

RESETTLEMENT IN THE NARMADA VALLEY:  
PARTICIPATION, GENDER AND SUSTAINABLE  
LIVELIHOODS

by

Anupma Jain

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

London School of Economics and  
Political Science

2005

UMI Number: U615632

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U615632

Published by ProQuest LLC 2014. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

THESES

F

8480



1127100

London School of Economics and Political Science

Abstract

RESETTLEMENT IN THE NARMADA VALLEY:  
PARTICIPATION, GENDER AND  
SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

by Anupma Jain

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the effect of Gujarat's Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) policy of 1987 on the livelihoods of resettlers, with special reference to the impacts on women. The sample is comprised of tribals who were displaced by the Sardar Sarovar Project and had relocated mainly in the early 1990s to resettlement sites in Vadodara District, Gujarat. The main objective of the research is to determine the extent to which the R&R policy was actually implemented, the effect of the nature and degree of participation on policy implementation and the effect of policy implementation on resettlers' livelihoods. Data were collected from 370 heads of households and 89 women from six resettlement sites during 2000-2001. About half of these selected women had participated in the R&R process and/or had received compensation under the policy.

Research revealed that, through an active participation process which included enhanced awareness and information gathering, self-mobilisation and grassroots action, project-affected people acquired the right to implement choice. With support from non-governmental organisations, they were able to incorporate three unique provisions not typical of resettlement projects elsewhere. These included: the right to five acres of replacement land, irrespective of previous land title status; choice in the selection of resettlement site and relocation unit and access to infrastructure and amenities at new resettlement sites.

Contrary to most resettlement experiences elsewhere, households enjoyed substantial improvements in their living conditions post-resettlement, including a modification in gender relations as a result of smaller household sizes and modified structures. A spill over effect was also observed whereby those who had not participated directly also benefited from the policy. With support from external organisations and institutions, resettlers maintained greater control over their lives and decision-making abilities. Feelings of vulnerability and insecurity normally associated with forced resettlement were noticeably reduced.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>List of Maps .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Tables .....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>List of Figures .....</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>Acknowledgments .....</b>	<b>xv</b>
<b>Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>xvii</b>
<b>Glossary .....</b>	<b>xx</b>
<b>Chapter 1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. The Narmada River and its Valley.....	3
1.2. The Sardar Sarovar Project.....	6
1.3. Large Dams: Temples or Disease of Gigantism? .....	12
1.4. Tribal Populations: Indigenous Peoples or Original Dwellers? .....	16
1.5. Research Background and Rationale.....	21
1.5.1. Prior Research, 1993 .....	21
1.5.2. Prior Research, 1997 .....	23
1.5.3. Next Steps.....	25
1.6. Research Questions .....	26
1.7. Methodology.....	30
1.7.1. The Research Surveys .....	33
1.7.2. Resettlement Site Selection .....	37
1.7.3. Study Population.....	39
1.7.4. Challenges and Obstacles .....	43
1.8. Structure of the Thesis.....	44
<b>Chapter 2. Involuntary Resettlement: An Opportunity for Development through R&amp;R Policies .....</b>	<b>49</b>
2.1. Dams and Involuntary Resettlement .....	50
2.2. Approaches to Involuntary Resettlement .....	55
2.3. India and Involuntary Resettlement.....	59
2.4. R&R: Issues and Debates .....	62
2.4.1. Debate 1: The Beneficiaries .....	64
2.4.2. Debate 2: Gender and Displacement.....	68
2.4.3. Debate 3: Compensation —Cash or Kind .....	71

2.5.	Gujarat's R&R Policy .....	74
2.5.1.	Land Allotment .....	77
2.5.2.	Provision of Choice.....	79
2.5.3.	Site Infrastructure and Amenities .....	80
2.6.	Conclusion .....	81

### **Chapter 3. Evolution of Gujarat's R&R Policy, 1987..... 84**

3.1.	Politics Surrounding the SSP: The Role of the State Governments..	86
3.2.	The Process of People's Participation in Policy Development.....	89
3.3.	Role of the World Bank .....	94
3.4.	Role of Non-governmental Organisations and Research Institutions .....	99
3.4.1.	The Narmada Bachao Andolan .....	99
3.4.2.	ARCH-Vahini .....	101
3.4.3.	Centre for Social Studies .....	102
3.5.	The Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency .....	103
3.5.1.	SSPA —The Executive Committee.....	104
3.5.2.	SSPA —Grievance Redressal Authority.....	106
3.5.3.	SSPA —General Body .....	108
3.5.4.	SSPA —Other Divisions .....	109
3.6.	Relationship Amongst Organisations .....	109
3.6.1.	Relationship Between the Government and NGOs .....	110
3.6.2.	Relationship Between ARCH-Vahini and the NBA.....	112
3.7.	Conclusion .....	114

### **Chapter 4. A Sustainable Livelihoods Approach to Involuntary**

#### **Resettlement ..... 117**

4.1.	Sustainable Livelihoods: An Approach to Rural Development.....	118
4.1.1.	Livelihoods Approaches Adopted by Agencies.....	119
4.1.2.	Critiques of the Different SL Approaches .....	122
4.2.	Past R&R Frameworks .....	125
4.1.1	The Risks and Reconstruction Model .....	126
4.1.2	The Four Stages of Relocation .....	129
4.1.3	Other R&R Frameworks .....	132
4.3.	The Sustainable Livelihoods and Involuntary Resettlement Approach and Framework .....	132
4.3.1.	Vulnerability Context: Involuntary Resettlement.....	135
4.3.2.	Livelihood Strategies Pre-Policy (Prior-December 1987)....	137
4.3.3.	Livelihood Assets: Definitions and Endowments .....	141
4.3.4.	Participation: Nature and Degree.....	144
4.3.5.	Structures and Processes: Positioning of Policy.....	145
4.3.6.	Tribal Aspects .....	147
4.3.7.	Gender Aspects .....	148
4.3.8.	Livelihood Strategies Post-Policy Revisions (Post-December 1987) .....	153

4.3.9.	Expected Outcomes: Rehabilitation, Empowerment and Sustainability.....	154
4.3.9.1.	The Process of Empowerment Within a Gender Context.....	156
4.4.	Cross-Section of SL/IR Framework .....	160
4.5.	Conclusion .....	164
<b>Chapter 5. Implementation of Gujarat's R&amp;R Policy, 2000-2001 .....</b>		<b>166</b>
5.1.	Site Infrastructure and Basic Amenities .....	166
5.1.1.	Location of Resettlement Sites .....	167
5.1.2.	Transport Services.....	171
5.1.3.	Household Structure.....	172
5.1.4.	Housing Type and Electricity.....	174
5.1.5.	Water and Sanitation.....	175
5.1.6.	Common Property Resources.....	177
5.1.7.	Health and School Facilities .....	178
5.2.	Award of Land and Other Livelihood Assets .....	180
5.2.1.	Land Compensation.....	182
5.2.2.	Land Allotment.....	185
5.2.3.	Means of Livelihood .....	186
5.3.	Implementing Choice: Preservation of Social Networks.....	191
5.3.1.	Choice of Resettlement Site .....	192
5.3.2.	Choice of Relocation Unit.....	194
5.3.3.	Marriage Networks.....	196
5.4.	Conclusion .....	197
<b>Chapter 6. Participation: Nature and Degree.....</b>		<b>200</b>
6.1.	Nature of Participation .....	203
6.2.	Degree of Participation.....	210
6.3.	Relationship Between Nature and Degree of Participation.....	215
6.4.	Participation of Women During the R&R Process.....	216
6.5.	Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Participation.....	221
6.6.	Conclusion .....	225
<b>Chapter 7. Effect of Participation on Gujarat's R&amp;R Policy Implementation .....</b>		<b>229</b>
7.1.	Degree of Participation: Effect on Policy Implementation.....	230
7.1.1.	Effect of Degree of Participation on Choice.....	230
7.1.2.	Effect of Degree of Participation on Compensation .....	232
7.2.	Nature of Participation: Effect on Policy Implementation .....	234
7.2.1.	Effect of Nature of Participation on Choice.....	234
7.2.1.1.	Effect of Organisations on Choice.....	234
7.2.1.2.	Effect of Meetings and Events on Choice.....	238
7.2.1.3.	Effect of Discussion Topics on Choice .....	241



7.2.2.	Effect of Nature of Participation on Compensation.....	244
7.2.2.1.	Effect of Organisations on Compensation.....	244
7.2.2.2.	Effect of Meetings and Events on Compensation.....	246
7.2.2.3.	Effect of Discussion Topics on Compensation.....	247
7.3.	Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Choice and Compensation .....	249
7.3.1.	Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Choice.....	249
7.3.2.	Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Compensation.....	251
7.4.	Conclusion .....	253

