali village in Gujarat. She lived in the village while they were still located in the hills and witnessed displacement from the hills and resettlement to the plains. Her focus is on the Vasava identity in transition from their original home to the resettled site. She does not document the village before displacement or its experience of displacement, but the experiences of identity between tribes. Even though Hakim witnessed pre-displacement, her research was focused on an outcome that occurred post-displacement.

The studies shared in this section, though not exhaustive, are representative of what is available within dam displacement research in India, that is, primarily post-displacement studies. The research took place either during displacement or after it

occurred and focused on topics within that realm, such as the impact of displacement.

This section addresses the literature available within post-displacement. The next section introduces pre-displacement research, and demonstrates that this research is minimal within the context of India and typically does not address local experiences of dam displacement – this is the research gap that this thesis was conceived to fill.

3.4 Pre-Displacement Research

There are numerous studies, based in India, that show evidence of socially unjust displacement outcomes with particularly negative impacts on *Adivasi* livelihood (Kedia, 2009). Scholars emphasize the need for displacement planning that includes those who will be displaced as well as development models that are rights-based with a multi-method approach. However, it is also important to look at the process of displacement before it happens. How do we get to the state that displacement is in now? Where does the problem begin? Pre-displacement research of a proposed dam can use knowledge of local experiences to question the process of displacement and examine where improvements can be made. Research that is prescriptive, rather than reactive, can inform civil society in order to better advocate for those being displaced, making the temporal element of pre-displacement research imperative.

That temporal significance is demonstrated by Shahabuddin, Kumar, and Shrivastava (2007) in their field study of the policy and process of displacement at the Sariska Tiger Reserve, which entailed removal of all human inhabitants out of the reserve and associated loss of livelihood and increased impoverishment. Shahabuddin et al. (2007) focus on nature reserve management, but their research objectives are relevant to

dam construction: first, to document the wants and needs of PAPs in relation to the proposed displacement, and second, to study the process of relocation and rehabilitation.

The first objective focuses on proposed displacement, thus doing research before the dam is constructed. There is evidence of this because the authors “attempted to understand the people’s aspirations from a relocation process, if it was ever carried out” (Shahabuddin et al, 2007: 1861). The authors interviewed PAPs to learn how they felt about moving, their perceptions of forced relocation, and what they thought their new lives would be like if relocation was to occur; this valued the local perspective. Although those displaced off the Tiger Reserve could and did return to their original land, albeit illegally, the study is relevant here because the situation for locals was inevitably not any better than dam displacement. However, with the knowledge that one could return, questions about perception prior to displacement could have inculcated less definitive feelings than a dam case. Once land is submerged by a reservoir, no one can return; thus, a deeper sense of definitively having to be relocated may instill deeper perceptions towards displacement.

The second objective in the study focuses on the process of relocation planning. Shahabuddin et al. (2007: 1860) look at how PAPs found out that they were going to be relocated as well as “the degree of participation of local villagers in development of the plan and package and the decision on the relocation site”. The authors found that there had not been any formal notification process about relocation. The study focused more on what knowledge PAPs had about the relocation site and/or package and related this to the level of participatory development; hence, a low level of knowledge equated a low level of inclusion into the planning process. The current study looks more directly at the

process and experience of learning about displacement, as well as what details were learned about the project as a whole. The studies are similar in some contexts, but are not mirrored. Shahabuddin et al (2007) do state that in order to justly relocate, participation and co-operation of local residents must be maintained.

Additional pre-displacement studies occurred on the Sardar Sarovar Dam and Narmada Project. Baviskar (1995: 259) conducted non-sequential extensive ethnographic research at the site of the dam for over a period of almost a decade. Her initial research occurred when “dam-induced displacement still seemed distant”. She conducted research prior to displacement, when villages and their inhabitants along the river were standing their ground and refusing to move. Baviskar’s (1995: 48) initial intentions were:

To go to the Narmada valley and, by living with the *Adivasis*, discover their relationship with nature, how it changed with their experience of development (which included the dam), and their struggle to create an ecologically sustainable and socially just alternative world.

Despite these initial ideas, she found a different reality with multiple levels of political participation and a surprisingly different connection between *Adivasis* and nature than originally perceived. Baviskar’s (1995) original inquiries manifested into questions focused on *Adivasis* and nature, the state, *Adivasi* perceptions of his/her own situation and the question of accuracy of environmental representation between those critiquing development and those at the forefront.

Baviskar’s ethnographic research is considered pre-displacement; she witnessed one of the largest anti-dam movements in India led by locals and well-known activists. Unlike the present study discussed in this thesis, she does not focus on the process of learning about displacement, but on the movement that had begun. Displacement itself had not yet occurred. Hers is one of the few studies that gain livelihood data and

information from a local perspective prior to displacement, rather than gaining it from post-displacement interviews. Her data are of the moment, gathered through participant experience, observation, and local experience. One aspect of Baviskar's (1995) research was working alongside Medha Patkar, the lead activist in the Save the Narmada Movement. Baviskar captures Patkar from within the protest and movement she creates with locals, and how she motivates, leads, and earns their trust.

Leslie (2005: 15) captures Medha in another way, stating "there is no gracious way to say this: we'd come to see Medha try to drown". He and a photographer visit the stage where protest and movement against the dam occurred. Leslie (2005) conducted interviews with Medha as he observed her and those around her. He did additional interviews with some of her friends in order to gain a deeper insight into who she is and what propels her to fight for *Adivasis* against the dam as an educated higher-caste activist. Leslie (2005) also provides a good background and timeline of the Sardar Sarovar Dam and contested construction and court dates surrounding it. Leslie's research was about following Medha, the movement and seeing the Narmada Valley and the associated dam projects. When Leslie arrives the dam is already two-thirds built, but some villages at this point have still not been displaced. In these villages, villagers are protesting by refusing to move and declaring they will drown with their homes; they would rather commit suicide than be displaced. This allows aspects of Leslie's work to be labeled pre-displacement.

With that said, Leslie's work is much different from the research being presented here. His work is ethnographic and based in Madhya Pradesh (and Gujarat and Rajasthan), but it is based more on the struggles and extremes *Adivasis* are experiencing

in order to sustain their life, as well as on the shifters and makers that are leading the movement. He is not doing in-depth research on *Adivasis* or on the experience of displacement from their view. Despite this, what he focuses upon, such as protest details, are important because they engage with displacement as an unjust phenomenon causing tireless struggles.

The majority of dam research in India is not conducted within a pre-displacement temporal context. However, it is important to note that there are pre-displacement studies outside of the Indian context. Steil (2003) conducted research in China between 2000 and 2001 on the Three Gorges Dam, the largest dam project in the world. Steil (2003) notes that he visited original and resettled communities, but the nature of these visits were observatory. His initial goal was to involve participants being resettled during the project period, but due to research constraints in China, Steil's research was primarily with resettled communities and in resettled sites, post-displacement. Colson² (1971) and Scudder conducted extensive research on the massive resettlement from the Kariba Dam in Central Africa during the late 1950s. They lived in the communities being studied participating in daily life in order to learn the routines of village life before displacement (Colson, 1971). This was purely pre-displacement research. However, the focus for this initial research was to provide a comparison for a follow up study, called "the restudy" that examined the impact of displacement and resettlement (Colson, 1971: 11). The initial study was also primarily quantitative in nature. Pre-displacement experiences were not examined; more so, statistics and censuses were gathered, leaving the qualitative

² Colson worked in partnership with Thayer Scudder as appointed by the (then) Rhodes-Livingston Institute, now the Institute for African Studies in the University of Zambia. The research positions were appointed by Dr. Henry Fosbrooke, its then Director who wanted the local way of life to be documented before it was destroyed (Colson, 1971: 7).

discussion for the re-study.

There are studies that take place in India that occur within a pre-displacement context, before dam construction begins. However, these pre-displacement studies commonly focus on displacement within a forest conservation project and use research that though based on displacement before it occurs, is gathered after it occurs. Pre-displacement research has also taken place in the Narmada Valley because of the media blitz that predated actual displacement. This research focused on the movement itself, the actors involved and the judicial case around the dam. There has been pre-displacement research done outside of India at proposed dam sites, such as in Central Africa and China. These studies are similar to pre-displacement research in India where the data is primarily used to examine the outcome of displacement, rather than focus on the pre-displacement experience and ways to improve it. Pre-displacement studies exist in various discourses globally. However, it is rare to find an ethnographic study taken at the location of a proposed dam in India and from the view of how locals perceive the pre-displacement experience.

3.5 Summary

This literature review primarily focused on displacement and social justice, as well as the temporal aspects of displacement research. Development is briefly defined through Penz et al. (2011), who stand for a rights-based and Responsible Approach to development that entail full participation with locals or PAPs. The scholars introduced focus much of their research on displacement in particular. Cernea (2000) documents displacement outcomes, such as landlessness and joblessness, as reasons for development

planners to use his resettlement model to ensure just displacement. Some development scholars, researchers, and activists do critique Cernea's model for not including local participation, leaving decisions in the hands of government officials. Allowing locals to participate in displacement planning, by partnering with civil society, researchers, planners and/or officials, is essential to socially just resettlement. Civil society is suggested as a way to implement participatory practices into development because local organizations, such as Samrakshan, can successfully act as an intermediary between government officials and PAPs.

In this chapter, social justice is also defined as benefiting the whole rather than the individual. Displacement, in conjunction with dispossession, disease/injury, degradation, and disaster risk, are socially unjust outcomes to the building of dams. These outcomes cause an increase in poverty and a decrease in livelihood, allowing a select group to sacrifice and a select group to benefit. The social injustices of displacement are well documented within a post-displacement realm. Multiple studies on infamous dams such as the Sardar Sarovar Dam and others provide evidence of this. Some displacement research does take place before physical resettlement occurs. However, it primarily focuses on the outcomes that follow displacement. Given this, I suggest a gap in dam research in India that, firstly, takes place in a proactive manner during the proposal stage prior to displacement, and secondly, studies local experiences. My review of the literature demonstrates the need for research that informs civil society. The inclusion of such research is imperative in development planning and decision-making processes, providing empirical research and evidence of poor displacement planning. Proactive research can create change at an earlier stage than reactive research.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I introduce my chosen methodology, ethnography, through a historical lens, as well as explain my reason for choosing holistic ethnography in particular. Holistic ethnography allows the information learned to come from those being studied. Holistic ethnography uses multiple data-gathering methods; therefore, I conducted participant observation, interviews, and community gatherings. While conducting my research, I lived in Agraa village, which will be partially submerged by the Chentikheda Dam. Agraa is located across the river from Chentikheda village; its location allowed me to live in the study area as a full-time participant and observer. After discussing my methods, I provide some context to the case study, including history of the area, livelihood of the people, and demographic makeup. Ethical considerations and limitations to the study are also covered.

4.1 Ethnography

Geertz (1973) describes ethnography as providing a thick description of research. This thick or detailed description comes from the five central aspects of ethnography: the study of people's behavior in everyday contexts, informal observation and conversation, being relatively unstructured, a small number of cases, and more description than causation (Hammersley, 1998). These aspects allow the data to originate from those being studied in a qualitative and holistic environment.

Ethnography, though sometimes debated, is still a classically used research methodology for data generation. Ethnography as a term comes from the discipline of

anthropology and “refer[s] to the conduct of ‘fieldwork’ within ‘cultures’ other than the anthropologist’s own” (David & Sutton, 2004: 103). Ethnography, during its creation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, simply referred to white Europeans conducting research in European colonies such as in Asia or Africa (David & Sutton, 2004).

Ethnography, at first, did not involve the participation inherent in “living” within a culture until Malinowski stated in 1922 “that to live within a culture was the only way to really understand it” (n.p. in David & Sutton, 2004: 103); thus, my reason to live within the culture being studied. I wanted to ensure I understood as best as I could, as an outsider, the culture and people I was going to write about.

As it evolved, ethnography fused with community studies and became more than just living in the culture or location being studied. Community studies incorporated holistic philosophy with ethnography. Community studies focuses on “building a picture of life” in the place being studied, and uses mixed methods, making it holistic (David & Sutton, 2004: 104). Holistic ethnography involves empirical field-based research conducted using varied data collection methods (David & Sutton, 2004); as such, I chose to use interviews, participant observation, and community gatherings.

The act of choosing a philosophy for ethnographic research is not a common practice. To sort out one’s philosophy, epistemology, theory, methodology, and/or method, it is best to work backwards, starting with method first (Crotty, 1998). With this study, I knew from the beginning that I wanted to use multiple methods that involved gaining information directly from those experiencing what I was studying. Within ethnography, the most common philosophical view is naturalistic or holistic in nature (David & Sutton, 2004; Ferraro, 2006; Saville-Troike, 2003; Seale, 2004). A naturalistic

philosophy is practised within the natural settings of where the data are located, such as in a village, community, or research site (David & Sutton, 2004; Seale, 2004).

Ethnography is also an inductive or funnel design of research. Ethnographers first begin with “foreshadowed problems” (Seale, 2004: 230) or general issues for which they are seeking answers, and allow the data to funnel down to a hypothesis. To allow the results to grow out of and during the research is called theoretical induction (David & Sutton, 2004); this process allows for unexpected and surprising results, which can be beneficial in an unstructured setting such as rural India. The process of theoretical induction allows the researcher to be reflexive in her/his field notes and observations so as not to perceive or assume and not to lead the research in any way. A reflexive ethnographer is able to use the theoretical foundation of cultural relativism, as created by Boas (Seale, 2004). Cultural relativism allows the researcher to see her research within the values of the culture she is studying and not within her own culture (Seale, 2004).

Holistic ethnography allowed me to not only live within the culture of those being studied, but also within their natural setting; this allowed for the best possible way to practice cultural relativism and reflexivity. I was able to analyze and cross-analyze a large set of data that included extensive field notes. For example, interviewees shared that their first concern with displacement was land; this was easier to understand by conducting participant observation because I was able to visualize the connection to land on a daily basis as well as be involved in that connection.

Holistic/naturalistic ethnography is a soft methodology because theoretical induction allows the research to originate from within the culture or people being studied; therefore, methods and analysis must also evolve from the research. The researcher must

ensure that analysis is being done on a daily basis, which allows him/her to change her approach and questions based on the inductive information being found (Ferraro, 2006). This approach is called “constant comparison” where data are continually and constantly examined in order to “establish preliminary concepts that make analytic sense of what is going on in the social setting” (Seale, 2004: 235). Constant analysis helps in the validation and verification of information because the researcher can compare daily findings and determine when a new approach or question may be needed. Constant analysis was conducted throughout the entire study and with each data-gathering method in order to reflect and learn as data was collected.

4.2 Data-Gathering Methods

The primary methods used in holistic ethnography as well as this study were participant observation and interviewing. However, I also included community gatherings because, initially, they naturally occurred and were a good basis for collecting data from numerous people at one time. They also occurred prior to conducting interviews; therefore, it was a good way to do constant analysis and engage with the data right away, determining a better set of interview questions once in the field. In addition, though not discussed further due to minimal use, I conducted ethnographic mapping, which is useful in the preliminary stages of fieldwork, especially if studying more than one village or looking at the connection between the community and its environment. In my preliminary field notes, I sketched the locations of the proposed dam, existing villages, and biophysical features such as the river, plots of land and forest.

4.2.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation, theoretically the primary method of ethnography (though not always used in reality) can be used at varying degrees. Participant observation has advantages and disadvantages. When using participant observation, the researcher must first try to determine the degree to which she is participant or observer; there are four roles (Seale, 2004). The first role is complete participant where the researcher is completely covert (Seale, 2004); this was not possible as it was obvious that I am an outsider. On the other hand, a disadvantage to being completely overt is that the community knows you are conducting research and hence you may in turn not see the reality of what goes on; it could be an act. The study at hand was overt.

It was important to be overt because I was able to quickly gain the trust of locals. Locals knew who I was, where I was staying, where I was from, what I was doing and why. At first, locals easily noticed my presence, which caused minimally changed behaviours. In a few cases, a local assumed I was working for the government because of my ethnicity, and was not comfortable speaking to me. However, in these cases I explained that I was only a student conducting research for my education in order to dispel any perception of connections to authorities or to having information about the dam. I made it clear that I was there to gain information from, and to listen to, locals. In a short amount of time, being the only Caucasian in the area at the time, and one of only a handful previously, my presence was known through inter-village and intra-village communication. Additionally, being in the research area for over two months gave locals time to become comfortable with my presence and allow me to live within their reality. I

lived in the area in a similar way to locals. Owing to my inability to speak the local language, there was not any concern about going native.

The second role is complete observer, where the researcher strictly observes without participation (Seale, 2004). This role can allow those being studied to feel more natural in their settings. The third role is participant as observer that inhabits participant and observer simultaneously with a concentration on participant (Seale, 2004). The fourth role is observer as participant that also inhabits participant and observer simultaneously, but with a concentration on observer (Seale, 2004). Most studies exist somewhere between the third and fourth roles (Seale, 2004), which is what occurred with this study. At times, I took the role of complete observer, yet due to living in the site and being overt, I was always a participant at some level. Other times, I acted as a participant as observer where I fully participated in local ways, such as bathing in the river, while also observing. In order to perform these roles and live in the area, I stayed at the visitor accommodation of Samrakshan, a local non-governmental organization (NGO) that knew of my arrival, as well as the purpose of my stay.

The most important part of participant observation is the primary data collection, the writing of what is seen, heard, and experienced (Seale, 2004). I was diligent in taking notes after I participated or observed in any capacity. When this was not possible, I would write down what I recalled at the end of the day. I took note of what I saw, learned, and personally experienced. Of course, the data still came from my perception; therefore, it is important to incorporate additional methods, such as interviewing, in order to be holistic.

4.2.2 Interviews

Interviews are used in ethnography to gain information on the experiences of people, such as to gain additional data to analyze the way that a community uses terminology or rhetoric. Interviews were semi-structured and unstructured. Recruitment can also be problematic in ethnography. However, being overt made it easier to introduce myself to locals, start discussion, and ask if they were interested and/or willing to do an interview. I conducted interviews with my translator and sometimes a guide from Samrakshan.

Initially I sought to conduct 15 interviews that consisted of 10 interviewees who self-identified as *Adivasi* and lived in Chentikheda, and five interviewees categorized as specialists. Specialists consisted of researchers, NGO staff, government officials, and activists who worked and had knowledge within the area of dams, displacement and *Adivasis*. I met my goal to interview five specialists and 10 Chentikheda residents (five male and five female; see Table 4.1). In the end, of the 10 residents, only eight were *Adivasi*. Of the two non-*Adivasis*, one was Kuswah and one Hindu; as will be discussed in chapter five, these two interviews added an interesting dynamic to the data analysis. The *non-Adivasis* are of a higher class and their level of concern towards displacement was lower than that of *Adivasis*. Non-*Adivasi* interviewees were not sought out; they self-identified near the beginning of the interview.

Table 4.1: List of Interviewees and Attributes

Interviewee	Interviewee type	Sex	Tribe
1	<i>Adivasi</i>	Female	Sahariya
2	<i>Adivasi</i>	Female	Sahariya
3	<i>Adivasi</i>	Female	Sahariya
4	<i>Adivasi</i>	Female	Sahariya
5	<i>Adivasi</i>	Female	Sahariya
6	<i>Adivasi</i>	Male	Sahariya
7	<i>Adivasi</i>	Male	Sahariya
8	<i>Adivasi</i>	Male	Sahariya
9	<i>Non-Adivasi</i>	Male	Kuswah
10	<i>Non-Adivasi</i>	Male	Hindu (non-tribal)
11	Specialist	Male	Hindu (non-tribal)
12	Specialist	Male	Hindu (non-tribal)
13	Specialist	Male	Hindu (non-tribal)
14	Specialist	Male	Kuswah
15	Specialist	Male	Sahariya

Prior to beginning interviews, I conducted community gatherings, discussed below, in order to begin building trust in the community prior to recruitment, making recruitment easier (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Chentikheda is also a small village, and locals spend most of their time outside; therefore, locals are easily accessible. I recruited English-speaking specialist interviewees on my own, and Hindi-speaking specialists through guides associated with Samrakshan; the guides helped me to gain access to government officials.

A guide who worked for Samrakshan also accompanied my translator and me while recruiting in Chentikheda. However, there were pros and cons to this arrangement; therefore, I only requested him a few times. Throughout questioning, interviewees looked to him for answers and I was more interested in what they had to say. I found that he was most helpful in recruiting because he knew locals. My translator, Akshita, was recruited through Dr. Kabra, previously mentioned in chapter three, from Ambedkar University in Delhi. I paid for Akshita's transportation to and from the research site, as well as her

accommodation, food and a daily rate in order to ensure an ethical relationship that allowed me to provide instruction and feedback when needed.

Adivasi/non-*Adivasi* interviews took place within the outside/outdoor area of each interviewee's home; they averaged 40 minutes in length. Interviews were semi-structured. Not one interview was the same in environment or circumstance; there were too many variables to be structured. For example, some interviews occurred with one or two family members, whereas some would occur with the extended family and/or additional villagers. Semi-structured interviews allowed me to have a sample set of questions for each interviewee that was flexible when needed and included closed and open-ended questions (see Appendix A). I posed questions from memory rather than read from or refer to a set of questions during interviews, heeding the advice of my translator. She had previously done research with *Adivasis*, and suggested the use of documents would give locals the perception of an official setting, which in the past had created an uneasy environment for interviewees. Constant analysis also made it possible for me to conduct unstructured interviews while meeting locals from or in another area or village. I asked informal questions about the dam and included this information into daily field notes. Some scholars differentiate this style of unstructured interviewing as participant observation (Loftland, 1971 & Malinowski, 1967/1989, in Fontana & Frey, 2005: 705). Unstructured interviewing in the conduct of fieldwork allows the researcher to learn the local culture, language, and ways of life through the field of inquiry without imposing categorization (Fontana & Frey, 2005: 705-06).

Specialist interviews were unstructured, but conducted in a formal interview setting. Specialist interviews were not intended to gain the experience of learning about

displacement; specialists will not be displaced or affected by the dam. The interviews were to gain knowledge about the situation of the dam in relation to the area and those living there. I did not have pre-set questions, but asked the same basic questions, such as what specialists knew about the dam, how they learned about it and whether they had acted on this information. Besides these few basic questions, I allowed each discussion to be led by what I was learning, thus questions differed for each interview. For example, one specialist discussed local alternatives to the dam based on a local watershed program he had worked on, while another explained the governmental process of land acquisition. All 15 interviews were audio-taped and transcribed nightly as part of constant analysis. As the audio-recorder was very small, it was much less intrusive and intimidating than using a pen and paper or various documents.

The use of semi-structured and unstructured interviews of two specific groups allowed flexibility that not only uncovered a third group of interviewees (*non-Adivasi*), but also a rich data set. Interviews allow someone to tell his or her story, but what is available to the researcher at the time of the interview may be different to what the actual story entails. This is why additional methods can provide a better overall study.

4.2.3 Community Gatherings

I have previously experienced ethnography in a rural village in India as part of a research team gathering data at the Tawa Dam in 2010; therefore, I understood the dynamics of community gatherings. Formally called focus groups, I use the term community gatherings because the environment does not lend itself to a formal focus group, which at the broadest level include collective conversations and “can be small or large, directed or undirected” (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005: 887). Community

gatherings are efficient because they generate large quantities of information or data from a relatively large number of people in a short time (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). The collective environment of these gatherings can also produce data that would not emerge during an interview or through observation alone.

As community gatherings are common, they were easy to include in a multi-methods approach to ethnography. Community gatherings would occur naturally upon my entering a village as locals would quickly become aware of my presence and gather around me, allowing me to initiate the group and lead a more formal setting. In total, I led and participated in three community gatherings, which occurred in three separate villages, each of which would be fully submerged once the dam is built. Frey and Fontana (1991: 184) consider these gatherings a natural phenomenon within fieldwork that is informal, spontaneous, moderately nondirective, very unstructured in question format, and primarily exploratory. Upon introducing myself and explaining my purpose, I would ask unstructured questions, such as what people had heard and/or learned about the dam. At this point, generally, more locals would appear, creating a larger gathering filled with questions, discussion, and informative responses. Discussion between individuals would occur as well. Focus groups or community gatherings allow researchers to hear multiple meanings and perspectives as well as see the interactions between and among those in the group (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005).

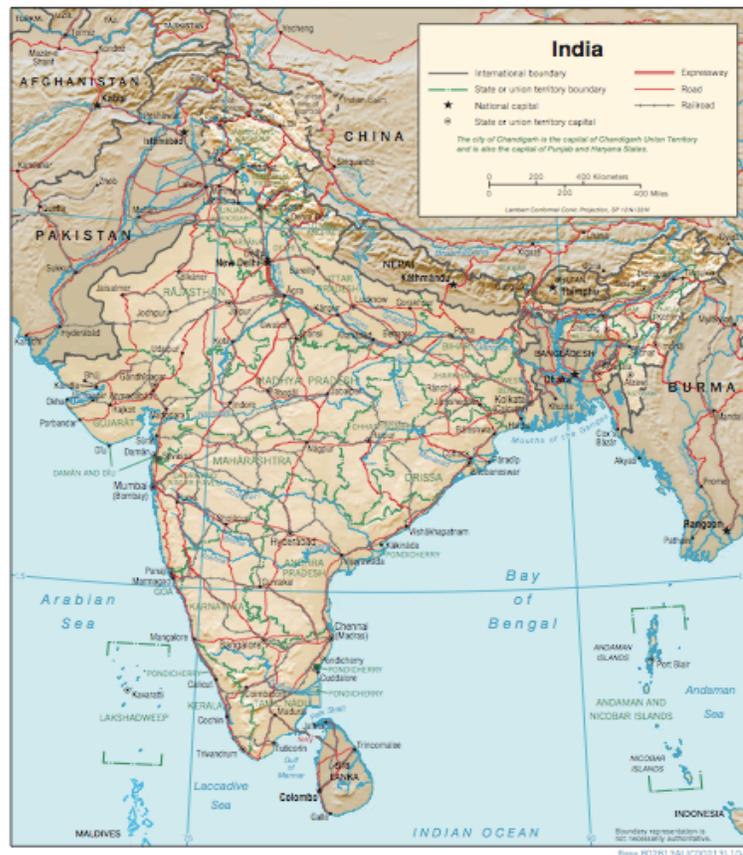
Throughout community gatherings, I chose to not take notes until I had left the site, and refrained from audio-taping, in order to create an informal and relaxed environment. Community gatherings “are unique and important formations of collective inquiry” (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005: 888) and can provide an informal introduction

to the community and multiple villages, as well as a basis for the progression of knowledge and data collection.

4.3 Case Study Context

Conducting ethnographic fieldwork in rural India (see figure 4.1³) provided a backdrop of people, places and ways of life. The focus area is the potential site of a development project, a proposed dam. I lived in Agra, one village among three or four that could become partially submerged from the dam.

Figure 4.1: Map of India



³ Map posted, 2007; Map last updated 2011. World Factbook and CIA disclaimer states: “Page Size Base maps are in the public domain. Accordingly, they may be copied freely without permission of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)” Retrieved February 25, 2013: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/cia-maps-publications/map-downloads/India_Physiography.pdf

Research was conducted in Agra, and additional villages that could be impacted, but the majority of my research was conducted in Chentikheda, the namesake of the dam. Chentikheda is located along the Kwari River, where the dam will be constructed, symbolizing the central area of submergence. Chentikheda is the oldest village in the area and has a mixed population that primarily consists of *Adivasi* residents. Surrounding forests, rivers and natural settings are imperative to the sustainability and livelihood of *Adivasis*; this is an important component to the objectives and recommendations of this thesis.

Chentikheda is approximately 400 years old, according to town elders. It is the oldest village in the area and is rich in history. It is said that up to seven *Jati* or castes had lived in Chentikheda at the same time, a rare occurrence that is an interesting historical element because the makeup of Chentikheda is now very different. Chentikheda, with a population of 1,217, has 210 households, of which only three are non-*Adivasi*; all other households consist of *Adivasi* residents who are Sahariya, one of hundreds of indigenous tribes in India. The population of Chentikheda has a near equal gender ratio with 597 females and 620 males. The population of Chentikheda has increased over the past few decades; this is attributed to nearby displacement from the Kuno Sanctuary (Kabra, 2011a). The primary language is a local regional dialect that is a subsidiary of Hindi, the national language of India. Residents in Chentikheda do not speak English. Within the area, only one resident spoke fluent English and one resident very little English, both in Agra. Owing to an English-speaking volunteer who worked in the area a year prior to my arrival, some children could also use a few general English words.

The study area is located in the *Tehsil* (Block) of Vijeypur, which is in the district of Sheopur, in the central Indian state of Madhya Pradesh (see Figure 4.1). The study area is about 220 kilometres southeast of Gwalior, which is on the map. In relation to development and dam building in particular, Madhya Pradesh has some of the highest displacement rates in India (Mahapatra, 1999). The Human Development Index (HDI) analyzes education, health and income factors globally. Of India's 19 states, Madhya Pradesh ranks 16th, on the HDI scale (Suryanarayana, Agrawal & Prabhu, 2011: 8). India ranks 134th out of 187 countries with an HDI of 0.547, which is ranked below the world median of 0.69, and also below the South Asian HDI of 0.577 (Klugman, 2011: 19). India is a medium-ranked country according to HDI; however, Sheopur alone would rank as low human development with its HDI of 0.506 (Klugman, 2011; Suryanarayana, Agrawal & Prabhu, 2011).

Vijeypur (see table 4.2), one of three *Tehsils* in Sheopur, has the lowest human development percentages in most categories when compared to the other two *Tehsils*. It has the highest distance from health facilities and the lowest percentage of all weather approach roads. The information on Vijeypur was taken from the governmental *Madhya Pradesh District Factsheet* provided by Samrakshan. Vijeypur also has the lowest percentage of rural and urban households with safe drinking water.

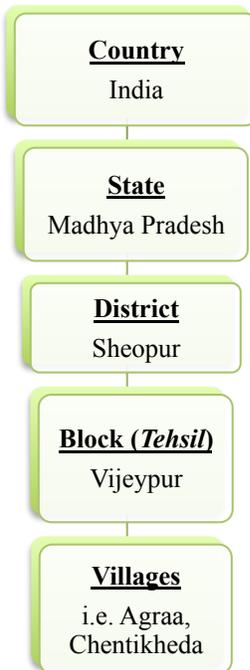


Table 4.2: Community levels of the study area

Chentikheda flanks the Kwari River. Across and up river, about 20 minutes away on foot, is Agraa, where the rest of the villages are downstream on either side of the river. Each village is 10-30 minutes from its neighboring village by foot. East of the river, which runs South to North (see Figure 4.2) is flat agricultural land as far as the eye can see. To the west, is a small valley of agricultural land that meets sparse to dense forest areas and hilly to mountainous terrain.