**Chapter 8. Effect of Gujarat’s R&R Policy Implementation on the Livelihoods of Resettled Households ..... 256**

8.1.	Developing Change Variables for Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	259
8.2.	Effect of Degree of Participation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	265
8.3.	Effect of the Nature of Participation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities.....	267
8.3.1.	Effect of Organisations on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	267
8.3.2.	Effect of Meetings on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	270
8.3.3.	Effect of Discussion Topics on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	271
8.4.	Effect of Choice and Compensation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	275
8.5.	Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Household Infrastructure and Amenities.....	278
8.6.	Rate of Change Amongst Gujarat <i>Adivasis</i> .....	281
8.6.1.	Project-Affected Tribals: National Integration versus Tribalism .....	281
8.6.2.	The Predicted and Actual Rate of Change .....	284
8.6.3.	The Role of Individual Attitudes and Perspectives .....	288
8.7.	Conclusion .....	294

**Chapter 9. Effect of Gujarat’s R&R Policy Implementation on the Livelihoods of Female and Male Resettlers ..... 398**

9.1.	Selected Characteristics of Sample .....	300
9.2.	Effect of R&R Policy Implementation on Gender Relations.....	302
9.2.1.	Gendered-Division of Labour.....	304
9.2.1.1.	Domestic Activities: House Work and Child Care .....	304

9.2.1.2.	Non-Domestic Activities: Paid and Unpaid Work.....	308
9.2.2.	Access To and Control Over Resources.....	312
9.2.2.1.	Common Property Resources .....	313
9.2.2.2.	Women's Time .....	314
9.2.3.	Decision-Making Abilities.....	315
9.2.3.1.	Female Labour.....	315
9.2.3.2.	Ability to Purchase.....	317
9.2.3.3.	Family Health and Welfare Planning.....	318
9.3.	Effect of Women's Participation on Women's Livelihood Outcomes .....	321
9.4.	Attitude Towards Girls and Boys .....	326
9.4.1.	Actual versus Desired Fertility .....	326
9.4.2.	Health and Education.....	328
9.4.3.	Marital Age .....	330
9.4.4.	Hopes and Dreams .....	332
9.5.	Tribal Women and Empowerment.....	334
9.5.1.	The Meaning of Power and Empowerment .....	335
9.5.2.	Change in Women's Mobility.....	337
9.5.3.	Development and Savings Schemes for Women .....	340
9.6.	Conclusion .....	346
<b>Chapter 10. Conclusion: Looking Back and Moving Forward .....</b>		<b>352</b>
10.1.	Review of the Thesis and Key Findings.....	356
10.2.	Specific Effects on Tribal Groups.....	361
10.3.	Specific Effects on Female Resettlers.....	363
10.4.	Implications of the Research on the SSP .....	366
10.5.	Lessons Learned for Future R&R Policy Development.....	369
<b>List of Appendices</b>		
Appendix A:	Timetable of Research, 2000-2001 .....	374
Appendix B:	Details of the Five Stages of Participation .....	376
Appendix C:	Household Questionnaire .....	389
Appendix D:	Gender Assessment Questionnaire .....	415
Appendix E:	Statistics on a Few Major Dams in the World .....	452
Appendix F:	Review of Gender and Development .....	454
Appendix G:	Timeline of Gujarat's R&R Policy, 1987 .....	464
Appendix H:	Involvement of Other NGOs in Gujarat's R&R Policy Process .....	468
Appendix I:	Details of Development and Savings Schemes for Women at the Six Resettlement Sites.....	472
<b>References .....</b>		<b>478</b>

## LIST OF MAPS

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
Map 1.1: Map of India.....	4
Map 1.2: State of Gujarat.....	5
Map 1.3: A Blueprint of Dams along the Narmada River .....	6
Map 1.4: Project Area of the SSP .....	7
Map 1.5: Gujarat: Drought, Desert and Command Areas.....	13
Map 1.6: Command Area of the SSP .....	14
Map 1.7: Location of Villages in the Reservoir Area of the SSP .....	40

## LIST OF TABLES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
<b>Chapter 1</b>	
Table 1.1: Costs of Land Acquisition and Resettlement by State.....	10
Table 1.2: Regional Distribution of Tribals in India by Zones .....	18
Table 1.3: Social Composition of 19 Submergence Villages in Gujarat .....	19
Table 1.4: Actual Number of Completed Questionnaires .....	35
Table 1.5: Size and Tribal Composition at Six Resettlement Sites .....	37
Table 1.6: Project-Affected Families at Resettlement Sites by District and Taluka in Gujarat.....	38
Table 1.7: Key Characteristics of Gujarati Resettlers in Sample.....	39
Table 1.8: Percentage of Households Based on Place of Origin by Tribal Group .....	41
Table 1.9: Distribution of Households by Resettlement Site .....	42
<b>Chapter 2</b>	
Table 2.1: Examples of World Bank-assisted Projects Causing Displacement.....	52
Table 2.2: Key Resettlement and Rehabilitation Issues and Debates .....	62
Table 2.3: A Comparison of Key Elements in Gujarat's R&R Policy-1987 and NPRR-2003 .....	75
<b>Chapter 3</b>	
Table 3.1: Basic Features of the Sardar Sarovar Project.....	88
<b>Chapter 4</b>	
Table 4.1: Application of Cernea's Risks and Reconstruction Model .....	127
Table 4.2: Application of Scudder and Colson's Four Stages of Relocation.....	130
<b>Chapter 5</b>	
Table 5.1: Information for Each Resettlement Site by Particulars .....	169
Table 5.2: Number of Persons, House Structures and <i>Chulhas</i> by Resettlement Site .....	173
Table 5.3: Percentage of <i>Chulhas</i> per Household by Resettlement Site and Year.....	174
Table 5.4: Percentage of Households with Basic Amenities by Resettlement Site.....	175
Table 5.5: Percentage of Households with Sanitation Facilities by Resettlement Site .....	176
Table 5.6: Percentage of Households with Access to Fuel Resources by Resettlement Site .....	178

## LIST OF TABLES (CONT'D)

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
Table 5.7: Distribution of Landholdings (Total, Agricultural and Forest) per <i>Chulha</i> and Joint Household Prior to Resettlement.....	182
Table 5.8: Single <i>Chulhas</i> that Received Compensation (COMPA).....	183
Table 5.9: Single <i>Chulhas</i> that Did Not Receive Compensation.....	184
Table 5.10: Households that Did Not Receive Any Compensation.....	184
Table 5.11: Households that Received Any Compensation (COMPB) .....	185
Table 5.12: Amount of Landholdings Post-Resettlement by Tribal Groups .....	185
Table 5.13: Work Participation Rates by Tribal Group.....	188
Table 5.14: Gendered-Work Participation Rates by Tribal Group .....	190
Table 5.15: Choice Implemented in Site Selection .....	193
Table 5.16: Choice Not Implemented in Site Selection.....	193
Table 5.17: Percentage of Respondents that Relocated with the Unit of their Choice.....	195

### **Chapter 6**

Table 6.1: Percentage of Respondents that Mentioned an Organisation's Presence Prior to Resettlement .....	204
Table 6.2: Overlap Between NBA, ARCH-Vahini and the Government.....	205
Table 6.3: Percentage of Respondents that Participated in Meetings and Events Prior to Resettlement .....	206
Table 6.4: Percentage of Respondents that Recalled Discussion Topics of Meetings Prior to Resettlement.....	208
Table 6.5: Cross-Tabulation of Members from Single <i>Chulha</i> and Joint Households that Participated in Policy-Related Events .....	211
Table 6.6: Rate of Participation by Resettlers in Policy-Related Events .....	212
Table 6.7: Rate of Participation Based on Gender and Residential Unit .....	212
Table 6.8: Degree of Participation Based on Residential Unit and Gender	213
Table 6.9: Mean Number of Organisations, Meetings and/or Topics Discussed by Degree of Participation .....	216
Table 6.10: Women's Participation Status Before and After Resettlement.....	218
Table 6.11: Women's Participation in R&R Process.....	221
Table 6.12: Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Participation.....	222
Table 6.13: Mean Number of Organisations, Events and Meetings and Topics Discussed .....	224

### **Chapter 7**

Table 7.1: Effect of Participation on Choice of Resettlement Site and Relocation Unit.....	231
Table 7.2: Effect of Participation on Compensation .....	233