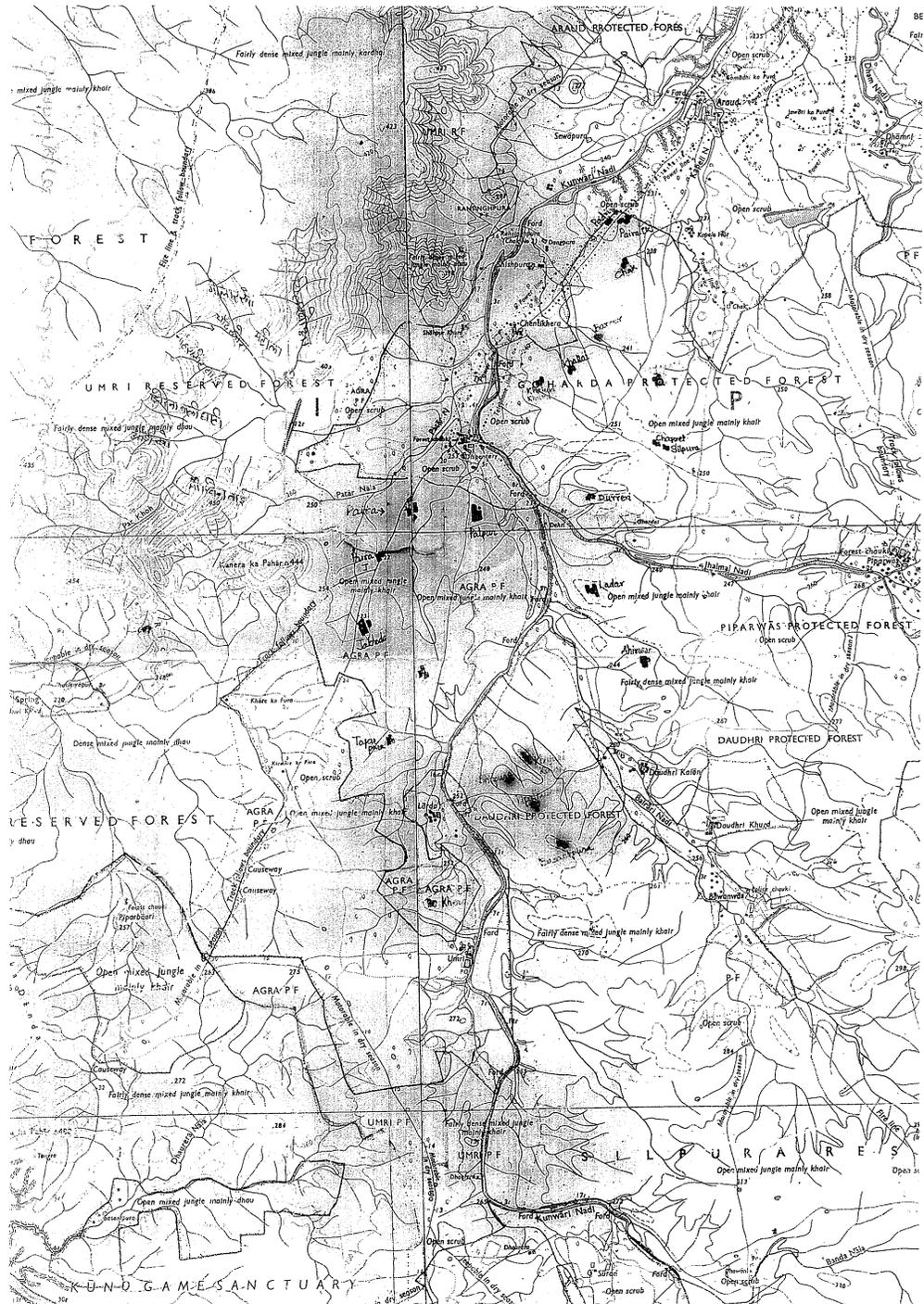


Figure 4.2: Map of Vijaypur, the District of the Study Area

Overall, getting to the area from Delhi, the largest city in Northern India, takes a three- to five-hour train ride and a three-hour bumpy jeep ride. Agra is the largest village in the area; it has a small market that is used daily by all surrounding villages that will either be

submerged or partially submerged, making it an essential location for observation in particular.

Sahariya livelihood consists of subsistence agricultural production, livestock rearing, forest produce collection and sale, and occasional wage labour (Kabra, 2011a). Sahariya people primarily maintain their livelihood through neighboring forests along the hill and mountainsides to the west of the Kwari River. However, according to an ecological researcher who was also staying at Samrakshan, forest depletion is occurring in the area. This is due to the increase in residents in Chentikheda as well as surrounding villages and villages newly created to host those displaced from the Kuno Sanctuary. In Madhya Pradesh, there are areas where already displaced persons may be living with the reality or prospect of dual-displacement. The social injustices of displacement (see chapter three), such as loss of land (crops) and protein-rich foods, have reduced Madhya Pradesh citizens' nutritional intake to only receive 61 percent of the minimum required, according to governmental standards; this is the lowest percentage in India in this category (Mahapatra, 1999: 208). Given the parameters of the case study, which were so engrained in the lives and emotions of human beings, ethical considerations were paramount.

4.4 Ethics

The primary literature on the ethics of ethnography comes from Fine (1993: 267) who argues that there are 10 ethnographic personalities that “represent a set of important concerns”. Fine (1993) discusses the importance of looking at ourselves as researchers and being reflexive about who we are researching, the impact we have, and how funders

or funding may be leading us. Fine (1993: 269-270) divides the personalities into three categories: classic virtues (the kindly, friendly and honest ethnographer), technical skills (the precise, observant and unobtrusive ethnographer), and the ethnographic self (the candid, chaste, fair and literary ethnographer). Classic virtues represent a standard of morality and ethical consideration, technical skills focus primarily on the competence of the ethnographer, and the ethnographic self focuses on the reflexivity of the ethnographer (Fine, 1993).

In order to adhere to classic virtues, I ensured that my role was completely overt. I also took into consideration my interviewees, such as allowing them to choose the location of the interview and sit down first; this was interesting because most interviewees wanted me to sit in the one available chair or bench while they sat on the floor. However, when possible, I attempted to sit at an equal level. I used a multitude of methods in order to be technical as well as holistic; I took field notes on a continual, though private, basis and used local guides and researchers to learn as much as I could about the local culture and area before embarking on the collection of data. My ethnographic self, or reflexive self, was scrutinized through constant analysis of data, which also allowed for reflexivity as I was living as the locals were, rather than traveling to the site each day.

Reflexivity includes looking at one's own cultural boundaries and ensuring you do not 'go native', or be so reflexive that one completely alters the tradition of ethnography and thus the data. I believe that an intersectional approach between each extremity is important and that looking at all personalities is a good place to self-reflect. Richardson (2000: 254) lists five evaluative ways to ensure research is reflexive and

ethical: substantive contribution, aesthetic merit, reflexivity, impact, and expression of reality. Fine and Richardson's schemes are lengthy. Nonetheless, they are relevant to the importance of ethnography, especially to a new researcher, and help to ensure that those being studied are relatively unscathed from the process. In addition, this study received full approval from the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board at the University of Calgary.

Politics within ethnography is a risk. Ethnographic politics occur in two ways. Firstly, Denzin (1999: 512) states that "new ethnography" should be a narrative political act that creates a political and public spectacle. New ethnography puts research into the political stream by creating a story within a political topic, such as indigenous rights. Secondly, politics occur within the politics of doing ethnography. This can occur from the beginning of a project, from having to gain access into a country to meeting the so-called gatekeeper or informant of a community. Gatekeepers are people(s) who are in charge, run or lead a community (Fontana & Frey, 2005). In many situations, ethnographers must gain entry through a gatekeeper or informant in order to access the people or locations being studied. Gatekeepers can also be found in an organization, government office, tribe, affiliation, and/or village (David & Sutton, 2004).

Access to the field site for this study was gained through Dr. Kabra, one of two Samrakshan co-founders who is a professor at Ambedkar University in Delhi. A former professor of mine, Professor Rangarajan, at the University of Delhi introduced me to her. In 2008, I attended the University of Delhi for a semester, where I took Professor Rangarajan's environment class. At my request, he helped me find contacts studying dams and displacement in India. The politics of ethnography can occur at any stage of a

study; for example, in some countries, it is common to engage in corrupt practices such as providing extra money to gain documents. In order to negotiate political situations, I specified boundaries and parameters within my approved ethical compliance with the University of Calgary.

4.5 Limitations

One of the major limitations with ethnography is reflexivity because, if this stage does not occur, the study could be largely compromised by the perceptions of the researcher, rather than those being studied. Without reflexivity, an ethnographer can result in using an observer bias in her study. Lévi-Strauss (2001) said that one individual cannot become another identity and still maintain his/her original identity because communication changes the creative originality of both. He explains the importance of not allowing full integration because one can lose one's self and thus the original study is compromised; some level of self-reflexivity is imperative (Lévi-Strauss, 2001). Boas, as mentioned earlier, advocated cultural relativism, which relates the data to the culture being studied, and not the researcher's culture, but some criticize this as being *too* reflexive.

Some argued that Boas did not focus enough on "classification and categorization" and too much on "individual facts and individuals" (Lewis, 2001: 382). However, being that ethnography is a qualitative rather than quantitative methodology, the focus should be on individuals, rather than categories. Delamont, Atkinson and Hammersley (1988: 232) argue that classification is "counterproductive". Geertz (1973) also debated static traditions when discussing his concept of cultural common sense,

which he said was missing from the static creations of coding and categorizing. If included, “it should lead...to some new ways of looking at some old problems, most especially those concerning how culture is jointed and put together” as well as ideas of what kinds of cultures are supported by society (Geertz, 1973: 790).

Hammersley (1998) puts the reflexivity debate into three specific defenses in order to deter from any limitation. First, ethnography or naturalistic methods are more valid because they are based on actual experiences and data, and not artificial settings. Second, “field research offers a greater scope for exploration” (David & Sutton, 2004: 104). Third, it is good for generating specific details about specific peoples, places or experiences and should not be criticized for not being generalizable because that is not the aim of ethnography (David & Sutton, 2004; Hammersley, 1998).

Another limitation within ethnography is language. Historically, anthropologists were aware of the cross sectionality within language and culture, but, they never studied the actual linkages (Saville-Troike, 2003). Once studied, anthropologists and linguists began looking at language from a holistic and ethnographic perspective (Saville-Troike, 2003). Language was a limitation in this study because I do not speak Hindi nor the local *Adivasi* language, hence the use of a translator fluent in both. She translated word for word, which at times meant that she would do just that and then translate the meaning; this was apparent when words did not directly translate. We were both flexible in the sense that she did as I requested or needed, but would also provide suggestions or feedback when she felt I was missing an interpretation or understanding of the local customs and culture.

4.6 Summary

The philosophical elements of ethnography are generally naturalistic or holistic in order to create a research environment where the data allow for theoretical induction. The choices of method(s) and analysis are essential, such as choosing multiple methods. Participant observation allowed me to conduct overt research, participating in and observing an *Adivasi* livelihood. Interviewing gave me an insight into the knowledge of specialists in the area, as well as *Adivasi* and non-*Adivasi* persons living in Chentikheda. Community gatherings offered an environment where a large number of people provided a large amount of data in a short time. They also provided an arena where village communication and interaction could be observed. To respect research ethics, constant analysis and reflexivity were maintained.

Denzin (1999: 512) describes ethnography as the new stream of advocacy and activism which “attempts to better understand the conditions of oppression and commodification that operate in the culture seeking to make these ways of the world more visible to others”. In order to better understand the injustices of displacement it is important to conduct research within a pre-displacement setting, hence my two-month stay in Agra in the proposed Chentikheda Dam area, interviewing primarily *Adivasis*, the most marginalized population in India. The act of studying a culture other than my own allowed me to use a holistic methodology, as well as holistic methods that provide a well rounded and large data set gathered from local perceptions and experiences. The theme of holism is continued in the following chapter within my choices of data analysis; this allowed for thematic findings and in-depth analysis and discussion.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I explain why I chose Thematic Analysis as my data analysis method, as well as why I chose holistic and emotion coding; these choices allow the results to come from the data, rather than constricting the results through categorization methods. My data analysis revealed eight themes: communication, location, cultural components, knowledge of the Chentikheda dam (and others), topics of social justice, the Indian government, resettlement, and emotive responses. I discuss my key findings within these themes; these address local communication systems, the importance of village location, as well as gender and caste dynamics. In addition, my findings address dam knowledge among interviewees, and displacement demands that align with the concept of social justice. Locals also implied a high use of governmental power among officials, causing emotions of uncertainty and fear. Due to many of the themes overlapping, some level of analysis occurs within findings. Limitations to these findings are also discussed.

The second half of this chapter provides further analysis and discussion. Analysis and discussion is presented through my research question and supplementary questions. The overall experience of pre-displacement has been confusing and negates any formal governmental notification as required by law. Notification primarily occurred through local communication. As a consequence of having no formal notification locals are uncertain of their future and demand that they also benefit from the dam through fair displacement planning. Finding a low level of resistance to the dam showcased government power, ethnic biases and complacency towards the dam being that locals

have heard about it for the past 20-40 years. Overall, insufficient policy control, and displacement demands that align with social justice, have added to a pre-displacement experience void of participatory development and fairness.

5.1 Data Analysis

Just as the theme of holism informed my choice of data-gathering methods, it informed my choice of Thematic Analysis to analyse data. Other methods were considered but rejected as inadequate for my purposes. Grounded theory focuses on the creation of theory from data, which is not relevant in this study because its aim is not theory development (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Content analysis comes from a communication discourse rather than from a development discourse. Content analysis is also considered a quantitative method that “entails a systematic reading of a body of texts” (Krippendorff, 2013: 10); therefore, content analysis is also not relevant. This study is firstly, qualitative and secondly, within a development framework. Thematic Analysis does not imply free license to adopt the “anything goes” perspective, but rather meets the aim of qualitative research to “provide methods of analysis that should be applied rigorously to the data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 95). It incorporates a theoretical or epistemological position, an exploratory stance discerning how themes will evolve, as well as specific choices in coding and thematicizing.

5.1.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis “offer[s] a more accessible form of analysis, particularly for those early in a qualitative research career” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 81). It is inductive and data-driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006), in keeping with the holistic theme of

ethnography. Inductive analysis is a bottom-up approach that allows data to evolve through the coding process, creating a rich and descriptive data set. Analyses that are neither thematic nor inductive focus on a detailed account of one particular aspect while using research questions to create the data. In thematic analysis, coding and themes come from the data, rather than from the questions asked.

Thematic analysis “involves the searching across a data set – be that...interviews or focus groups or texts – to find repeated patterns of meaning” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 86). Opinions vary on the order of analysis. Initial codes can be generated first to identify themes (Braun & Clarke 2006; Coffey & Atkinson 1996), or themes can be identified and compared first to help create codes (Boyatzis 1998). Generating codes before themes matches a data-driven, inductive approach and is primarily used in the present study to provide ways to interact and think about the data. Reflection is more important in the overall process than the preciseness of procedures and labeling (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

5.1.2 Coding Style

All data were coded, encompassing interview transcripts, field notes from participant observation and community gatherings, and my own reflective data. Some “perspectives on ethnographic texts consider all documentations and reports partial and incomplete anyway, so the argument for maintaining and coding a full or reduced data corpus seems moot” (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996: 30). However, it is recommended that novice qualitative researchers (such as myself) code all data; field notes, especially those generated from observing, are also substantive material for coding. (Saldaña, 2009).

In coding there are first and second cycle processes; a holistic analysis requires both. First Cycle coding is a less formal initial or preliminary process that is micro in nature, whereas the subsequent Second Cycle, such as Thematic Analysis, is more formal and macro in nature (Saldaña, 2009). Two possible options for the First Cycle include descriptive and evaluative coding. Descriptive coding is good for new qualitative researchers learning how to code ethnographic data; it asks general questions, such as “What is this study about?” which is not relevant given that my thesis questions are specific (Saldaña, 2009: 70). Evaluation coding helps assess the quality of policy and governmental programs (Saldaña, 2009); this is relevant to my concern with the level of policy control in dam development. However, evaluation coding is more appropriate for studies across multiple sites and extensive time periods (Saldaña, 2009); it will be a good mechanism for further research. Rather than the above, emotion and holistic coding were chosen for this study.