## LIST OF TABLES (CONT'D)

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
Table 7.3: Effect of Organisations on Choice .....	235
Table 7.4: Effect of Meetings and Events on Choice .....	239
Table 7.5: Effect of Discussion Topics on Choice.....	242
Table 7.6: Effect of Organisation on Compensation.....	245
Table 7.7: Effect of Meetings and Events on Compensation .....	246
Table 7.8: Effect of Topics Discussed on Compensation Variables.....	248
Table 7.9: Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Choice .....	250
Table 7.10: Effects of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Compensation	252
 <b>Chapter 8</b>	
Table 8.1: Household Infrastructure and Amenities Before and After Resettlement.....	261
Table 8.2: Cross-Tabulation of Water Source After Resettlement by Water Source Before Resettlement.....	263
Table 8.3: Effect of Participation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	264
Table 8.4: Effect of Organisation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	268
Table 8.5: Effect of Meetings/Events on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	272
Table 8.6: Effect of Topics Discussed on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	273
Table 8.7: Effect of Choice and Compensation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	276
Table 8.8: Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Household Infrastructure and Amenities .....	289
Table 8.9: Groups of Displacees and their Respective Characteristics .....	289
Table 8.10: Attitudes and Opinions Towards R&R and Level of Sickness Post-Resettlement .....	290
Table 8.11: Attitudes and Opinions of Resettlers by Place of Origin and Year of Resettlement.....	293
 <b>Chapter 9</b>	
Table 9.1: Women's Participation Before Resettlement by their Key Characteristics .....	301
Table 9.2: Respondents Who Engage in Housework and Child Care.....	305
Table 9.3: Gendered-Division of Household Labour .....	307
Table 9.4: Respondents Who Engage in Other Activities Besides Housework .....	309
Table 9.5: Gendered-Division of Agricultural Labour .....	311

## LIST OF TABLES (CONT'D)

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
Table 9.6: Decisions Regarding Female Labour in Agriculture, Wage and Market.....	316
Table 9.7: Decisions Regarding the Purchase of Items and Management of Accounts .....	317
Table 9.8: Decisions Regarding Family Health .....	319
Table 9.9: Decisions Regarding Family Welfare Planning .....	320
Table 9.10: Effect of Participation on Select Outcomes .....	324
Table 9.11: Effect of Participation on Land Ownership .....	325
Table 9.12: Effect of Participation on Actual versus Desired Fertility.....	327
Table 9.13: Perceived Average Age at Marriage by Tribal Group, Place of Origin, Resettlement Site and Year of Resettlement .....	331
Table 9.14: Effect of Participation on Hopes and Dreams of Children .....	332
Table 9.15: Effect of Participation on Definitions of <i>Haque</i> and <i>Samarth</i> ...	335
Table 9.16: Percentage of Respondents Who Currently Take Advantage of Different Schemes .....	341
Table 9.17: Different Schemes and Training Needs at Resettlement Sites..	343
 <b>Chapter 10</b>	
Table 10.1: Summary of Costs and Benefits of the Sardar Sarovar Project Across Four States .....	367

## LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
<b>Chapter 3</b>	
Figure 3.1: Organisational Chart of the SSPA.....	104
<b>Chapter 4</b>	
Figure 4.1: DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods Framework.....	121
Figure 4.2: Sustainable Livelihoods and Involuntary Resettlement Framework .....	134
Figure 4.3: New Land Settlements — Spontaneous versus Sponsored .....	139
Figure 4.4: Effect and Outcomes of Participation .....	161
Figure 4.5: Process of Assessing the Effect of Participation on Sustainability and Empowerment.....	162
<b>Chapter 6</b>	
Figure 6.1: Range of Participation Amongst <i>Chulha</i> and Joint Households (PARTD) .....	212
Figure 6.2: Degree of Participation by Residential Unit and Gender (PARTDG).....	214



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank the Department of Human Development and Family Studies at Maharaja Sayajirao (M.S.) University of Baroda and the Centre for Operations Research and Training for their affiliation and institutional support. Specifically, I am appreciative to Prof. Prerana Mohite and Shagufa Kapadia, for their hospitality and technical guidance in gender issues; and Bella C. Patel, Sandhya Joshi and Vasant Uttekar, for their technical expertise in questionnaire design, data collection, data processing and management.

The author is grateful to the Titmuss-Meinhardt Research Student Scholarship and the Titmuss Emergency Fund (Department of Social Policy, London School of Economics and Political Science [LSE]) and the Simon Population Trust Grant (London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in collaboration with the LSE) for their financial support in research studies, field research, collection of data and language education skills.

The author is thankful to her two interpreters: Hiteshbhai and Purnimaben for their dedication, precision and patience in translating and administering the questionnaires. I am also appreciative of the resettlers in the Narmada Valley who took time out of their daily schedules and routines to explain their story, their struggle and their victory to me.

The cooperation by the following key individuals in their efforts to facilitate access and share information is very much appreciated: Vinod K. Babbar, Sudarshan Iyengar, Ambrish Mehta, Rajesh Mishra, Trupti Parekh, Anil Patel, Medha Patkar, Warren Waters, Pravin Visaria and a number of others who wish to remain anonymous. I am especially grateful to them for their honesty and admire them for their commitment and dedication to resettlement and rehabilitation.

The author wishes to acknowledge the following individuals from the LSE for their encouragement during this research from 1999-2005: Prof. Robert Cassen, Prof. Howard Glennester, Ms. Tracy Goslar, Dr. Sunil Kumar, Prof. Chris Langford and Prof. Julian LeGrand. I would also like to thank my Examiners — Dr. Jo Beall, Development Studies Institute, LSE and Dr. Chris Barrow, Centre for Development Studies, University of Wales, Swansea.

The author wishes to thank the following friends and colleagues for their knowledge and support during this research: Bobur Alimov, Mark Barone, Indu Bhushan, Erik Bloom, Mari Calix, John Cooney, Marco Del Carlo, Jennifer Del Carlo, Joao Pedro Farinha, Scott Ferguson, Tatiana Gallego-Lizon, Randy L. Hatfield, Marla Huddleston, Ruwani A. Jayewardene, Gayatri Jindal, Chandni Joshi, Rachana Kulkarni, M.E. Khan, Shireen Lateef, Raushan Mamatkulov, Ameet Mehta, Rajshree Mehta, Rajat Nag, Anil Paul, Alfredo Perdiguero, Amy Pollack, Ma. Elena Rocas, Rana Sarkar, Lu Shen and Arjun Thapan.

The author is indebted to her PhD Supervisor, Dr. Anthony Hall, for his endless support, continuous encouragement, periodic counselling and words of wisdom.

The author wishes to thank her parents, Dr. Anrudh K. Jain and Usha Jain, for their love and support—personal, financial and emotional. Their support and encouragement during this process has been instrumental in producing this thesis. The author is also grateful to her sister, Aparna Jain, who emphasized the importance of revisiting the fate of the Gujarati resettlers. Thanks!

## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ADB</b>	—	Asian Development Bank
<b>ANA</b>	—	Anand Niketan Ashram
<b>ANaRDe</b>	—	Acil-Navasarjan Rural Development Foundation
<b>ARCH</b>	—	ARCH-Vahini
<b>ARCH-Vahini</b>	—	Action Research Community Health and Development – Vahini (in short, also referred to as ARCH)
<b>BFPART</b>	—	women’s participation before resettlement
<b>BIC</b>	—	Bank Information Center
<b>CARE</b>	—	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Incorporated
<b>COMPA</b>	—	single <i>chulhas</i> that received compensation
<b>COMPB</b>	—	single <i>chulhas</i> that did not receive compensation
<b>CPRs</b>	—	common property resources
<b>CSS</b>	—	Centre for Social Studies
<b>CWINC</b>	—	Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission of Government of India
<b>DFID</b>	—	Department for International Development
<b>DGPART</b>	—	degree of women’s participation during the R&R process
<b>ESRC</b>	—	Economic and Social Research Council
<b>ft</b>	—	Feet
<b>FHW</b>	—	female health worker
<b>FRL</b>	—	full reservoir level
<b>GAD</b>	—	Gender and Development
<b>GOG</b>	—	Government of Gujarat
<b>GOI</b>	—	Government of India
<b>GRA</b>	—	Grievances Redressal Authority
<b>ha</b>	—	hectare
<b>IDS</b>	—	Institute of Development Studies
<b>ICDS</b>	—	Integrated Child Development Scheme
<b>ICOLD</b>	—	International Commission on Large Dams
<b>ICID</b>	—	International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage
<b>IDP</b>	—	internally displaced person (or people)
<b>ILO</b>	—	International Labour Organization
<b>INTACH</b>	—	Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage
<b>IRDP</b>	—	Integrated Rural Development Programme
<b>IUCN</b>	—	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources

## ABBREVIATIONS (CONT'D)

<b>km</b>	—	kilometre
<b>LA</b>	—	land acquisition
<b>Lao PDR</b>	—	Lao People's Democratic Republic
<b>LSE</b>	—	London School of Economics and Political Science
<b>m</b>	—	metre
<b>mm</b>	—	millimetre
<b>m<sup>2</sup></b>	—	square metre
<b>m<sup>3</sup></b>	—	cubic metre
<b>M&amp;E</b>	—	monitoring and evaluation
<b>MACs</b>	—	Mutual Aid Co-operative Societies
<b>MAF</b>	—	million acres feet
<b>MARG</b>	—	Multiple Action Research Group
<b>MAW</b>	—	minimum agricultural wages
<b>MESAS</b>	—	Multinational Environment and Social Assessment Services
<b>MDM</b>	—	mid-day meal (or lunches)
<b>MDMP</b>	—	Mid-Day Meal Programme
<b>MHU</b>	—	mobile health unit
<b>MHW</b>	—	male health worker
<b>MOHFW</b>	—	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
<b>M.S.</b>	—	Maharaja Sayajirao
<b>MW</b>	—	megawatt
<b>NBA</b>	—	Narmada Bachao Andolan
<b>NCA</b>	—	Narmada Control Authority
<b>NGO</b>	—	non-governmental organisation
<b>Nigam</b>	—	SSNNL or Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited (or government)
<b>NPG</b>	—	Narmada Planning Group
<b>NPRR-2003</b>	—	National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy for Project-Affected Families —2003
<b>NSM</b>	—	Nimar Sarvoday Manch (or Nimar Welfare Forum)
<b>NVDP</b>	—	Narmada Valley Development Project
<b>NWDT</b>	—	Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal
<b>NWRDC</b>	—	Narmada Water Resources Development Committee (or Kholsa Committee)
<b>ODI</b>	—	Overseas Development Institute
<b>OECD</b>	—	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>PAF</b>	—	project-affected family
<b>PAP</b>	—	project-affected person

## ABBREVIATIONS (CONT'D)

<b>PARTD</b>	—	range of participation amongst <i>chulha</i> and joint households
<b>PARTDG</b>	—	degree of participation by residential unit and gender
<b>PRC</b>	—	People's Republic of China
<b>Rs.</b>	—	Indian rupees
<b>R&amp;R</b>	—	resettlement and rehabilitation
<b>RSSS</b>	—	Rajpipla Social Service Society
<b>SHG</b>	—	self-help group
<b>SIA</b>	—	social impact assessment
<b>SL</b>	—	sustainable livelihoods
<b>SL/IR</b>	—	sustainable livelihoods and involuntary resettlement
<b>SNP</b>	—	Special Nutrition Programme
<b>SSNNL</b>	—	Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited (in short, also referred to as Nigam)
<b>SSP</b>	—	Sardar Sarovar Project
<b>SSPA</b>	—	Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency
<b>SSRA</b>	—	Sardar Sarovar Resettlement Association
<b>TISS</b>	—	Tata Institute for Social Sciences
<b>UNDP</b>	—	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNIFEM</b>	—	United Nations Development Fund for Women
<b>WAD</b>	—	Women and Development
<b>WCD</b>	—	World Commission on Dams
<b>WCED</b>	—	World Conference on Environment and Development
<b>WHO</b>	—	World Health Organization
<b>WID</b>	—	Women in Development
<b>WWF</b>	—	World Wildlife Fund

## GLOSSARY

<b>ad hoc</b>	—	unplanned or impromptu
<b>adivasi</b>	—	original dweller or tribal
<b>anganwadi</b>	—	pre-school age children (under the age of 6)
<b>bharat work</b>	—	traditional needlework
<b>Bhaiji</b>	—	polite way of addressing a brother
<b>chulha</b>	—	cooking range
<b>dai</b>	—	traditional birth attendant (often not formally trained)
<b>desi</b>	—	traditional fertiliser made of cow dung and compost
<b>eminent domain</b>	—	a legal concept that consists of a state's right to expropriate property in certain circumstances
<b>et cetera</b>	—	and so forth
<b>falia</b>	—	hamlet
<b>ghar-jawai</b>	—	man who lives with his wife's family after marriage
<b>goucher land</b>	—	grazing land
<b>Gulf of Khambat</b>	—	Gulf of Cambay
<b>haque</b>	—	right or power
<b>hawa</b>	—	breeze or wind
<b>kachcha</b>	—	temporary (i.e., made of earth, dirt or mud)
<b>karaabi land</b>	—	degraded land
<b>lok adalats</b>	—	a variety of tribunals and consumer courts
<b>mahila mandal</b>	—	traditional local organisations of women
<b>mukhiya</b>	—	leader of a group or team
<b>nadi-devatas</b>	—	an image, a goddess and a vessel of plenitude
<b>Naila</b>	—	Nayka
<b>ne sata</b>	—	empowered
<b>Nimar Plains</b>	—	Nimad Plains
<b>panchayat</b>	—	local self-government at the village level
<b>pari passu</b>	—	incremental approach
<b>patridars</b>	—	rich landowners
<b>pucca</b>	—	paved or permanent (i.e., made of concrete or bricks)
<b>Punarvasavat Saathi</b>	—	Resettlement Friend
<b>Sarpanch</b>	—	village leader, usually political
<b>taluka</b>	—	sub-district
<b>Tatkal Fariyad Nivaran Yojana</b>	—	Immediate Grievance Redressal Scheme
<b>samarth</b>	—	empowered
<b>vasahat</b>	—	resettlement site

## GLOSSARY (CONT'D)

<b>Vasahat Samiti</b>	—	resettlement committee
<b>vis-à-vis</b>	—	in relation to
<b>Vadodara</b>	—	Baroda

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

*Rarely can poetry match the concept behind the genesis of the Narmada. On the peak of Amarkantak, Shiva sat in trance for a long time. The very beauty of His calm poise, the magnificence of that total immobility, suddenly took a form, that of a sweet damsel. She bowed to her father who blessed her saying, "You've inspired tenderness (narma) in my heart, you're Narmada...."*

*...Shiva blessed Narmada so that she ever remained free. But that was not easy. Soon the gods were irresistibly attracted towards the frolicsome beauty and when one of them tried to take hold of her, she turned into a river and slipped through his fingers.*

—Das (2001)

The purpose of this doctoral research is to investigate the effect of Gujarat's Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) policy of 1987 on the livelihoods of resettlers, with a special reference to the impacts on women. It focuses on a sample of tribals that have been affected by the construction of a reservoir resulting from the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) in Gujarat. This population resettled mainly in the early 1990s from villages in hilly terrain to communities in relatively fertile and localised areas in the District of Vadodara (Baroda). The main objective of this thesis is to determine the extent to which Gujarat's R&R policy was implemented, the effect of nature and degree of participation on policy implementation and the effect of the policy implementation on the livelihoods of resettlers. Data were collected from six resettlement sites in the Vadodara District during 2000-2001 (see **Appendix A** for the research timeline). Information was gathered from 370 heads of households using a household questionnaire and 89 women using a gender assessment questionnaire. Out of the sample of women selected for the



gender assessment, about half had participated in the R&R process and/or had received compensation under Gujarat's R&R policy.

This thesis builds upon an anthropological inquiry that I conducted in 1993. The study of nine families suggested that people's participation in the R&R policy process had a positive effect on their ability to regain and improve their livelihoods. A further analysis in 1997 revealed that through an active participation process, which included enhanced awareness and information gathering, self-mobilisation and grassroots action, project-affected persons (PAPs) acquired the right to implement choice. With support from non-governmental organisations (NGOs), they were able to incorporate three unique provisions in the R&R policies that are not typical of resettlement projects elsewhere. These included: (i) the right to five acres of replacement land, irrespective of previous land title status; (ii) choice in the selection of land plot, resettlement site and relocation unit and (iii) access to infrastructure and amenities at new resettlement sites. The extent to which PAPs have been able to implement this right to choose will be explored in this thesis.

Past R&R studies for different projects suggest that individuals often face higher degrees of impoverishment as they are routinely under-compensated for their possessions and resettled with inappropriate rehabilitation measures (de Wet 1988; Cernea 1996b; Scudder and Colson 1982). Contrary to most resettlement experiences elsewhere, households displaced by the SSP have enjoyed substantial overall improvements in their living conditions due to Gujarat's R&R policy. A spill over effect is also evident whereby those who did not participate directly in Gujarat's R&R policy process have also benefited from its implementation. Resettlers have also experienced a modification in gender relations as a result of smaller household sizes and modified structures caused by individual land compensation. With support from organisations and institutions, resettlers have maintained a greater degree of control over their lives and continued to

make decisions about their well-being. Feelings of vulnerability and insecurity normally associated with forced resettlement were noticeably reduced.