To discuss displacement in an interview is a significant event that can, as Corbin & Strauss (2008) observe, cause a variety of emotions in the participants and researcher; these should not be overlooked because emotions and feelings are part of the context. Given this, Emotion Coding was used because it particularly explores participant experiences; it allows for “deep insight into the participants’ perspectives, worldviews, and life conditions” (Saldaña, 2009: 86). Such a specific coding system can allow data to be missed; therefore, it will be used alongside Holistic coding.

Holistic Coding is an appropriate option when the researcher already has a good idea of what s/he wants to investigate in the data (Saldaña, 2009). The researcher lumps text together, rather than splitting it line by line (Saldaña, 2009). Holistic Coding is most

applicable to qualitative researchers who have very little time – in this case, managing a large amount of data and educational program timelines – and are beginning to learn how to code data with a diverse and large data set (Saldaña, 2009).

Holistic and Emotion coding align with the methodology, methods, and analysis chosen, in hopes of creating a well-rounded and holistic study that shares participants' knowledge and experience. They are also recommended as preliminary steps to Thematic Analysis (Saldaña, 2009). Both coding methods suggest that the best way to initially become familiar with the data is to invest time in reading and re-reading transcripts and field notes, internalizing them (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Saldaña, 2009). Therefore, prior to coding and thematic analyzing, I re-read the interview transcripts, community gathering notes, field notes (research and personal reflection) and local documents numerous times to become familiar with my data and provide in-depth findings and discussion.

5.2 Findings

The multiple methods of data collection amassed a large amount of data. The 15 interviews (see Table 5.1) were used as individual study samples, supplemented by extensive field notes drawn from participant observation and community gatherings.

No. of Interviewees	Interview Type	Pseudonym	Sex	Tribe
1	<i>Adivasi</i>	<i>Adivasi</i> Grandmother	Female	Sahariya
2	<i>Adivasi</i>	<i>Adivasi</i> Mother	Female	Sahariya
3	<i>Adivasi</i>	<i>Adivasi</i> Aunt	Female	Sahariya
4	<i>Adivasi</i>	Masi	Female	Sahariya
5	<i>Adivasi</i>	Toddler Caregiver	Female	Sahariya
6	<i>Adivasi</i>	Male <i>Adivasi</i>	Male	Sahariya
7	<i>Adivasi</i>	Ox Farmer	Male	Sahariya
8	<i>Adivasi</i>	Masi's Son	Male	Sahariya
9	Non- <i>Adivasi</i>	Male Kuswah	Male	Kuswah
10	Non- <i>Adivasi</i>	School Teacher	Male	Hindu (non-tribal)
11	Specialist	Meraj	Male	Hindu (non-tribal)
12	Specialist	Education Official	Male	Hindu (non-tribal)
13	Specialist	Chief Executive Officer	Male	Hindu (non-tribal)
14	Specialist	DK	Male	Kuswah
15	Specialist	Ramlal	Male	Sahariya

Table 5.1: Interviewee Pseudonyms

Holistic and emotion coding with thematic analysis created 428 excerpts with 717 code tags using 37 codes (see Table 5.2) which were organized into eight themes. The first seven themes were communication, location, cultural components, knowledge of the Chentikheda dam (and others), topics of social justice, the Indian government, resettlement, and rehabilitation; an eighth, emotive responses, is shared throughout the other themes.

Table 5.2: Themes and Codes/Sub-Themes

Themes	Codes/Sub-Themes
COMMUNICATION	Communication systems; Dynamics of literacy; Hearing about dam; Rumours
LOCATION	Connectivity to Agra; Visual descriptions of the area; Landscape details
CULTURAL COMPONENTS	Questions that emote laughter and group discussion; Livelihood; Cultural differences; Modern cultural components; Gender and caste dynamics
KNOWLEDGE OF THE CHENTIKHEDA DAM (AND OTHERS)	Dam knowledge; Knowledge of submergence and displacement; Knowledge of other displacement cases; Disagree with dam; Alternatives (to the dam); Agrees with dam
TOPICS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE	Concept of social justice; Happy life currently; Benefiting from dam; Activism or movement

Themes	Codes/Sub-Themes
THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT	Politics; Governmental use of power; When officials are involved; Governmental processes; If there was participation; What Interviewees have been told they will receive
RESETTLEMENT AND REHABILITATION (R&R)	Resettlement package; Land vs. monetary compensation; Cash/money demands; Land demands; Infrastructure demands
EMOTIVE RESPONSES	Feelings and emotions; Fear; Uncertainty of future/resettlement; Feelings of fear towards dam informants

5.2.1 Communication

Within communication, four sub-themes/codes were apparent: communication systems, the dynamics of literacy, how locals were hearing about the dam, and rumours within village communication. Village communication systems are quite informal in nature, although more formal than expected. Locals actively seek out communication; this was found through illiterate participants, as well as those who had heard about the dam. Illiterate individuals will go to the newsstand in Agraa's market to listen to and/or ask someone to read the paper to read out loud. Literate locals understand their community role. While interviewing Ox Farmer, who is illiterate, an onlooker commented that people such as himself have to tell those who are illiterate what is being communicated. This active and community-led style of communication was a large part of how locals heard about the dam.

There were two ways locals heard about the dam: first, by asking government surveyors who had started to work in the area and, second, through communal village discussion, which also led to rumors within local communication systems. Most interviewees explained that once they saw surveyors in the area, they asked them what they were doing, and that was how they heard about the dam. Some interviewees also visited the nearest government offices an hour away in Vijeypur to ask what was going on and were told that it had been decided to build a dam in the area. Most explained that

no one had officially told them about the dam. Inquiry and village-level discussion was the primary way locals learned about the dam. However, this was not the first time there was word of a dam; some have been hearing for years that a dam would be built in the area. Overall, there was minimal communication from government officials, though as we see later under the theme, The Indian Government, this communication was laced with fear and intimidation.

Besides active communication, inter-village and intra-village communication caused rumors about the dam, such as whether it was coming, when it was coming, which villages would be submerged and what sort of resettlement would occur. All but one interviewee said they knew there was going to be a dam, but knowledge of details about the dam were much more varied and conflicting. Ramlal, a local activist, said gossip and rumours had spread to an extent that when surveyors next arrived with machines, the villagers gathered and would not let them work. This incident is indicative of panic among villagers relying on incomplete information, School Teacher explained:

They didn't tell us anything. They just set up the machines and then this rumour started spreading that the village would get submerged and then some of the villagers went and shut the machines down, and then all of these officers from everywhere had to come and explain it to the villagers and said, 'Look, right now we are just doing samples, and 1-2 years later the report will go to the government and you will be informed 2-3-4 months ahead of time, so you can make your own arrangements or just stick with what the government is giving you, so don't panic just yet, you will be informed.'

This account alludes to an emotive level of fear that not only originated from rumours, but also from a fear of resisting or speaking out against the dam. Locals commonly shared sentiments similar to that of School Teacher: "How can I refuse? The government

can just pick us up and throw us into whatever they want”. This idea of governmental power will be discussed further within the theme, the Indian Government.

The most formal and planned communication systems came from Samrakshan because its co-founder, Meraj, had asked surveyors what was going on and received the least resistance to open communication. Surveyors not only discussed specifics about the dam and showed him maps, but also visited Samrakshan on several occasions to offer additional information. Samrakshan staff held separate meetings in the villages to inform locals of what they learned, as well as one large meeting where all villagers were welcome. However, a female respondent said the large meeting was located away from the majority of villages and timed in the afternoon when women are busy with household duties and meal preparation and men are working the fields. This created a high male attendance and low overall attendance, as well as creating a sense of power embodied by Samrakshan staff and local *Panchayat* community government members sitting on a higher platform than all other attendees. Interviewees were not specifically asked if they attended any of these meetings, but they were asked how they learned about the dam, and only one interviewee mentioned hearing about the dam from such a meeting. Despite this somewhat formal level of communication, Meraj recalls that no one had formally informed villagers, which government officials are required to do according to the Land Acquisition Act of India. Within village communication systems, it became clear that location was integral because most communication occurs in Agraa, the largest village in the area. If villages are re-located away from Agraa, communication systems could break down.

5.2.2 Location

Chentikheda along with more than half of the villages that will be submerged are located across the Kwari River from Agra; therefore, once the dam is built, the reservoir will flood the bridge that connects these villages to Agra and the only market in the area. The next closest market town is approximately an hour away by motorbike, but most travel on foot. The importance that Agra plays became clear during my research because not only do villagers visit daily, but it is their connection to current and local news, such as if a dam is going to be built. Most villagers go to Agra once a day on average with some going every two to four days. Villagers are worried about losing market access in Agra for needed supplies such as shampoo, clothes, food, as well as for trade and access to transportation. Buses travel through Agra and transport villagers to larger towns (a few hours away), and the nearest city and train station (four to five hours away).

Just as importantly, location is integral to financial stability. Male Kuswah, an interviewee, discussed a problem seen in previous displacement cases (see chapter two; Kabra, 2010; Walker, 2010). Currently, it is feasible for villagers to acquire loans, short-term or long-term, formally from local lenders who know those in their community, or from family members or friends because locals know each other. However, if villages are split up and/or moved away from Agra, locals may have trouble sourcing out loans. When discussing displacement, villagers brought up the importance of being located near Agra in some form or another.

It also became clear that location was integral to an *Adivasi* livelihood. Much of an *Adivasi* life in the study area is spent outdoors. Houses are small, with one, two or three rooms at most; they have open windows, spaces, and doorways that keep them

continually connected to the outdoors. Only sleeping and cooking (in some homes) are conducted inside; cleaning, bathing, water collection, animal care and tending to the field are all done outside and take up most of the day. In this environment, the sounds and smells experienced correlate to nature and a livelihood that is connected to the outdoors. Common sounds are tractors, cowbells, cows, goats, birds, chickens, and roosters. Some common smells are fire, dung, cooking, fields, and hay. Houses are made from natural substances such as mud, clay, dung, hay, bark, and wood. Common sights are men arriving home piled onto a tractor; men, women, and children walking home from the field carrying bushels of sugar cane; women walking home from the forest carrying firewood on their heads; and children sitting on look-out platforms watching over family crops. This is observed in my field notes:

The mountains that are to the one side of the river always seem to be basking in a translucent purple...The fields are so charismatic with varying crops of shades of green, pale to brilliant, colours of wheat, Dal, which is yellow, purple and green and of course mustard, which is such a brilliant yellow, but the intensity only lasts a week or so. There are different shades of brown, dusty brown and earth brown. A dark, rich soil brown that makes you want to stick your hands in it and grow something. The deep, rich brown creates lines of small trenches between rows of brilliant green crops that aren't very high, all together creating geometric lines and shapes over the land. Each farm is only a smaller parcel of land (a few acres) and hence each one is marked with a border and/or boundary of handmade stonewalls. The whole picture is a quilted menagerie of spaces, shapes, colours, smells and the growing of food, income, culture, and livelihood.

Crops lie next to the river where the soil is rich in nutrients and well irrigated, with villages further back; therefore, physical environment, and specifically location next to a river, is integral to *Adivasi* villages in the area.

5.2.3 Cultural Components

The importance of environment was further established through the analysis of culture. Cultural components of the data highlighted two main areas: livelihood and gender and caste dynamics. Emotive responses to displacement often revolved around livelihood; villagers spoke of their need for land and health facilities. Interviewees expressed fear that they would be moved to less fertile land. Some interviewees said they were currently happy; many expressed their feelings of well being in terms of their livelihood. The following quotes indicate this:

- How we cultivate our land, the way we live, we should be able to live like that.
- I'm happy; I'm pleased because I get two full meals a day, a full stomach and we have electricity, schools, good water for bathing, and roads, so they are in pretty good position right now.
- We have land here and are able to grow wheat, mustard, and chick peas; we just grow them and then are able to eat throughout the year.

It was clear in the findings that a self-sufficient sustainable livelihood was deeply connected to participants' emotions.

The second thematic finding within cultural components was gender and caste. It emerged that males, non-*Adivasis* and specialists had the most knowledge about the dam, and ethnic slurs were commonly made against the Sahariya, the primary *Adivasi* tribe in the study area. Males, non-*Adivasis* and specialists attributed to 78.3 percent of all dam knowledge occurrences, where *Adivasis* attributed to only 21.7 percent. This was experienced during community gatherings; for example, in Sispura, a male *Adivasi* told me he did not know any details about the dam and that I knew more than he. Dam knowledge rated higher with upper castes, and only slightly trickled down to *Adivasis* and even less to female *Adivasis*.

In relation to ethnic slurs, there were a few incidents when it was clear that not only *Adivasis* were viewed as a lower caste, but in particular Sahariyas, the primary *Adivasi* tribe in the area. Meraj had this to say when asked whether he thought the villages would create a movement against the dam:

The Sahariya community is very weak, very unorganized. They don't have their own, unlike other tribes who have a very strong sense of, community; these people have lost their sense of community. Somewhere they lost their religion, their language, they're not very educated, they don't have people in the government...they are very far behind. So, if push comes to shove, Sahariyas will lose...because...they are very insecure. The joke is that a band of gangs always carry some Sahariyas with them who they can trust with their arms when they go to sleep because Sahariyas will never have the courage to either run away with the arms...or to shoot them, which others would do. The Kuswah are very strong...as a community they are very powerful, moderately educated also... If they want to keep anything secret it is very difficult for any other community to get it out of a Kuswah, no, no, never. But not from Sahariyas, they're...very timid.

One of the guides I worked with shared similar thoughts as above. There were also a few incidents while I was with some upper-caste Hindu girls in Agra, where they pointed to an *Adivasi* person or talked about an *Adivasi* family using rhetoric such as, “they are crazy” and “they are a bad family” without being able to explain why. Cross-thematic analysis of dam knowledge, hearing about the dam, and gender and caste dynamics, shows that the local NGO, Samrakshan, is first to hear about, and has the most detailed information about, the dam, creating a power dynamic that could alter the local experience of pre-displacement, as well as increase the marginalization of local tribal populations. However, it could also provide a good basis for the NGO to act as an advocate and intermediary between locals and the government, as it has in past displacement cases.

5.2.4 Knowledge of the Chentikheda Dam (and others)

Dam knowledge is discussed above within the dynamics of gender and caste, showing who holds the most dam knowledge. However, under the theme Knowledge of the Chentikheda Dam, the findings relate to the actual knowledge held among interviewees, such as knowledge about the dam, and its impending submergence, and displacement. In addition, under this theme, agreements and disagreements to the dam, dam alternatives, and the knowledge of other dam displacement cases, were found.

Within the population of Chentikheda and other villages where I held community gatherings, knowledge was not high and varied hugely. Everyone knew that a dam is proposed for the area; beyond that, it was a *mélange* of when people thought it was coming, what they thought it was for and what was going to happen to them. Most of the technical knowledge was held by Samrakshan staff or non-*Adivasi* families because they had the opportunity to work with the surveyors and gain knowledge that way. Knowledge of the dam is incomplete and contradictory.

My fieldwork began after surveyors had begun testing the rock and soil, and measuring and mapping submergence lines to see if the area was fit for a dam. The perception that a dam was proposed in the area was unanimous. According to most villagers, surveyors were last seen around the end of monsoon season in August-September 2011. Rumors of a proposed dam, repeatedly cancelled, had been around for 20 years. School Teacher said surveyors had been in the area in 2004 and 2008, and now again in 2011. In terms of the reason for the dam, most knew that it was for irrigation for those downstream, however, one interviewee said that it was for electricity for Gwalior, a small city three hours away by jeep. Meraj and Male Kuswah said the submergence of

about 8,000 hectares was intended to benefit, through irrigation, 44,000 hectares and more than 6,000 villages. The water height over the bridge that connects villages to Agraa was reported by specialists to be anywhere from six to 20 feet. A local government official, the Chief Executive Officer of rural planning, confirmed that the dam was for irrigation, explaining that farmers downriver, a drought-prone area, rely on the monsoon to provide crop irrigation. The rural planning office is connected to the central government and includes projects such as, infrastructure development, agriculture reforms, and minor dams. His office, with the irrigation department is overseeing the Chentikheda Dam project.