Applying the sustainable livelihoods framework to the process of involuntary resettlement reflects the relationship between vulnerability and the survival strategies that households seek during displacement and relocation. It illustrates the role of participation in the development of R&R policy, its translation into choice during policy implementation and the basis for seeking particular livelihood strategies. Lessons learned from this case study are applicable to future developments of R&R policies.

### 1.1. The Narmada River and its Valley

The Narmada River is as distinct as the people she hosts and as individualistic as the debates she ignites. From the undulating hills in Gujarat to the *Nimar (Nimad) Plains* in Madhya Pradesh, *adivasis* (“original dwellers” or tribals) have different beliefs, traditions, cultures, economic conditions and lifestyles. Villages located within the Narmada Valley differ from one another in terms of location, social composition and the extent to which they are dependent on the environment (Joshi 1983).

The Narmada River, according to mythology, is the only “virgin” river in India, which continues to flow untamed. It is the

*In the rugged reaches of the Narmada, adivasis sing the gayana, a creation myth celebrating the life-giving power of Narmada, a generous, free-spirited girl wandering to meet her lover, the sea (Baviskar 2001).*

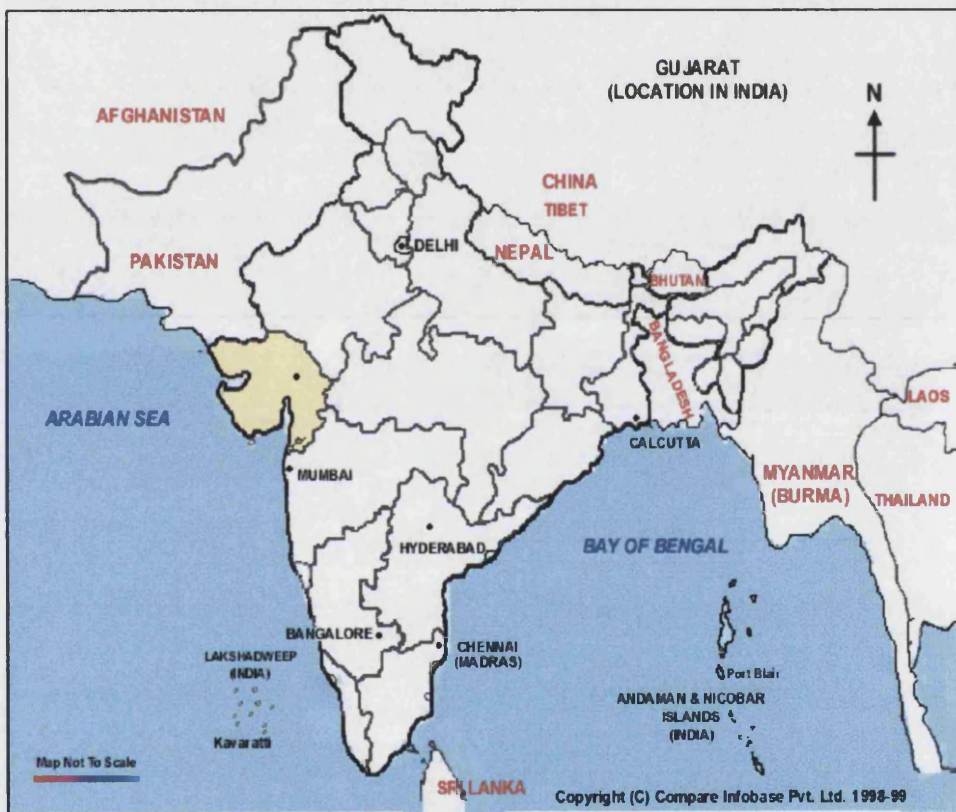
“only river amongst the seven sacred rivers of India that has not changed its course perhaps in 225 million years” (Sarkar 1999). The Narmada River has been classified as one of four *nadi-devatas* in India, the significance of which is equivalent to that of an image, a goddess and a vessel of plenitude (Hoskot 2001).<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> According to legend, Lord Shiva blessed Narmada with unique purifying powers where the mere site of the Narmada is enough to eradicate all sins. For instance, Aggarwal (1992) states that “the Narmada is

The Narmada River is about 1,312 kilometres (km) long and is located in central-west India. It originates in the Amarkantak Hills in Madhya Pradesh,<sup>2</sup> and empties into the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay), in the state of Gujarat (see **Map 1.1** for the location of Gujarat State in yellow). The Narmada River is one of three major inter-state rivers that flow through central and south Gujarat. The other two major rivers are the Tapi and the Mahi Rivers.

**Map 1.1: Map of India**



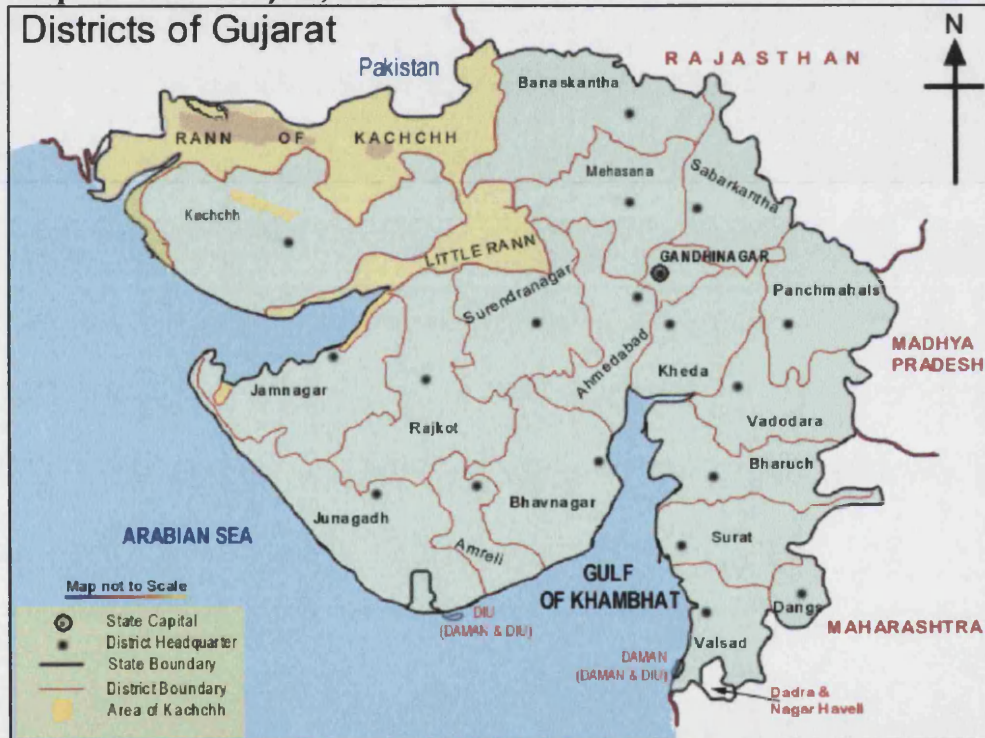
Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/gujarat/h3s1101.htm>

probably also the most holy river in India, and suicide by drowning in its water absolves the behaviour of the sin of suicide.”

<sup>2</sup> Amarkantak Hills are a source for both the Narmada and Sone Rivers. Situated at an altitude of 1,065 metres (m) at the meeting point of the Vindhya and the Satpura mountain ranges amongst sylvan surroundings, the Amarkantak Hills is a great pilgrimage centre for the Hindus.

The State of Gujarat can be divided into three regions based on environmental characteristics—south and north Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kachchh (see **Map 1.2** for the different regions in Gujarat). The Narmada River is an important water source for the northern and north-central regions of Gujarat where the amount of rainfall is less than 400 millimetres (mm) and the ground watertable is lower than 1,000 feet (ft) or 305 metres (m).<sup>3</sup> In comparison, central and south Gujarat get an annual rainfall of 2,000 mm to 2,500 mm.

**Map 1.2: State of Gujarat, India**



Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/gujarat/h3s1102.htm>

<sup>3</sup> About 168 rivers in North Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kachchh remain almost dry. See SSNNL website for more details: <http://www.sardarsarovardam.org>.