When it came to how many villages would be fully or partially submerged, there was more variety in the findings. Locals said variously four, four to five, eight, or 12 villages would be affected. The villages most commonly named for full submergence were Shaipura, Mahavirpura, Chentikheda, Sispura, Dangpura, Golipura, Chuck and Khajuri, with partial submergence in Agraa, Khallai and Padri. The most specific information came from specialists.

As learned from the Chief Executive Officer, the Sub Divisional Magistrate (SDM) is the official in charge of informing villages about a dam through newspaper and village notifications; these notifications cannot be posted until the Detailed Project Report (DPR) is finalized. Meraj explained, “the [survey] team told us that the plan is not final, only tentative. The DPR is being prepared and it will be tabled in front of the government and once the government gives the go-ahead it will be finalized”. However, even though the DPR was not final, the survey was in its final stages, so some locals contacted the highest officials who disclaimed any knowledge about the dam. By

contrast, irrigation officials said notifications concerning the dam had been posted in the appropriate newspapers. More specifically, an Education Officer, a school official also from the rural planning office, said that the notifications “came out in two newspapers”. Samrakshan staff dispute this, claiming they are still trying to find any notifications. In sum, it can be determined that:

- the surveying reports were finished;
- the DPR was almost finalized;
- notifications about the dam were not to be posted before the DPR was finalized;
- some officials stated there had been notification;
- not a single local had seen a notification, and;
- local NGO staff are searching for notifications, so far without success.

Among this confusion, a government official told me that in February 2012, the budget for the dam, 205 Crore (or approximately USD 38 million), must be passed in Parliament and then construction would begin later in 2012. At time of writing this thesis, construction had not yet begun.

According to the Chief Executive Officer, the DPR addresses how much land is needed, how many people will be affected, and the Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) plan, such as utilities needed and the cost involved. The DPR is done by the technical department and a social analyst, and monitored by the irrigation department. After the DPR is published and the newspaper and village notifications have been posed by the SDM, there is a period of 15-30 days in which objections can be presented to the selected dam committee. One local observed that this allowed enough time to raise objections. However, DK, a local activist, said it did not give enough time (with which I

agree) for the introduction of alternatives to the dam through the objection process, such as pumps, wells, smaller dams that did not cause displacement through side canals, step irrigation systems and watershed development. He outlined possible alternatives:

They will work; there are benefits from such programs. You build structures that go from ridge to valley so the water is controlled... You make steps, little barrages, so the water stops at every level and the top soil that is running off stops at every level so you stop topsoil erosion, you increase the topsoil layer which here may be 0.5 to 1.5 feet; they do help.

Other specialists found similar benefits from small local projects. This alternative knowledge was a good indicator of the deficiency of and need for participatory development as advocated by alternative development scholars such as Penz, Drydyk and Bose (2011; see also chapter three). Participatory development would allow officials to learn about alternatives in order to lessen or nullify the need for the dam.

In terms of submergence/displacement knowledge in particular, interviewees understand that the land and area will be submerged, but are uncertain about moving from the area owing to insufficient knowledge of resettlement plans. Many locals disagreed with the dam due to this uncertainty. However, some said they would agree to the dam if they received similar/better land and facilities in the resettlement site.

In addition, neither of the two non-*Adivasi* interviewees, Male Kuswah and School Teacher, disagreed with the dam; both had received direct information about the dam from government officials. Male Kuswah was hired for wage labour to work alongside the surveyors; thus, he was able to see the maps and receive hands-on information and data about the dam, which he brought back to the village as he received it. School Teacher had collected census data for officials in order to create displacement records for the dam. He was also on a school tour with officials one day when their car

broke down, and while waiting for help, took the opportunity to ask questions about the dam and gained knowledge that way. Both individuals had personal contact with government officials about the dam and through this feel more comfortable agreeing with the dam.

Adivasis are more likely to disagree with the dam compared to non-*Adivasis*, especially those that were knowledgeable about PAPs displaced from the Kuno Sanctuary. *Adivasi* interviewees complained that those who were powerful received land and money, but those who are poor and not as powerful live in poor conditions. This dynamic created feelings of uncertainty and fear among *Adivasis* in Chentikheda, causing them to ask Male Kuswah to stop working with the surveyors, and he obliged. He explained that the villagers feared the village would get submerged and he would be the one benefiting from it.

Villagers' knowledge of displacement was shaped by what they had heard about the experiences of those displaced from the nearby Kuno Sanctuary (see chapters two and three). The level of knowledge of other displacement cases was mostly gained via local communication systems and to a much lesser extent via access to TVs and satellite dishes. Additionally, DK, the local activist interviewed, pointed out: "I myself have been displaced, and resettled in the jungle. I had 200 hectares, and here I only have two hectares so I went from high status to low status". Some locals had also heard about the infamous Sardar Sarovar dam and Dobni Dam, a small dam a few hours away within the same district as Chentikheda that had displaced eight villages. Masi, an interviewee, revealed that in Dobni, those who resisted, and only left as water levels rose, did not get

any compensation, but those who left earlier got a little money. Accounts such as these increase uncertainty and fear among those who disagree with the Chentikheda dam.

For *Adivasis* who reversed their initial disagreement with the dam, *Adivasi* Aunt explained her change of heart thus:

First of all we don't want to go. If we are moved out of here what will we do, how will we eat, how will we work, what will we do, where will we go? We can't just be abandoned and yet, yes, if by submerging one village they will benefit ten then, ya, it's not a bad thing as long as you give us land for land.

The idea that dam displacement is acceptable if the loss is compensated with similar, equal or improved amenities and benefits, shows a sense of what is right and wrong, which aligns with the concept of social justice, to which I now turn.

5.2.5 Topics of Social Justice

Interviewees have a strong concept of social justice, if not the terminology, which came out in a few ways. First, interviewees are generally happy and feel they live within an environment that is right, rather than wrong, or socially unjust. Second, interviewees explained that as long as they were displaced and resettled with similar, equal, or improved amenities and benefits, it was acceptable, but that if others benefited from the dam and they did not, it was unequal and unjust. However, uncertainty over whether locals would be justly compensated caused them to show resistance against the dam and the government.

Social justice is defined as what is good, fair, and equal (Capeheart & Milovanovic, 2007; see also chapter three). Social justice is concerned with society as a whole instead of the individual. This perspective was mirrored in my findings.

Interviewees and locals during community gatherings stated they are currently happy in

their life and livelihood with regard to land, irrigation, and facilities. There was also an emotive dimension, shared by both men and women, who equally express happiness and satisfaction, and feel they live a socially just life. Overall, residents of Chentikheda profess they are happy and satisfied with their village, community, land, home and the facilities and resources available to them through either the connection to Agraa or their geographic location near the river and forest.

Locals believe that in order for villages downstream to rightly benefit from the needed irrigation, those displaced should be relocated with equal land, resources, and facilities, or with improved conditions. Male *Adivasi* explained:

We get the idea that there are villages that want irrigation, who need irrigation. We get that. But eight villages are being submerged and if you resettle us properly then, ya, it works. But you need to resettle us; you can't just leave us out in the open and you need to do it right. If that is done, it is ok and everybody is happy. If these eight villages benefit in some way then it is ok, but we shouldn't be at a loss.

Many interviewees shared similar sentiments about the fair distribution of benefits. They understand the need for the dam and thus the need for displacement, but also understand what is right and what is wrong or the concept of social justice.

Besides the conceptualization of social justice, interviewees also discussed equitable distribution vis-a-vis displacement and resettlement. Multiple specialist interviewees advocated equitable distribution, which was addressed in chapter three as “an ethical requirement in responsible development” (Penz et al., 2011: 59). The definition of equitable distribution varied among non-specialist interviewees. Some believe it means, in the first instance, that every family receives land and, second, that every family receives the same amount of land regardless of how much land they had pre-displacement. Other interviewees feel that equitable distribution allows each family

to receive the same amount of land as they had pre-displacement; therefore, equal distribution can be defined as equal to pre-displacement holdings or a new equal with the slate wiped clean – that is, everyone starts out the same.

The above differences notwithstanding, locals agreed that at the very least, those being displaced should live after displacement as well as, if not better than, they currently do. Much of this sentiment reflected what locals think *should* be done, or what would make building the dam acceptable. Nevertheless, most interviewees doubt they will benefit, as evidenced by Ox Farmer's comment: "No, we won't get any benefits because if they move us from these houses, it will easily take three to five years to build these houses again and we won't get such land again". Locals believe it might be impossible to recreate their current life.

In terms of resistance towards the dam, only Masi's Son explicitly stated he and his family would refuse to leave Chentikheda; they are prepared to drown. Some interviewees, such as Ox Farmer, said that if given a choice they would not leave, but knew they would have to leave if told to by the government. Despite their aversion to the dam, locals fear governmental power and prefer to keep quiet, thereby decreasing the level of activism and the probability of an anti-dam movement.

5.2.6 The Indian Government

The most interesting findings under the theme, The Indian Government, include the governmental use of power and intimidation to ensure locals do not speak out against the dam, the involvement of government officials, and what locals have been told they will receive once displaced. In addition, governmental processes, what locals would say if they were asked via participatory practices, and lastly, politics, are discussed.

The significance of government is evident in the *Adivasi* villages. At the entrance to most villages, in an open space, a cement structure/block sits four to five feet off the ground with a surface of about 20 square feet; this is used for meetings only by members of the *Panchayat*⁴, a local village/community government body that controls multiple policy tasks at the village level. It is a constant reminder that governmental authorities carry an element of power with their position. These platforms carry a large impact in the environment because they are the largest concrete static structures in a village. They are higher than any other structure created for sitting. Local housing structures are made of natural substances and have less of an effect on the environment; sitting structures are made of thatch and are an element of the environment as well. There was no time during my fieldwork when I saw anyone else using the structure and its strict use was always explained to me by local guides.

Elements of governmental power and how it is used and perceived were commonly brought up during data-gathering exercises. Meraj said, “People have this notion that they can’t fight the government”. He described dealings with local government officials as impossible because he has never found them easy to talk to or bargain with. Meraj understands that theoretically the Chentikheda dam will provide irrigation downriver, but warns that such development projects serve to give more power to those already in power, such as local government officials or those that are closely connected to them. *Adivasi* and non-*Adivasi* interviewees shared similar sentiments that

⁴ *Panchayats*, also referred to as *gram panchayats* (GP), have varying responsibilities depending on how much the state devolves policy powers to GPs (Hazarika, 2012). GPs are responsible for civic administration in a village and despite varying powers, generally perform two distinct tasks. The first is “beneficiary selection for central and state welfare schemes”, which includes identifying households living below the poverty line (Hazarika, 2012: 224). The second policy task for GPs is the construction and maintenance of facilities such as roads, streetlights, and drains (Hazarika, 2012). Village meetings (*gram sabhas*) are located on the platforms being discussed.

alluded to a feeling of governmental power (see Table 5.3). There was a sense among interviewees that the government was not only much larger than they, as a community, but that they were ignored and powerless to suggest or create change.

Table 5.3: Interviewee quotes alluding to governmental power and intimidation among *Adivasis*

Interviewee	Quotes Alluding to Governmental Power and Intimidation
Masi's Son	If the government wants to submerge us, they can submerge us.
Male Kuswah	If the government wants the dam, they'll make it and if they don't want it, they won't make it.
Ox Farmer	The government is the all and powerful and if they want they will move us from this place...The options are with the government, if they want they can use coercion and kick us out and if they want they can cancel the dam.
Said at: Community Gathering	The plans are final, the government has already decided, so it doesn't matter, once they make up their mind you can't change it, the government doesn't care, they do what they want.
<i>Adivasi</i> Grandmother	They [the government] are sitting deaf, they've blocked their ears, and we [<i>Adivasi</i>] are sitting blind because we've not been told anything and they're doing it all secretly and conspiring[ly].
<i>Adivasi</i> Aunt	If the government doesn't want to give us anything, they just want to chuck us out like that, ya we'll move out...because we are not bigger than the government.

In addition, *Adivasi* Grandmother revealed that an official visiting Chentikheda had intimidated her and her family, warning that “they shouldn't meet and conspire or move against the dam and government because if they do that the government will simply make the dam and they won't get anything, so it's best to agree”.

Governmental power was also found when discussing governmental processes. When asking *Adivasi* Aunt and her husband about land rights, they responded: “You think documents are any use if the government doesn't want it that way? They're not, so wherever the government says go there, we will have to go there.” Meraj, who worked with displaced persons on the Kuno project, explained that 10 years ago, the Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) package consisted of one Lakh (100,000 Rupees) or about

US\$1,800, but the current package is 10 Lakh or about US\$18,000. The package grew tenfold in 10 years. This increase was a consequence of pressure from Samrakshan and displaced persons on the government to raise the amount. With this increase, the government portrayed Kuno as a success, but Meraj explained it differently:

The only way it was a success was that it brought so much pressure the government now recognizes that changes to the R&R plan need to be done. Now there is a rule that the forest department cannot do relocation; it has to be social scientists doing a number of studies before relocating people and they have to justify to the government why people should be relocated. Earlier the forest department had a free hand...and now 10 years after they cannot relocate two villages...people have learned that this is not something that should happen the way it happened.

However, given stories about mal-displacement connected to the Dobni dam, such as the aforementioned officials using intimidation and not providing any R&R, any success or change in cases of displacement was purely a monetary one.

Additional findings within government processes cross-sect literacy findings, under the theme communication. I learned that a notification had been posted in Chentikheda and villagers thought it was about the dam. The notification listed a time, date, and location for objections and thus a group of villagers decided to go. They had to use a tractor to get there and the location was a few hours away. Once arrived, they learned that the posting was not for the Chentikheda dam, but for a neighboring village about a section of land that was being given to the forestry department. As described by Male *Adivasi*, after the group shared their frustrations, “the officer said he would come to the village on the 20th and he did come, he set up this tent and everything; but, no discussion about that dam actually took place, he just came”. Male *Adivasi* said the officer cited several reasons for not seeing anyone: the villagers did not have their land documentation, villagers were not on the voter list, and other various bureaucratic issues.

The officer had come to the village to hear grievances, but according to India's Land Acquisition Act is supposed to occur after the DPR is finalized, which is still in progress. Additionally, the officer came to hear grievances, objections and have open discussion about the dam, yet did not have time because of paper-pushing; which could be a common side affect of governmental officials working within the power dynamics found.

The integration of politics or bureaucracy and government officials, also occurred while speaking with a government official, the Chief Executive Officer. The interview went smoothly; he answered the questions, though he often answered by suggesting I talk to another department or person. He also changed the topic continually from the dam to his other job with Amway; I had to keep returning the interview and conversation back to the dam. What was interesting about this incident was not only the politics he was playing by discussing Amway each time I asked a direct question about the dam, but that when he talked about Amway his English was perfect. However, when discussing the dam, his English was broken up and he primarily spoke through my translator.

5.2.7 Resettlement and Rehabilitation

Land, infrastructure or facility, and money demands were most commonly raised by locals as components of any Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) package. They emphasized the importance of livelihood, but also the emotional connection *Adivasis* have to their livelihood. Locals debated the benefits of receiving land versus monetary compensation. Locals also had different interpretations of the terms "resettlement" and "relocation", the former being preferred.

In terms of demands, non-*Adivasis* showed fewer concerns about R&R than *Adivasis*; this was similar to earlier findings where non-*Adivasis* also had less concern

about displacement. Non-*Adivasi* populations in previous displacement cases received preferential treatment (Penz et al. 2011). The demand for land was highest with *Adivasis*. Specialists live either out of the area or in villages that will be partially submerged or not submerged; they will not be highly affected and would not receive R&R. Six *Adivasi* and one non-*Adivasi* interviewee want land first and foremost, and four *Adivasi* interviewees specified land-for-land. Four specified good quality land because they had seen the poor quality of land given to those displaced by Kuno; that land was non-arable and located in a drought-prone area that lacked irrigation. This kind of land is called *Patthar*, literally meaning rock. A layer of rock sits under the topsoil, thus the land cannot be ploughed and will not grow what is required for an *Adivasi* livelihood.