## 1.2. The Sardar Sarovar Project

The SSP is an example of how development issues and debates have become as feral and untamed as the Narmada River herself. The SSP is a multipurpose hydroelectric project that is situated in Gujarat. The project consists of several components—the dam, the riverbed powerhouse, transmission lines, main canal, a canal-head powerhouse and irrigation networks (Morse and Berger 1992: 3-4). The SSP dam is the terminal dam — the last dam before the river meets the sea. The SSP is the first dam commissioned as part of the Narmada Valley Development Project (NVDP) — a series of anticipated dams along the Narmada River (see **Map 1.3** for **Map 1.4**).<sup>4</sup>

**Map 1.3: A Blueprint of Dams along the Narmada River**



Source: [http://www.calicutnet.com/currentaffairs/map\\_of\\_the\\_region.htm](http://www.calicutnet.com/currentaffairs/map_of_the_region.htm)

<sup>4</sup> The NVDP is a plan that is designed to build 30 major, 135 medium and 3,000 small dams on the Narmada River and its 41 tributaries.

Map 1.4: Project Area of the SSP



The Sardar Sarovar Projects Area

Source: <http://www.narmada.org/maps/ssp.project.area.jpg>

The project area of the SSP involves the states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The latter state is expected to reap benefits from the projects, but will not incur any social or economic costs. It is located 148 km upstream from the Gulf of Cambay and is the only large dam in the NVDP located in the state of Gujarat. The remaining dams are to be built in Madhya Pradesh, of which some are already built (e.g., Bargi dam) whilst others are still under construction (e.g., Maheshwar dam).

The SSP has grabbed the attention of numerous individuals, activists, organisations, institutions and governments worldwide. It is one of the first instances where a developing country government has cancelled a loan agreement with a major lending institution —the World Bank (Holmes 1993). However, the inability of the Government of India (GOI) to meet World Bank’s rigid social safeguard guidelines had also contributed to the cancellation of the loan agreement. This financial gap continues to challenge the completion of the project.

Since the beginning, issues pertaining to R&R, social re-adaptation, economic sustainability, cultural preservation and environmental protection, have impeded the construction of the SSP and threatened the daily existence of Valley residents (e.g., *adivasis*) affected by the project. *Adivasis* make up a majority of people who are being “involuntarily” resettled due to the construction of the dam, the creation of the reservoir and its outreach canals. The SSP has been stalled on a few occasions and a growing opposition in the name of *adivasis*, has emerged against the project and national development.<sup>5</sup> Some *adivasis* believe that the primary reason for such lengthy delays and numerous obstacles is the holy nature of the Narmada River herself.

---

<sup>5</sup> Anil Patel, director of Action Research Community Health and Development –Vahini (ARCH-Vahini or ARCH), questions the extent to which this opposition has been developed with the full consent of the *adivasis* to allow interest groups to take action on their behalf (Patel 2001). ARCH-Vahini is an NGO that was formerly involved in Gujarat’s R&R policy process (Chapter 3).

“Involuntary” resettlement is a process through which project-affected communities are displaced from their original habitat and relocated to other areas due to the construction of large infrastructure projects. Such displacement may involve dismantling physical structure and/or acquiring forest or agricultural land. It is a process that ends with resettlement, and ideally, is followed by rehabilitation.<sup>6</sup>

The level of land acquisition and resettlement adds significantly to the social and economic cost of an infrastructure project. Some of these quantifiable “costs” are shown in **Table 1.1**.

In the case of the SSP, large-scale population displacement was estimated at 40,827 project-affected families (PAFs) in 2001 (Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency [SSPA] 2001c: 4; see **Table 1.1**). Of these, 4,600 PAFs are from Gujarat, 3,213 from Maharashtra and 33,014 from Madhya Pradesh. Since then, the estimated number of PAFs has increased to 41,440; of these, there is an increase of PAFs in Gujarat (4,728 PAFs) and Maharashtra (3,698 PAFs) (Narmada Control Authority [NCA], not dated; Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited [SSNNL] 2005b). The anti-dam organisation, Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA), quotes an alternative figure of 415,000 PAFs (Bhalla 1999).<sup>7</sup>

Lending institutions like the World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB) consider involuntary resettlement a process whereby resettlers are able to regain if not improve, their previous pre-Project living standards and earning capacities. Government and institutional R&R policies guide the process, with provisions outlined in project-specific plans. Earlier experiences have shown that R&R policies and plans do not usually help re-establish

---

<sup>6</sup> More recently, Patwardhan (2000) builds on Baxi (1989) to present the notion that displacement is not a one-off event but rather a series of happenings. As such displacement should be considered as a process “which starts before the actual physical displacement and continues for a long time after uprootment has taken place” (Patwardhan 2000: 7).

<sup>7</sup> Since the early 1990s, about 4,300 PAFs (equivalent to 7,000 PAPs) have been resettled in Gujarat where results have been positive (Joshi 1998, 1997; Patel 1997).



and/or improve the living standards of PAPs due to false assumptions, rushed implementation schedules, unclear definitions of eligibility and inappropriate compensation and rehabilitation measures (see, for example, Cernea 1996a, 1996b; Escudero 1988; Ganguly-Thukral 1992; Gopal 1992b; Goyal 1996; Ramanathan 1996; World Bank 2000).

**Table 1.1: Costs of Land Acquisition and Resettlement by State**

State	"Costs" <sup>a</sup>							
	Land Under Submergence (ha)				Villages Under Submergence <sup>b</sup>		No. Of Families to be Resettled <sup>c</sup>	
	Agri-culture	Forest	Govt Waste	Total Land	Fully	Partially	1990 Est.	2001 Est.
Gujarat	1877	4523	1069	7469	3	16	4700	4600
Madhya Pradesh	7883	2737	10,208	20,828	—	193	14,994 <sup>d</sup>	33,014
Maharashtra	1519	3459	1592	6570	—	36	1655	3213
Rajasthan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,279</b>	<b>10,719</b>	<b>12,869</b>	<b>34,867</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>21,349</b>	<b>40,827</b>

est = estimates; govt = government; ha = hectare; No. = number

<sup>a</sup>Official SSNNL estimates of land and village submergence. Recently, the total amount of forest land has increased to 13,385 ha (4,166 ha in Gujarat, no change in Madhya Pradesh and 6,488 in Maharashtra). The number of villages under submergence has decreased to 244 (no change in Gujarat, 191 partially and 1 fully submerged in Madhya Pradesh and 33 partially and none fully submerged in Maharashtra). See NCA (not dated) and SSNNL (2005b) for details.

<sup>b</sup>Parasuraman (1997: 33) estimates the total number of villages facing submergence at 297—19 in Gujarat, 33 in Maharashtra and 245 in Madhya Pradesh.

<sup>c</sup>Parasuraman (1997: 33) estimates the minimum number of people displaced to be 23,500 in Gujarat, 20,000 in Maharashtra and 120,000 in Madhya Pradesh.

<sup>d</sup>Includes 6,140 families affected for very short duration due to backwater effect.

Source: Raj (1990: 20); SSNNL (2005a); SSPA (2001c: 4).

Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987, on the other hand, is different for three reasons. First, it is a policy that evolved as a result of a participatory process that involved various stakeholders, including the Government, the World Bank and PAPs or oustees from the three affected-states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The policy is one of three state R&R policies that were newly defined based on the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDI) Award:

- Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987,
- Maharashtra's R&R policy of 1992 and

- Madhya Pradesh's R&R policy of 1992.

Second, Gujarat's R&R policy<sup>8</sup> includes three key provisions that can be considered unique, as they are not typical of resettlement projects elsewhere:

- Replacement land with irrigation potential, irrespective of previous landholdings (i.e., land title status),
- Option to select plot of land, resettlement site and relocation unit of their choice and
- Amenities or infrastructure development at new resettlement sites.

And third, Gujarat's R&R policy appears to have had a positive effect on resettlers whereby they have been able to regain and improve their livelihoods post-displacement. Each of the above three provisions allows PAPs to re-establish, or regain their pre-Project level standards. Each provision gives PAPs an option, a choice and the economic security necessary to maintain control over their lives within a vulnerability context.

Despite its progressive nature, Gujarat's R&R policy is gender-biased. The policy does not include a provision of awarding land to major<sup>9</sup> daughters. Only major sons are considered a separate family unit and are thereby entitled to receive the benefits outlined in the policy. The impact of displacement on women's livelihoods is influenced by the gender disparities found within a patriarchal society, which are influenced by social and generational relations. This research will investigate the extent to which project-affected women

---

<sup>8</sup> Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987 is reflected in a series of Government of Gujarat (GOG) resolutions (GOG 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c).

<sup>9</sup> A "major" son or daughter is defined as someone who is 18 years or older.

have also benefited and actively participated in policy development and implementation.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.3. Large Dams: Temples or Disease of Gigantism?

In India, large dams are what late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called in 1929, “the temples of modern India” (Sheth 1991: 5). From 1947 to 1980, about 15% of India’s total national expenditure was spent on the construction of more than 1,000 large dams and associated infrastructure (Ganguly-Thukral 1992: 9; McCully 1996: 18). Dams are believed to solve the persistent problem of hunger and starvation by generating electricity for industrial development, and storing water for irrigation and increased food production.

In the case of the SSP, there are five major factors that support need for the project within Gujarat: (i) environmental discrepancies in the region, (ii) recurring droughts in Gujarat, (iii) untapped irrigation potential in Gujarat, (iv) salinity found in the ground water in the coastal areas (1,500 km) and (v) advancing of deserts in many parts of North Gujarat and Kachchh district.

The SSP command area (or the “irrigation blocks”) in Gujarat is currently about 75% drought-prone (Alagh and Hashim 1989, **Map 1.5**). Out of a geographical area of 19.6 million hectares (ha), only 1.24 million ha account for cultivatable land in Gujarat. As of June 1996, Gujarat had developed about 0.36 million ha in irrigation potential, but continues to harbour a potential of 0.65 million ha. Of the cultivatable land, approximately 0.29 million ha were irrigated from all surface and ground water schemes in 1996. The remaining 77% of cultivatable land did not get any irrigation.<sup>11</sup> Whilst farmers have engaged in cropping patterns that are well diversified to

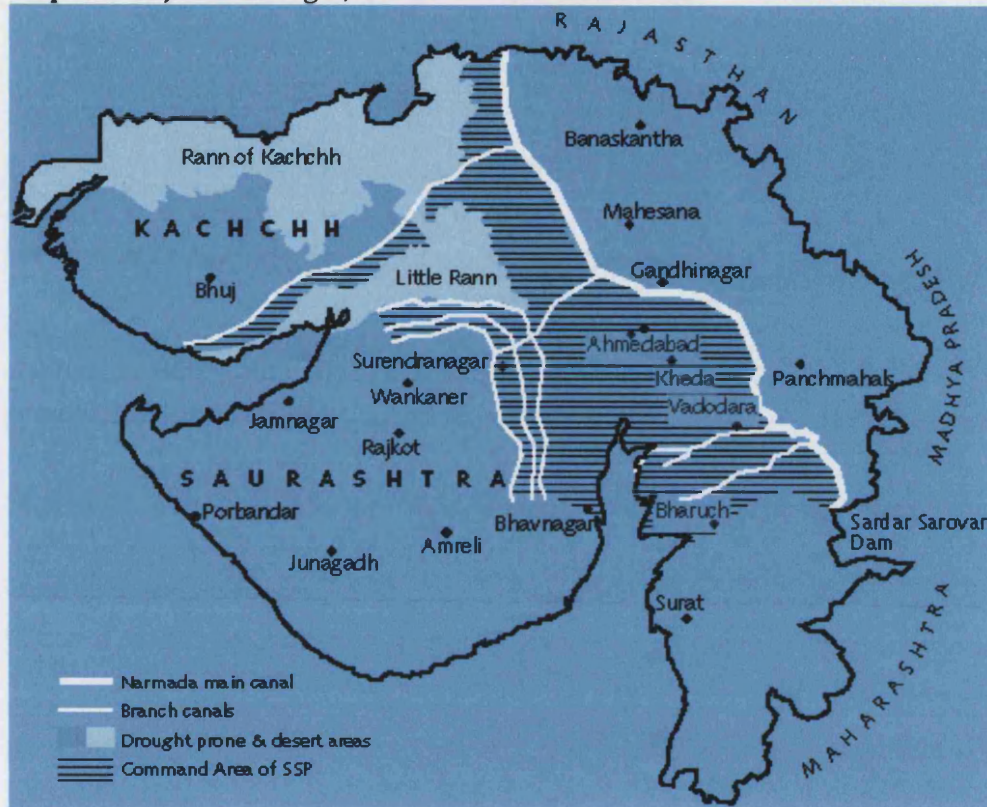
---

<sup>10</sup> Therefore, I emphasise “with a special reference to the impacts on women” in my opening statement of this thesis.

<sup>11</sup> See SSNNL website for more details at <http://www.sardarsarovardam.org>.

suit the agro-climatic conditions, droughts and the decreasing groundwater table remain real threats.

**Map 1.5: Gujarat Drought, Desert and Command Areas**

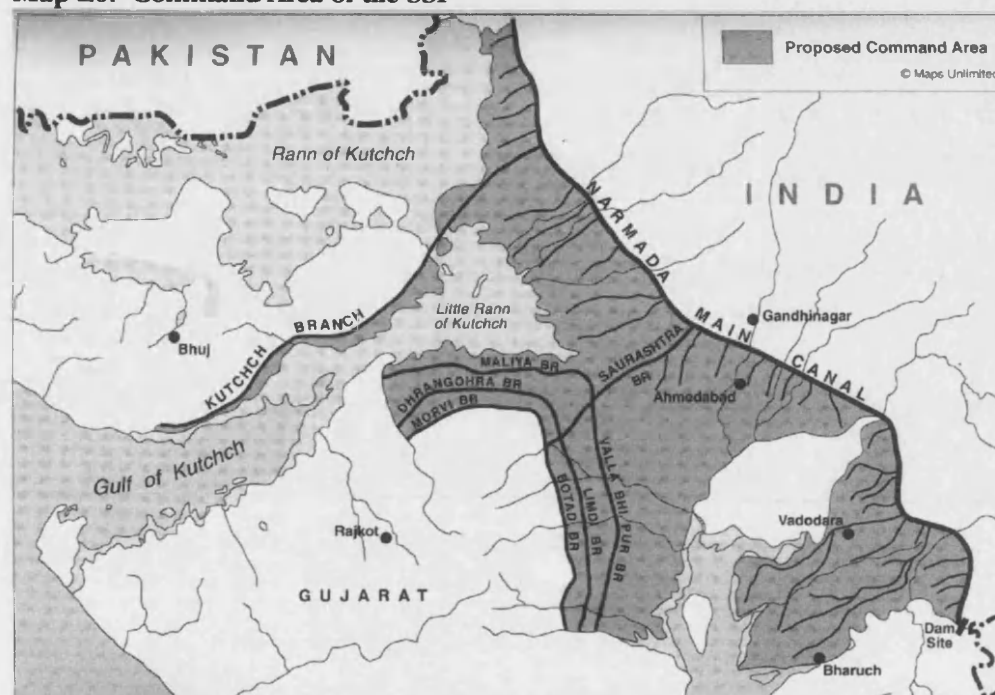


Source: <http://www.narmada.org/maps/map.gif>

Out of about 23 droughts in last 76 years, about 11 occurred in the past 36 years (SSPA 2001c). The state faced severe difficulties due to water shortage in 2000-2001. This was the third year when monsoon rains were inadequate, cities faced water constraints and agricultural communities struggled to harvest minimum yields. During each drought, the government spent millions of rupees in relief and aid to combat difficulties and prevent conditions of impoverishment (i.e., substantial food shortage). The average number of people classified as facing food scarcity rose from 2.8 million in the 1960s to 12.8 million in the 1980s (Raj 1990: 69; Sheth 1991: 44). Conditions worsened during the droughts in the 1990s.

It is anticipated that the SSP will help to recharge Gujarat's depleted groundwater in the command area (**Map 1.6**), create ample water resource opportunities and prevent natural catastrophes (e.g., the drought of 1987) from recurring.

**Map 1.6: Command Area of the SSP**



Source: <http://www.narmada.org/maps/ssp.cmd.area.jpg>

The SSP is an attractive solution in the region. It would create irrigation facilities that are useful in stimulating food production, and would be a cheap source of clean energy generation (hydroelectricity and power).<sup>12</sup> With the current drought situation in the region, the need for such a hydroelectric project has intensified, as politicians and supporters have labelled the SSP the “Lifeline of Gujarat.” However, the SSP is one of several dams on the Narmada River and its expected benefits are dependent on the

<sup>12</sup> According to Goldsmith and Hildyard (1984: 7), hydroelectricity and hydropower are less expensive than thermal or nuclear power. In addition, the amount of energy produced globally by hydroelectric facilities has been estimated to increase fourfold annually from 1980-2020 (Mougeot 1990: 9).

construction of other high dams in the NVDP and the flow of the Narmada River herself (Paranjpye 1990).