With cash/money demands versus land demands, non-*Adivasi* demands were higher when compared to *Adivasi*; if non-*Adivasis* feel confident they will receive larger plots of better quality land (due to previous cases), it could lead them to think that cash demands would be more beneficial. A low percentage of *Adivasis* demanding cash relates to the emotional connection to their land as it provides their livelihood. *Adivasi* interviewees also said that money can get taken away and spent too quickly. *Adivasi* Grandmother's son explains:

I have nine people to support, right now, I can do it with my land, but even if I get 250 rupee from labor, how am I supposed to take care of nine people? I am not able to do that with money. But with land, I am able to do that.

Infrastructure/facility demands were equal between *Adivasis* and non-*Adivasis*. Specialists again rated low because those interviewed do not live in submergence areas and feel less threatened by the loss of facilities. Meraj mentioned that locals decided collectively during a village meeting that they wanted facilities such as “schools,

irrigation, roads, electricity, and health facilities” in their new location. *Adivasis* and non-*Adivasis* mentioned these same facilities during interviews, though within the concept of social justice; they should receive similar/equal or better facilities to what they already have.

Interviewees broadly preferred resettlement to relocation. Meraj attended a village meeting where villagers made clear “they want resettlement and not relocation, they do not want compensation in cash or kind, [and] they want villages to be resettled at some place of their choice”. Resettlement is seen as being resettled or displaced to a good location, one that sustains an *Adivasi* livelihood, with a house, land, and facilities. By contrast, relocation is only seen as receiving monetary compensation, in which displaced persons are told to move and must fend for themselves with the money given. *Adivasi* Grandmother defined it in this way: “If you get resettled you get land for land, and if you don’t get resettled you get money for land”. Many interviewees stated a preference towards resettlement and believe that with resettlement comes benefit.

The definition of R&R is much more ambiguous within displacement or development literature. When looking at a report in association with the World Bank, resettlement means to “settle the displaced people in some other place where convenient” or the idea of a physical resettlement (Dhagmvar, Chatterjee & Bala, 2001:14). In the United Nations (UN) *Comprehensive Human Rights Guidelines on Development-Based Displacement*, resettlement has a number of conditions (in Penz, Drydyk & Bose, 2011). The pertinent ones are: just and equitable compensation; land or housing that is safe, secure, accessible, affordable and habitable; a full resettlement policy in place, insuring equal rights to vulnerable groups; the agency proposing and carrying out resettlement

must bear the costs; and, full and informed consent as regards to the relocation site (Penz et al., 2011: 99). The UN defines resettlement as including land and compensation that is paid for by those causing the displacement. Relocation is only referred to as a geographic site.

Resettlement, from the perspective of the UN, as well as Cernea, who created the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (see chapter three), and the World Bank, needs improved planning, implementation and coordination (Penz et al., 2011: 19-20) and is defined as the plan or package that entails moving and resettling PAPs in their new location. Even though there is no one universal definition of resettlement, it is similar to interviewees' definitions because it alludes to more than just monetary compensation and/or a geographic move.

5.2.8 Limitations to Findings

There are, inevitably, some limitations to the above findings. First, the accuracy of the number of male and female interviewees. Second, an interviewee giving false information. And third, the relationship between the local NGO Samrakshan and interviewees, including the implications of using a staff member as a guide during three interviews.

Each interview was labeled as male or female to facilitate gender analysis. However, even though I have indicated five female *Adivasi* interviews, that number could be ambiguous. When defining whether an interview was male or female I asked myself a few questions: Was the person I initially asked to interview female? Did this same person sit across from me in an interview dialogue environment? Did the interview begin with this same person? If all of these questions were answered yes, then I labeled it a female

interview. These questions were important because each interview began with the solo interviewee, but then others would get involved. This included family members, neighbors, and/or onlookers. In four of the five female interviews, a male household member began answering questions as well.

Each of these four interviews had a different dynamic. In three of the interviews, male family members were already present and sitting behind the female interviewee, and in one interview, the male of the household entered part way through the interview. In two of the interviews with males already present, family members, male and female, would discuss answers as a group. In these cases, the female interviewee was not being overpowered and was able to answer questions as she wanted.

The other two female interviews, with *Adivasi* Aunt and *Adivasi* Mother, were less integrated; females did not have equal participation when compared to males. While interviewing *Adivasi* Aunt, her husband appeared. This created a visible dynamic change because she allowed him to answer all the questions directed at her. At one point, I asked my translator to specifically direct a question to her and she replied, “What do I have to say? He has said it all”. The interview could still be labeled female because it began as an interview with a female, and because she had answered the majority of questions before her husband arrived. In the interview with *Adivasi* Mother, her husband was already present. Throughout the interview, she became quiet and shy and looked to her husband to answer the questions. This interview was also labeled as a female interview because even though my initial interviewee became quiet, a female neighbor entered part way through, and answered questions; therefore, the majority of answers were from a female perspective.

The second limitation occurred from my interview with Masi's Son who provided false information; two things led me to think this. First, during my interview with Masi, she shared a high level of dam knowledge. However, Masi's Son, who lived in a separate house in the same village with his own family, said he knew nothing about the dam and only learned of it when I interviewed him several days after speaking to his mother. He was the only interviewee to reply that s/he had no knowledge of any dam. During the interview, neighbors joined in, which was a normal occurrence; this led to the second indicator that he was providing false information. When I asked Masi's Son how often he went to Agraa, he said 14 times a day, far above the average of one or two times a day. His neighbours laughed and accused him of lying because nobody went that often. The one-way trip between Agraa and Chentikheda takes 20 minutes by foot; therefore, the math suggests this was an exaggerated answer. I re-asked questions and further explained/reiterated who I was and why I was there, and he started to become more involved and offered data that did not have such false indications. Overall, it was only one of 15 interviews, thus does not negatively impact the overall study; it was still used.

The third limitation was the relationship between interviewees and Samrakshan, as well as the dynamic that occurred when using a Samrakshan staff member as a guide to help recruit interviewees in Chentikheda. At one point during the interview with Masi, who had previously received help from Samrakshan, she started to direct me to Samrakshan's co-founder Meraj and his staff for answers. This interview occurred on the second day I hired Ramlal, a Samrakshan staff member, as a local guide to help recruit interviewees. Additionally, during some of the interviews, he answered questions and participants looked to him for answers. This created a power dynamic during interviews

because locals may have felt that he had more knowledge about the dam and thus would provide a better answer. In findings, specialist interviewees had more knowledge about the dam because surveyors were more forthcoming and interactive with Samrakshan staff. Subsequently, I only conducted interviews with Akshita, my translator. However, after a few days, it was clear that there were benefits to hiring Ramlal because locals knew him, making recruitment easier.

5.3 Analysis and Discussion

This thesis began with the research question: **What is the local experience of pre-displacement?** In addition, two supplementary questions are posed to address the main question: **are there any implications of social justice?** and, **what is the level of policy control?** In this section, I analyze and discuss selected themes and findings from above in relation to each question. Policy control is not being addressed in the area, as locals were not formally notified about the dam. This is evident through analysis of the Land Acquisition Act and the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Bill. When comparing what should occur according to these two documents, to what is occurring, stages are out of order and in some cases missing altogether; this has caused emotions of uncertainty and fear among locals. I also discuss the proposed amendment to the Land Acquisition Act and the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Bill, which is said to not provide much change due to being watered down.

Locals did not use the term social justice during this study, but when asked if they lived a fair and just life, they primarily replied “yes”. They have what they need to live their preferred livelihood. Locals also understand the need for the dam, but demand that

the way they live either not change, or improve once displaced in order for all to benefit from the dam. This view aligns with social justice, which advocates benefits to all, rather than a select group or individual. Insufficient policy control and demands aligning with social justice added and helped to address locals' experience of pre-displacement, which overall has been confusing, non-participatory and complacent due to hearing about the dam for years and it never being built.

5.3.1 The local experience of learning about displacement

My primary thesis question examines the characteristics and processes of learning about displacement, and emotions engendered. To analyze these, I primarily use findings from the themes of communication, knowledge of the Chentikheda Dam, and emotive responses. First, I will discuss how locals learned about their impending displacement. Second, I will discuss the low level of anti-dam sentiment among locals despite the threat of displacement and their reluctance to move; this can be attributed to ethnic bias, government intimidation, and complacency that the dam will ever be built. Lastly, I will discuss emotions connected to the experience of learning about displacement, which were primarily fear and uncertainty.

The experience of learning about displacement primarily started in Chentikheda when surveyors began working in the area. Once surveyors were spotted, locals approached them in order to find out what they were doing; surveyors responded that there was going to be a dam and that testing had begun in the area. The first knowledge of the dam was informal. From the beginning of the experience, those who will be displaced were not given a formal notification from the government, as is required by law. This is similar to the Sariska Tiger Reserve study because Shahabuddin, Kumar and

Sharivastava (2007, see chapter three) also found that there had not been any formal notification.

Locals also learned about the dam from Samrakshan. Although not a formal notification, government officials *were* formally notifying Samrakshan about the dam. Samrakshan staff had better access to the surveyors than locals, as Meraj the co-founder explained in an interview: “For some days we accompanied the team, went about with them marking the places, so we had some idea of submergence”. As well, survey teams initiated visits to Samrakshan to provide updated information about the dam, including maps and plans for the area. The NGO attempted to act as a conduit of information to locals, as well as to ask locals what they wanted to be passed on to the government via Samrakshan as an intermediary. At a primary village meeting about the dam, Meraj recalled announcing to locals:

Now we have to prepare how we are going to deal with it. If we are not planning to resist the dam, then we need to think about how we are going to bargain with the government for what we want and how we are going to put our demands so we are not maltreated.

Interestingly, Meraj used the rhetoric of “we” rather than “you”, which can be interpreted as sounding communal, but he will not be affected by the dam personally; therefore, it may be difficult for locals to feel a sense of community with Meraj or other Samrakshan staff when discussing displacement. Only one local spoke of the NGO as being helpful during data gathering.

The lack of direct information given to locals concerning the dam and their impending displacement caused emotions of uncertainty. Locals are uncertain of the displacement package. This has left locals feeling uncertain in their ability to feed their families, provide an income for supplies such as medicine, and access much needed

resources, such as the forest and river. Fear also arose as a result of such uncertainty. Locals feel scared because they do not know if they will be able to feed themselves and their children as it depends on the quality and amount of land given. Fear also caused the documented reactions against surveyors, such as preventing them from doing their work. Fear remains because locals still have received no formal, direct communication about displacement from government authorities.

Despite not formally learning about displacement, locals residing in Chentikheda do have an understanding that a dam is going to be built and it will submerge their village causing displacement. With this knowledge, and a high level of uncertainty and fear, it is intriguing that there has not been an increase in local activism and/or movement against the dam, except for the one incident with locals blocking surveyor work. There are three reasons. Firstly, ethnic biases against the Sahariya tribe in particular, which causes feelings of marginalization and disempowerment. A local Sahariya male or female may feel powerless to create or cause change. Secondly, since the dam has been proposed and cancelled multiple times in the past, a sense of complacency is created, leaving locals questioning if the dam will ever be built. Thirdly, locals feel intimidated by a high level of government power and the officials that carry that power; this intimidation lessens the possibility of a local acting against a government project, such as a dam. These three elements have caused a lack of urgency within the experience of learning about displacement.

For Tribal or *Adivasi* populations in India, such as the Sahariya, India has adopted the term Scheduled Tribe, or Scheduled Caste, which is the lowest rung within the Indian caste system. Tribal and *Adivasi* populations in particular “are deprived of their rights in

each and every sphere of society” (Kaur & Kapoor, 2006: 12); this is clear in the many socially unjust displacement cases concerning *Adivasis* (see chapter three). Caste prejudices, against the Sahariya in particular, were also apparent during my research. Meraj (co-founder of Samrakshan), my initial translator Chiku, and a local upper Hindu family used biased expressions about Sahariya people. Such comments may be superficial rather than revealing a deeply held bias against Sahariyas, but biases and prejudices can have unintended consequences. For example, Meraj explained that he suggested at a village meeting that locals act against the government and the dam. However, if he believes – as he expressed in an interview – that Sahariya people do not have the power or will to fight and become organized, how could he show true conviction in this leadership? As claimed by an attendee of a village meeting about the dam, the timing and location of the meeting were not conducive to a Sahariya lifestyle and thus had a low turnout, marginalizing Sahariya people even further. The meeting was based on the time and location available to the NGO and the *panchayat*. Marginalization can cause disempowerment, leaving Sahariya people to feel they lack the ability and/or community support from those in power to organize, plan, or make an impact against the dam.

Despite the inevitability that survey work on the dam has begun, there is a sense of complacency that the dam may not be built. Various interviewees noted the dam was first rumoured 20 to 40 years ago but never built. Even Meraj, who receives more formal governmental information than locals, betrayed skepticism during an interview: “During the last decade that I’ve been here, this dam thing kept coming up at times. It all sounded like rumors, improvising then dying out.” School Teacher blamed the constant dam/no dam decisions on the constant change of elected governmental parties.

Also causing complacency is the visible construction occurring in Chentikheda. School Teacher says one structure will be a guesthouse upon completion, while two other buildings are also being constructed in the village. As such, he questions whether the village will be submerged or moved. As said in a community gathering, the knowledge of such infamous cases as the Sardar Sarovar dam has also added to feelings of complacency, but more to a perceived powerless against government:

I heard about Narmada and how 700 villages were submerged there, and they⁵ tried to stop them, and then 700 couldn't do anything. Why I am able to do anything? So, if they want it, it will happen, and they don't get to it, it won't happen, the whole idea that it may just get cancelled again.

Government power and intimidation is the third element causing locals to experience pre-displacement with passivity. As found earlier, government officials have a record of intimidating and forcing *Adivasis*, especially in Madhya Pradesh to live in fear because of the systematic effort used to undermine local *Adivasi* populations (Kaur & Kapoor, 2006: 14). A high level of governmental power was evident when interviewees discussed how they felt about the dam (see Table 5.3), saying that if the government wants to build a dam, they will. Insufficient notification and local participation augmented governmental power. Locals have not been asked for any input into the dam project, nor, more importantly, into displacement planning. The government is viewed as the highest power that trumps all other levels of public opinion. Referring back to Penz et al. (2011) and other scholars, development planning and displacement planning in particular should include the participation of local populations in order to ensure development is occurring within an environment of social justice. The overwhelming power emitted from local government authorities creates a static environment without

⁵ 'they' in this block quote refers to government officials

activism or community movement. Locals are already marginalized because of their caste level in Indian society, but ethnic biases and government intimidation and power can cause them to feel further marginalized and disempowered, rendering them inactive during experiences that threaten their livelihood, such as displacement.

5.3.2 Implications for social justice

There are numerous documented cases of social injustices in dam displacement. However, most of these cases are within a post-displacement context, after displacement has occurred; therefore, I was interested in the implications for social justice in a pre-displacement case, such as the proposed Chentikheda Dam. I found a high level of conceptual knowledge of social justice among locals, as well as a communal understanding of the need for the dam; a greater sense of community was found within the context of social justice among locals than what was said by specialists, who alluded that Sahariya people lack strength of community.

Villagers are happy with their current situation and are satisfied with the resources, access, income, location, and facilities available to them. Locals have what they need to live within their preferred livelihood, which can be perceived as a socially just environment. The existence of socially just pre-displacement livelihoods showcase the extremity of poorly planned displacement. Much of the literature that discusses life pre-displacement is taken from research done at the resettlement site. The temporal location of research could cause a bias in that, once a situation worsens post-displacement, those displaced might perceive the previous situation in a better light; such interviewees could forget previous issues and romanticize life before. Post-displacement research is partly based on the memory of interviewees, rather than conducted in real

time. The research at hand confirms that life at the proposed dam site of Chentikeda is indeed better prior to displacement when compared to past displacement cases; residents live as they choose, and work and think on a communal level in a socially just environment.

Evidence of communal thinking among the Sahariya was contradictory to specialist interviewees' comments that Sahariyas were not as strong a community as Kuswahs for example. During a community gathering a local Sahariya said, "Tell the government that Chentikheda is a good village; we are good people". This could be representative of the bias and ethnic prejudice found against Sahariyas, as well as governmental intimidation. Sahariya people were not only found to have a strong sense of community, but concept of social justice through demanding equal benefits from the dam.

Locals understand the dam is needed to supply irrigation to thousands downstream; the rationale makes sense and even seems fair to locals, as long as just benefits are received, that is, a similar or improved quality of life. All should benefit from the project. This communal understanding that the dam is needed, and displacement must happen was surprising because with previous dam cases, such as the Sardar Sarovar Dam, locals were clearly anti-dam; there was not any want of negotiation or sense of communal benefit. Sahariyas in the study area are understanding and aware that development must occur to benefit others, and as long as their livelihood does not decrease, this is acceptable. Based on the findings, it is likely that a loss of hope, through marginalization, disempowerment, intimidation, and insufficient formal notification, has caused Sahariyas to be inactive in a fight against the dam, rather than a lack of organization or community. Locals see community as accepting that other community members downstream require

irrigation from the dam; this also requires accepting displacement. Locals also demand that development be community driven; those who must be displaced must also benefit from the project and be able to continue to live their preferred livelihood as they did prior to displacement. The concept that all within the community and/or shared ethnicity should benefit aligns with social justice as defined by Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007), and Fraser and Honneth (2003).

5.3.3 Policy control

It is important to analyze government processes at work in pre-displacement experiences and to evaluate if they are being implemented in accordance with current laws. The Land Acquisition Act (LAA), which is law in India, and the National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation (NPRR), which is policy, are the two most important government processes in this study. The former deals with the permissibility of taking land from *Adivasis* for development and the latter deals with displacement planning. As Professor Kabra asked during her Displacement, Resettlement and Rehabilitation lecture, one of many I attended during my research in 2011 at Ambedkar University in Delhi: “Are there enough laws to cover the issues? Yes. Are they being utilized on the ground? No” (Kabra, 2011b). In 2011, the Supreme Court of India stated that the LAA “has become outdated and needs to be replaced at the earliest by fair, reasonable and rational enactment in tune with... constitutional provisions” (2011, n.p. in ET Bureau, 2011: para. 2). The LAA has had many amendments over the years, with the most current being in 1984, and is said to have caused or triggered most displacement (Sreedhar, 2011). There is a current amendment sitting in parliament, however, if passed may not provide much change.

The LAA gives the government the right to expropriate private property for public use through eminent domain. It also gives the state the right to override all and any policies (Sreedhar, 2011). Under Indian law, no one can deny the LAA and within the act, public use is not defined; anything can be described as a purpose to displace people as long as the owner or tenant are compensated with cash (Sreedhar, 2011). Cash compensation was the largest concern among locals who demanded land instead of cash in order to be able to sustain their livelihood. Displacement planning that does not sustain the livelihood of those having to move is not socially just because cash, in this case, would not be considered a benefit. Social and distributive justice advocates for the discussion of actual compensation within displacement. Distributive justice, as envisioned by Penz et al. (2011), makes for responsible development. Participatory displacement planning allows for a socially just project where displacement is viewed as more than a social cost to development (Grabska & Mehta, 2008).

In order to address the absence of social justice within the LAA, the Indian Government created the National Policy of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (NPRR) in 2007. However, the LAA is an act and the NPRR a policy. Mahapatra (1999) explains that policies are not enough because even if a policy advocates justice, a policy or bill is only a suggestion, and it is not law; this means that the law in India would favour the LAA over the NPRR. In addition, the NPRR only needs to be implemented if a project displaces 400-plus families living in the plains or 200-plus families living in the hills; therefore, if a project will only displace 399 families, the NPRR policy does not need to be implemented. This prompts companies and officials to propose multiple smaller projects in the same area instead of one big one, even though the smaller projects add up

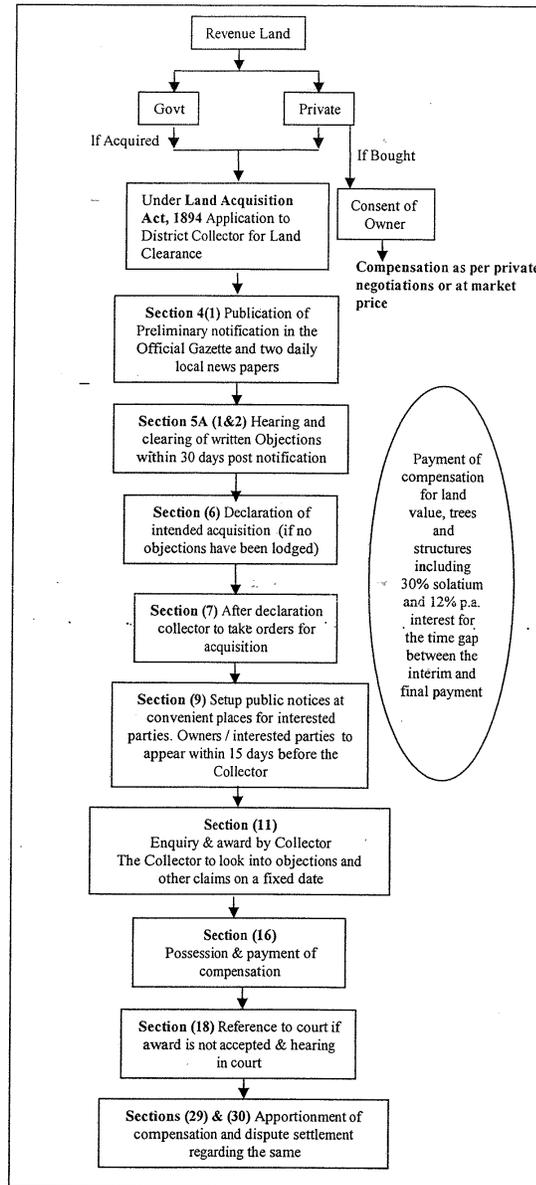
to 400-plus affected families (Sreedhar, 2011). Given this, the LAA is law binding and yet it is not being followed in the study area; there is not enough policy control. The LAA and NPRR stages are discussed below in order to better understand this. The NPRR is generally used in conjunction with the LAA rather than before. However, Mahapatra (1999) and Sreedhar (2011) believe that during the pre-displacement stage and before the physical act of displacement, the planning should occur. Below, what *should* occur according to Indian law is first discussed, followed by what *is* occurring in the study area as compared to Indian law.

What Should Occur According to Indian Law

The first stage in the LAA (see figure 5.2) is to make an application to the District Collector for land clearance. The District Collector is also the administrator and Commissioner for the NPRR. Despite this, a local District Collector explained that the Sub-Divisional Magistrate (SDM) is in charge of these stages; there was confusion from the start. The second stage requires an official to publish preliminary notifications in the Official Gazette and two daily local papers (ERM India, n.d.). This stage is to notify locals of land acquisition so that they may provide objections (ERM India, n.d.). Officials told Samrakshan staff that the notifications had been published. I was also told this in interviews with Education Official and Chief Executive Officer. However, to date none have been found by locals or Samrakshan staff. It could be that they were published and never seen, or that they were not published and this stage in the LAA was dismissed. In view of local communication systems, the high level attempt by Samrakshan staff to find the publications, and the fact that a posting for another case was quickly seen and discussed, I believe the latter to be true – that is, the notifications never occurred.

Figure 5.2: Land Acquisition Act

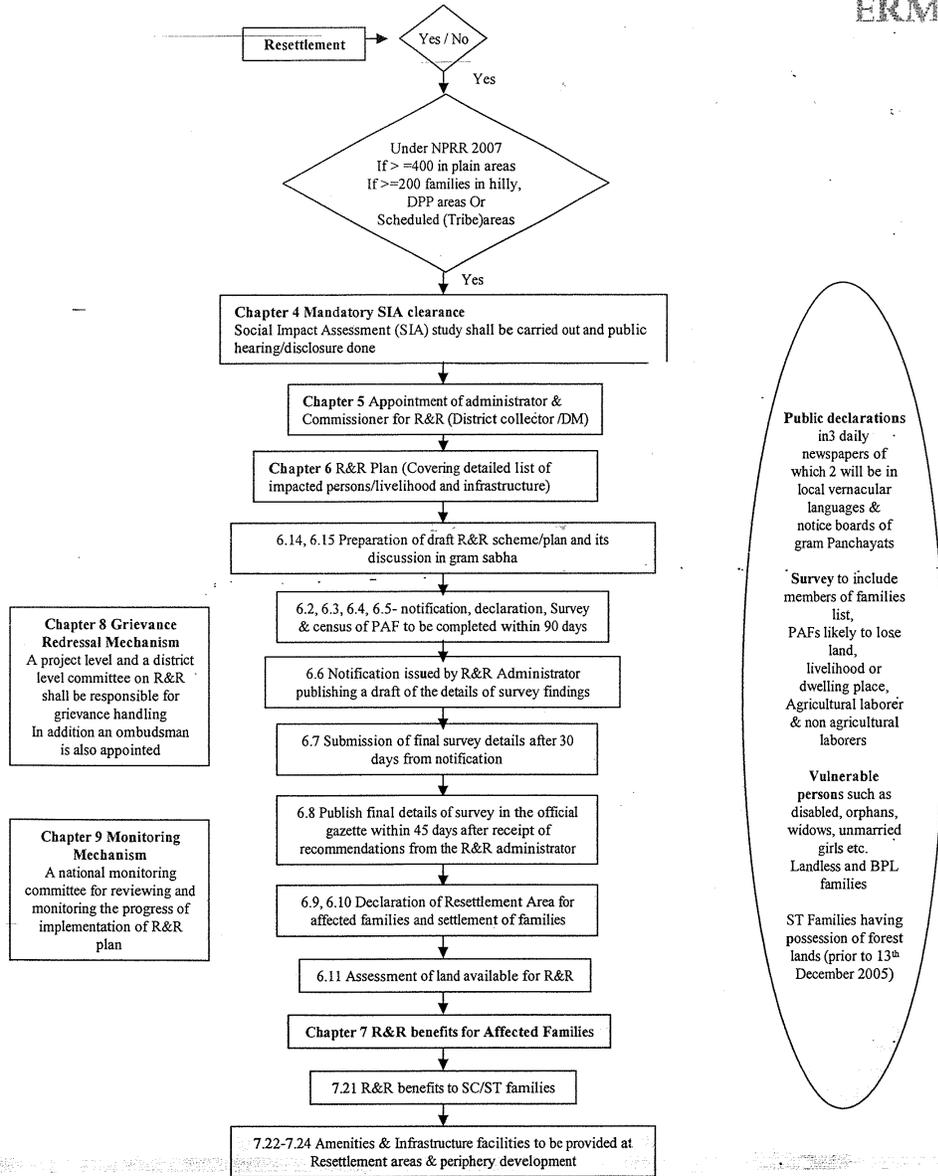
Process of Land Acquisition in India



In conjunction with the LAA notification stage, the NPRR (see figure 5.3) declares a mandatory Social Impact Assessment (SIA), which used to be called the Detailed Project Report (DPR).

Figure 5.2: National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation

Resettlement & Rehabilitation Process as per NPRR 2007



ERM India

Forum on Land Acquisition and Resettlement

In the study area, the term DPR is still used, which is interesting because SIA has a

stronger rhetoric towards justice. The DPR denotes just that, a project report, where the SIA denotes the possibility that there will be social impacts from the proposed project and that they need to be addressed. This relates to the use of resettlement versus displacement in chapter three. Lustig and Kingsbury (2006) advocate for the use of the term displacement because the term resettlement sounds less evasive, minimizing what displacement actually means. Using the term DPR could have less effectiveness as with using resettlement. Part of the SIA in India investigates societal benefits, say from a dam, versus the social costs. The benefits need to be greater than the costs in order for a project to be cleared (ERM India, n.d.; Kabra, 2011b). The SIA if used properly could lessen or negate the social costs of displacement, which are considered by developers to be tolerable and a just sacrifice in order for the elite to benefit (de Wet, 2001; Grabska & Mehta, 2009; Muggah, 2008; Oliver-Smith, 2009; Penz et al., 2011). The SIA also provides the basis for the R&R plan.

Once the project is cleared and approved notification must occur in three daily newspapers, of which two must be in the local language of those who will be impacted. Notifications must also be posted on *panchayat* notice boards; there must also be a public hearing/disclosure for objections (ERM India, n.d.: 2). Project Affected Peoples (PAPs) must appear before the District Collector within 15 days to make objections (ERM India, n.d.). Through the notification stage, a survey, and census including a list of all PAPs, and vulnerable persons, such as widows, orphans, unmarried girls, and disabled persons, must occur (ERM India, n.d.).

What is Occurring as Compared to Indian Law?

In accordance with the LAA, notification is supposed to occur at the beginning of a

project. Within the NPRR, notifications and objections occur after the SIA, along with a survey and census. Regarding Chentikheda, School Teacher said a census had already occurred for the dam *before* the SIA and formal notification. Additionally, multiple surveys occurred, which is supposed to include information about PAPs and their livelihood, but no one was approached. As well, there was confusion over a posted notification for another village, which caused an official to visit the area to hear objections to the dam; this is not supposed to occur until after the SIA, which has yet to occur. In addition, it is now possible due to differing opinions from officials on what *should* occur, that they may consider this impromptu visit *as* the LAA and NPRR objection stage. This further marginalizes and disempowers local populations, as they may not have a chance to give a formal objection, as is their legal right.

Without notification, participation, or the allowance of objections, officials are not following international displacement commissions, UN principles on displacement, Indian policies on displacement, nor Indian state laws. India has a hierarchical administrative system (see Figure 1.1) that consists of a “maze of various components forming the gamut of executive in the parliamentary system of government” (Chakrabarty & Pandey, 2008: 69). The Indian government is a confusing hybrid of parliamentary and federal structures. However, within the Indian system, states have less independent power than in traditional federal systems, though a current focus towards democratization has increasingly given them more power (Chakrabarty & Pandey, 2008; Mitra & Pehl, 2010). In Figure 1.1, the districts are divided between rural (on the left) and urban (on the right). In the case of national laws, all states must follow them equally according to the constitution and the Supreme Court of India. A higher level of policy

control as determined by the Indian system is needed within the area of study and within local development projects.

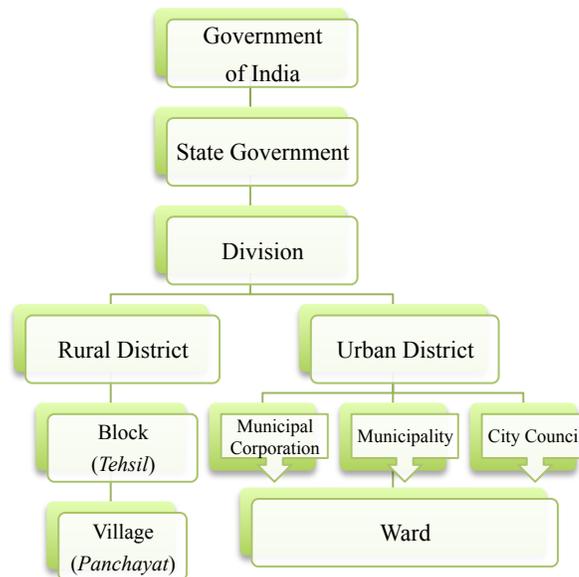


Figure 5.4: Administrative Structure of Indian Government

In recent years, an LAA amendment was proposed in order to improve displacement outcomes and policy control. Some scholars argue that the original amendment bill could have allowed positive change, but question the loopholes in the currently submitted version, which was watered down substantially (Kabra, 2011b; Sreedhar, 2011).⁶ The amendment combines the Land Acquisition Act 1894 and the National Policy on Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2007 into the Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2011.

⁶ Given that the Land Acquisition Amendment Bill was brand new when I entered my fieldwork there was not any scholarly reviewed literature on it; therefore, I turned to a professor who is a policy expert. Professor Asmita Kabra of Ambedkar University in Dwarka, India recommended him. The Bill is still in standing with the committee and has not been passed.

If the amendment bill passes before the Chentikheda Dam is finished, the government must make changes to incorporate the amendment bill, such as gaining consent from two-thirds of landowners or from all local institutions of self-governance before acquisition of land can take place. Provisions for food security, such as arable land, must also be implemented. Meraj, the co-founder of Samrakshan, the NGO office that housed my stay, said, “there is a sudden rush being felt by those building dams to get the project finished before the amendment goes through so they don’t have to incorporate the changes”. During the time of writing this thesis, the amendment bill was still sitting in parliament. Officials have been putting it aside for two years always with a promise to discuss it during the next parliamentary seating; they occur three times a year and no more than six months apart. Even if passed the amendment has been criticized as a framework that leaves displacement planning at the discretion of the government, denying PAPs the chance to have their rights enforced (IDMCR, 2010).

6.4 Summary

Overall, the local experience of pre-displacement has been a confusing and emotional journey for those who will become displaced from the Chentikheda dam. Notification of the dam never formally occurred, causing a lack of knowledge among locals, which exacerbated their uncertainty about their future and fear that they will lose the ability to sustain their livelihood. However, despite these strong emotions, activism against the dam and displacement barely occurred; this passivity can be explained by ethnic biases against the Sahariya, government intimidation and a complacency about aborted dam proposals; locals have heard it all before.

In addition, locals were initially against the dam, but understand the need for it in order to provide irrigation to villages downstream, which differs from previous dam cases that have caused large anti-dam movements. There is a stronger sense of community in the area than other cases. Locals said that there is a need for the dam downstream and those living downstream need irrigation, which the dam will provide, and thus they will be displaced to provide for others. However, this communal understanding is only accepted through fairness and what is right and good, which aligns with the concept of social justice. In order for locals to accept this communal need for displacement, displacement must benefit locals as the dam is benefiting those downstream. A development project must benefit all involved. Locals demand similar/equal or improved land and facilities.

The local experience of pre-displacement is also lacking in policy control. Local officials are not following the LAA or the NPRR, and the proposed amendment does not look as though it will bring much improvement. Stages are occurring out of order as well as being skipped. The inclusion of such stages as the SIA allows locals to provide information to help with displacement planning. Use of the LAA and NPRR would also negate government intimidation in this area because locals are willing to work with officials to plan a just development project that incorporates their livelihood. Local research needs to occur during a dam proposal in order to secure local livelihoods through participation and allow for socially just development that leads to an equal or improved way of life for currently marginalized populations.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Chapter six provides an overall thesis summary including my thesis questions, as well as my objective to inform civil society. My thesis question asked: what is the local experience of pre-displacement. In order to address this question I asked two supplementary questions as well: what is the level of policy control; and, are there any implications of social justice. I quickly revisit my research rationale and summarize this case study. I offer four recommendations: (i) increase policy control; (ii) incorporate participatory elements into development planning; (iii) increase pre-displacement research; and, (iv) inform civil society with such research. Finally, I discuss ideas for future research, such as additional studies within the pre-displacement context in India; this can further inform civil society, but also advocate for local studies within overall development planning in the hopes of improving development and displacement planning when vulnerable populations are involved.

6.1 Adivasis, Dams and Pre-Displacement Research

Development projects, such as dams, have caused the displacement of millions of *Adivasi*, further causing an increase in poverty and a decrease in livelihood for India's indigenous; this has been well documented within a post-displacement context, after displacement has already occurred. However, not enough research has taken place within the pre-displacement context informing civil society that act as intermediaries for vulnerable populations. The central focus of this thesis questioned the local experience of pre-displacement. The level of policy control, as well as the implication of social justice,

were also questioned. These concerns were researched during the proposal stage of the Chentikheda Dam in Central Madhya Pradesh, India.

Dams were globally constructed in large numbers during the 1950s and 1960s. During this time, modernization and economic development models were dominant in developed and developing countries; the purpose was to effect power through industrialization, such as the building of dams. In this thesis, three Indian cases were introduced: the Sardar Sarovar Dam; Tawa Dam; and Kuno Sanctuary. Each of these cases are within the same or neighboring state as the proposed Chentikheda Dam and showed evidence of socially unjust development and in particular, displacement in India.

Development has many definitions and some scholars even ask, what is development? (Schafer, Haslam, & Beaudet, 2012). In this thesis, development is defined, after Penz, Drydyk and Bose (2011), as equitable distribution that incorporates active participation and knowledge-sharing with locals. This includes a multi-agency, responsible, and rights-based approach to development project design (Lustig & Kingsbury, 2006; Morvaridi, 2008; Penz et al. 2011); therefore, giving civil society the capability to informally or formally act as a conduit between locals and government in development projects.

In order to conduct pre-displacement research, it was imperative to travel to and live within the study area. Holistic ethnography created an inductive research environment allowing the results to come from the data, rather than from classification. Multiple methods were chosen, such as overt participant observation, interviews, and community gatherings. Data analysis consisted of holistic and emotive coding, followed by thematic analysis to create eight overall themes: communication; location; cultural

components; knowledge of the Chentikheda dam (and others); topics of social justice; the Indian government; resettlement and rehabilitation; and emotive responses. Below I summarize the imperative aspects of my findings in regards to my thesis question, and primary results.

6.2 Findings, Results, and Research Limitations

Overall, the experience of learning about displacement from a local perspective was found to be a confusing and emotional journey for those who could become displaced by the Chentikheda dam. Insufficient policy control was causing this confusion. The Land Acquisition Act and National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy assure notification to Project Affected Peoples (PAPs) of any development project that brings about displacement. In spite of that, formal notification was never given. Locals became aware of the dam because surveyors were spotted working in the area and made inquiries. Dam knowledge was primarily acquired through inter- and intra-village communication and from Samrakshan. Meraj, a Samrakshan co-founder, was receiving formal notification from surveyors and government officials and passed it onto villagers through village meetings. A lack of communication from dam planners resulted in locals feeling uncertain about their future and worried if displacement outcomes would allow them to sustain their preferred livelihood.

These emotions came from the inherent connection between *Adivasis* and their livelihood. Locals commonly referred to aspects of their livelihood, such as land, to express their feelings. Due to the feeling of uncertainty about life post-displacement, locals were initially against the dam. Locals doubt they will reap any benefit, but that the

villages downstream will. Locals do not want to be displaced, yet also understand that development needs to occur and that the dam was being built to provide irrigation. Locals determined that the focus must be on the whole of society rather than the individual, especially within development. Locals demand that displacement planning make provision for similar/equal or improved land and facilities. If the dam and thus the development project had socially just provisions in place that ensured a local standard of livelihood post-displacement, then locals would agree with the dam.

Despite results indicating high levels of emotion against the dam, locals are unresisting towards the dam. This is attributed to an ethnic bias against the Sahariya, the primary *Adivasi* tribe in the area, government intimidation, and a complacency that the dam may not be built. Although biases were minor, they were still found. There is a biased perception that Sahariyas are unorganized as a community and uneducated, thus overall a weaker tribe when compared to others. This can attribute to a lower level of resistance among a group because although not blatant, biases can subconsciously influence decisions, actions, or attitudes.

In the study area the government rules through the effect of power and use of intimidation. Locals see the government as a powerful entity that makes decisions based on its own perceptions, wants, and needs, that is, if the government decides to build a dam, that is what it will do, despite protest. Locals feel they do not have power to persuade the government, so why bother. Past cases, such as the Sardar Sarovar Dam, became famous owing to the efforts of an anti-dam movement that was well covered by the Indian and international media. Thousands of *Adivasis* and well-known activists resisted the dam, and yet, were not successful in stopping completion or bettering socially

unjust displacement plans. Cases such as these add to the perception of government power and to local passivity in fighting against it. This was magnified by blatant intimidation from government officials who visited Chentikheda, informing locals that it is better to keep quiet or not receive compensation. This also magnifies the level of fear locals felt within the whole experience. It is proposed that local fear, government intimidation and further marginalization could have been avoided with the use of participatory development because, in this case, locals inclined to agree with the dam as long as they were justly compensated and provided an equal/similar or improved livelihood post-displacement.

The third element to a low level of resistance was in the complacency over whether the dam would actually be built. This was not a newly proposed dam; there had been talk of a dam in the area going as far back as 40 years, and as recently as 2008, prior to surveyors starting work in 2011. In addition, at the time of research, there was ongoing construction in Chentikheda of newly government-sanctioned buildings. These two elements resulted in locals thinking the dam would not be built.

The research was conducted rigorously, but three research limitations must be acknowledged. The first limitation was the accuracy of female interviewees. Five were listed; conversely, this could be argued an ambiguous number because in four of the five female interviews a male was or became present. After analyzing the dynamics of each, the female determinant did not change. The ambiguity of the labeling could be seen as lessening the reality of any female perspective in the overall study, but as this study did not have a specifically gendered focus, this limitation does not have a large impact on the results. However, a gender specific analysis on pre-displacement knowledge would be

imperative in pre-displacement literature. The second limitation came from the false information provided by Masi's Son. As this was only one *Adivasi* interview among eight, and one interview among 15, the chance of skewing the data was slim. For future thought, a merely quantitative study may be more affected by this limitation. The third limitation was the relationship between locals and Samrakshan, as well as the dynamic that occurred when using a Samrakshan staff member as a guide to help recruit interviewees. This limitation was quickly dealt with through my translator and thus did not have any ramifications on the data. As a novice ethnographer, I can only hope that my choices of holistic ethnography, multiple methods, along with constant comparison and reflexivity, lessen any impact of these limitations and ultimately put forth recommendations that improve socially unjust displacement and ultimately development in India.

6.3 Recommendations

Four recommendations are made: local laws should be followed, especially within the context of displacement; participatory development planning should be incorporated; displacement scholars should increase their research focus in India on pre-displacement specific cases; and civil society acting as advocates and intermediaries for vulnerable populations in development and displacement cases, should either conduct or incorporate (in partnerships with researchers) pre-displacement research in order to affect change proactively.

- i. Follow local laws

In this study if laws had been followed, notification would have been provided in local newspapers and on village bulletins, decreasing, confusion, the spread of rumors, and a heightened level of fear and uncertainty. If laws were followed the Social Impact Assessment (SIA) would have also been conducted which determines the impact displacement will have on locals as well as uses participatory elements to investigate ways to lessen or nullify the impacts. The SIA allows locals to provide information during displacement planning about their livelihood and their needs post-displacement. Following local laws can deter from a domino effect of other outcomes such as resistance and government intimidation.

ii. Incorporate participatory planning

Alone, the first recommendation provides an avenue for the second recommendation because participatory planning is already placed within displacement laws. In India when a dam is proposed a Social Impact Assessment is called for, which provides an avenue for officials and planners to converse and gain information from locals; this is a starting point at incorporating participation between locals and officials. This level of participation would decrease confusion, uncertainty, and emotive levels of fear, as locals would have the chance to not only help in the development process, but also engage in knowledge sharing with local officials. Participation, as part of the implementation of doing temporal displacement research, should also allow for partnerships between researchers and locals. Locals should have a hand in the research because what is at stake is their livelihood, which they understand better than anyone. Though civil society and/or researchers may have to be conduits of such research based on caste relations and power in India, it is

important that information gathered be at least in part controlled by rural communities themselves.

iii. Conduct scholarly research pre-displacement

The third recommendation suggests that displacement researchers and scholars increase their focus on pre-displacement research, especially in India; this will showcase injustices within the process of learning about displacement, such as insufficient policy control as it is happening. As seen in the case of the Kuno Sanctuary, Samrakshan was able to provide, if only minimal, research to officials highlighting poor displacement planning, which in turn increased the compensation package. However, the outcome, though positive, could have been bigger if more research had been done.

iv. Conduct project assessments pre-displacement

Civil society organizations that advocate and intermeditate for marginalized populations have the power to informally or formally create dialogue with government officials. Many officials will not meet with locals, especially indigenous locals, but will meet with formal organizations that speak on behalf of these groups. The fourth recommendation suggests that pre-displacement research can inform civil society in order to provide evidence and empirical data as regarded by government officials. This research can come from partnering with researchers or from civil society staff competent in research methodologies.

Although, it is important to ensure that civil society are not further marginalizing vulnerable populations by acting on their behalf. Though Samrakshan and its staff have made strides in the study area, biases and local reliance on their knowledge could cause further marginalization. As my second recommendation suggests, participatory

development planning is imperative; this is just as important in pre-displacement research. Locals should be involved in the research methods and planning.

Pre-displacement research needs to occur in order to secure local livelihoods and allow for socially just development that leads to an equal or improved way of life for currently marginalized populations. Civil society using and/or incorporating such research into advocacy and intermediation can affect change proactively. These recommendations come twofold: short term in respect to the study at hand and long term in respect to additional current, and future dam displacement cases. Both are integral to making change in the current stage of the Chentikheda Dam as well as to improve displacement outcomes and ultimately development in India.

6.4 Future Research

Longitudinal studies are promising, ranging from pre-displacement through to post-displacement; these could document the entire process of displacement from hearing about it to the actuality of occurrence. Scudder (2009: 26) believes that a gap exists in long-term research that deals with human societies involved in major development interventions. These studies could occur within a manner of discourses, such as gender and livelihood. Several authors are now calling for research that focuses on the rights and perceptions of displaced people, as well as their right to information and preferred livelihood (Mehta, 2008: 202). Increased research of this kind could provide evidence from within development and displacement planning as it is occurring, in hopes of encouraging government bodies to proactively engage with policy control, participatory development, pre-displacement research, and civil society.

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Appendix A: *Adivasi*/non-*Adivasi* Interview Questions

Dam Knowledge

1. Have you heard about the Chetikheda Dam?
2. How and from who?
3. Do you know what the legal process is for hearing about a dam?
4. Was this followed?
5. Has anyone asked you what you thought about the dam or asked for your help?
6. How do you feel about the process you experienced in learning about the dam?
7. What do you know about the dam?
8. Did you know your village will be submerged along with 7 other villages?
9. How did you and your family feel when you heard this?
10. Would you want to be part of the planning, or have the right to refuse the dam?
11. Can you think of any alternatives to the dam?

Local Knowledge/Livelihood

12. How do you feel this will impact you and your family?
13. The Chentikehda Dam is for irrigation; do you feel this will help you or others?
14. Do you feel you will benefit from the dam in any way?
15. Do you agree with the dam, why/why not?
16. Do you feel it is right that you must move in order for others to benefit?
17. When you learn that you must move, what will you do, will you take any action?
18. Do you feel that the village will be against it or for it as a whole, and why?
19. Do you know of any villages displaced in India due to a dam?
20. Do you currently live with all basic needs/happy with life and why?
21. Has any work been done for the dam yet?
22. Do you go to Agraa often and why? If you are relocated further away, how will this impact you?
23. What else are you most worried about?

Demographic Information

24. Are you literate?
25. Single/married/widowed?
26. How many persons live in the household?
27. How many years have you lived in Chentikheda?
28. How long has your family lived in this area ancestry included?
29. Are you a member of the *panchayat*?
30. Is there anything else you would like to say or add?