In 1958, Nehru used the term “disease of gigantism” to describe developing countries that engage in big development projects (i.e., large dams) simply because they are able to do so. As the “disease” spread quickly throughout the developing world, the number of dams increased at a profound rate. In India, about 4,291 dam projects exist, of which 84% have been built and the remaining are still under construction (Agarwal et al., 1999, cited in Patwardhan 2000: 5). China has more than 19,000 large dams compared to only eight large dams in 1949 (McCully 1996: 4).<sup>13</sup>

Financial institutions, private investments and government funds have supported the spread of this disease worldwide. The World Bank’s first loan helped to finance three large dams, and since then it has lent close to US\$58 billion for more than 600 dams in 93 countries (McCully 1996: 19). Capital investment for large dams is often justified on the basis of large-scale water and energy generation with high rates of return. Such profitable conditions are especially appealing for the private sector. For instance, a month after the World Bank loan was cancelled in 1993, the Government of Gujarat (GOG) announced that the Rs.27 billion power component of the SSP would be privatised (Oza 1996: 1921).

However, more recently, support for large hydroelectric development has become limited. Rising financial costs, emergence of social action groups, increase in risk of poor returns on investments and potential risk of violating social safeguards in the areas of resettlement, environment and indigenous populations have made large dams less attractive. The SSP fell victim to these costs, and slowly shifted from being a “temple of modern India” to a product of a “disease of gigantism.”

---

<sup>13</sup> It is unclear if this figure includes the series of dams planned for the Three Gorges Project in China.

As a result, small-scale and more socially cost-effective alternatives to large dams have gained popularity over the last decade. Alternative schemes to large dams include smaller watershed development, lift irrigation and small-scale single-purpose water projects that entail localised reservoirs (e.g., tanks, pond and bunds). These small-scale initiatives could address the water needs of society, whilst preventing large-scale displacement and environmental degradation.

In the case of the SSP, such alternative surface irrigation systems (i.e., watersheds) could address the water needs of the northern and western districts of Gujarat, but bring with them limitations. For instance, sporadic rainfall in the region keeps the ground water table low. Similarly, access to and control over water sources would still be a concern for poor and vulnerable groups, especially in a society dominated by caste and socio-economic structures. Localised initiatives could exacerbate the conditions for the poor, lower caste and women when a few male, upper-class landowners control water resources. For example, user-rights for *patridars* (or rich landowners) might continue to outweigh those water rights of *adivasis* under small-scale schemes.

#### **1.4. Tribal Populations: Indigenous Peoples or Original Dwellers?**

In India, *adivasis* (“original dwellers” or tribals) are mostly affected by large development projects. There are about 67.6 million *adivasis*, constituting about 8% of India’s total population in 1991 (Singh and Rajyalakshmi 1993: 3).<sup>14</sup> The share of the Scheduled Tribe population to India’s total population increased from about 7% in 1971 to close to 8% in 1981. They make up 40% of 23 million people that are displaced due to development projects in India (Fernandes 1994: 32; Kothari 1996; McCully 1996: 7; Xaxa 1999a). From 1951 to 1990, at least 18.5 million people have been displaced due to

---

<sup>14</sup> Tribal data from the 2001 Census are currently not available; tribal statistics from 1991 Census 1991 or earlier are used.

development projects in India. Dams alone have relocated around 8.5 million to 21 million people (Fernandes 1991; Paranjpye 1988, cited in Fernandes 1993: 37; Parasuraman 1999: 50).

According to the 1985 Anthropological Survey of India (also called People of India Project), India has about 461 tribal communities (Banu 2001: 28; Patwardhan 2000: 2; Xaxa 1999a) that speak over 150 languages and 225 subsidiary languages (George and Sreekumar 1993: 79). The construction of the SSP is expected to threaten about 230-248 communities of the 100,000 villages in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. According to Government estimates, 248 villages or about 41,000 families will be affected by the SSP reservoir alone (Table 1.1, SSPA 2001c). A majority of tribals affected in Gujarat come from the Tadvi, the Vasava, the Dungri Bhil, the Rathwa, the Naila (or the Nayka) and the Goval tribal groups (Gray 1996).

Sinha (1993) divides Indian tribals into seven geographical zones based on their environment and region-specific characteristics (Table 1.2). Tribals from the central or western belt of India (e.g., Gujarat, Maharashtra or Madhya Pradesh) are very different than the ones from the Eastern state of Bengal. They are often understudied, and are believed to be “at a higher place of development and have undergone the largest amount of acculturation from their Hindu neighbours and have borrowed their customs and practices liberally” (Sinha 1993: 52). Industrialisation, migration and other external influences have increased the level of contact between tribal and non-tribals, which has gradually changed tribal customs and practices in India (Majumdar 1961, cited in George and Sreekumar 1993: 80-81).

For this reason, *adivasis* in India are neither *indigenous* nor *aborigines*. The term “indigenous” denotes a “distinct international entity” where tribals are seen as victims of conquest and colonisation (Xaxa 1999a). It is a term that is commonly used to describe groups that have a strong attachment to land, dependence on renewable natural resources, subsistence agriculture and



distinct language and culture. It is nevertheless an anthropological term that has been used to describe native or aboriginal people in North America and Australia (Baviskar 1997; Joshi 1997; Parekh 1993; Patel 1997; Patwardhan 2000: 1; Roy-Burman 1993, 1995).

**Table 1.2: Regional Distribution of Tribals in India by Zones**

Zone	Region of India	States
Zone 1	North-eastern	Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Meghalaya
Zone 2	Sub-Himalayan of North and North-western	Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh
Zone 3	Eastern	West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa
Zone 4	Central	Madhya Pradesh
Zone 5	Western	Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra
Zone 6	Southern	Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh
Zone 7	Indian islands	Andaman and Nicobar Islands

Source: Sinha (1993: 52).

The term “aboriginal” would also seem appropriate, as migration patterns of tribals in India are unknown. However, this would make it difficult to refer to them as “original habitats” (Beteille 1998; Dube 1977; Ghurye 1963). According to Ray (1973: 124-25), *adivasis* settled in India before the Aryan-speaking people migrated into India.

For the purpose of this thesis, *adivasis* refer to the tribal communities that are the original inhabitants of the Narmada Valley, with respect to a specific time period. They are more similar to “ethnic groups,” a term that denotes “a stable or relatively stable group of people formed over a historical period with common territorial ties, economic activities and cultural characteristics” (ADB 2002).<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> The term ethnic group is commonly used by the Socialist Government of Viet Nam to describe their ethnic population (Bhushan et al., 2001).

Tribals do not define themselves based on traditional state borders, but rather physical geographical boundaries. The Centre for Social Studies (CSS) employs a four-tier classification system in their survey studies (or monographs) of the 19 submergence villages in Gujarat (Joshi 1983).<sup>16</sup> There are three zones, of which one is further subdivided (Table 1.3): **Zone I** (the rock-filled dykes villages), **Zone II** (the dam site villages) and **Zone III** (the interior villages). Joshi (1983) groups each submergence village based on geographical characteristics, infrastructure facilities and social composition (Table 1.2).

*...state boundaries traditionally meant nothing to the tribals. Different attitudes to the dam in the respective states as well as differences in the R and R [R&R] policy in the states, have given rise to this 'us and them' divide between Gujarati and Maharashtrian tribals (Mehta 1992: 140).*

**Table 1.3: Social Composition of 19 Submergence Villages in Gujarat**

Joshi's Zone	Villages	Major Tribal Groups
Zone I	Navagam, Limdi, Khalvani, Panchmul, Zer	Tadvi (96%) Goval (2%)
Zone II	Vadgam, Surpan, Mokhadi, Gadher, Katkhadi, Makadkhada	Tadvi (74%) Dungri Bhils (23%)
Zone III-A	Dhumna, Chharbara, Antras	Dungri Bhils (98%)
Zone III-B	Kadada, Ferkada, Turkheda, Hanfeshwar, Pandheria	Dungri Bhils (51%) Rathwa (25%) Rathwa Koli (13%) Nayka (9%)

%=percent.

Source: Joshi (1983: 59); SSPA (1993: 6).

About 57% of the submergence land is found in Joshi's Zones III-A and III-B (Table 1.3). Comprising of interior villages, these zones are the least developed in terms of infrastructure and agricultural output. With rocky soil

<sup>16</sup> The monographs were based on CSS surveys that were conducted in Gujarat from 1981-1982. Joshi (1983) created a general report from which the statistics have been criticized by both anti-dam activists and pro-policy activists (Sah 1999; Whitehead 1999).

and hilly terrains, the quality of eight ha of land is not equivalent to that of two ha of irrigated land in the plains.<sup>17</sup>

The social groups and means of livelihood of PAPs can be better understood within these zones: distinctions within groups are correlated with the degree of exposure to external forces (e.g., commercialism of agricultural projects). About 92% of *adivasis* lived in rural areas in 1991 (Patwardhan 2000: 2) and about 63 % lived in hills and forests (Banu 2001:29). Tribals rely on the environment and strong community ties for their daily living and survival in times of uncertainty.

Common property resources (CPRs) have traditionally been the basis of the tribal economy, as forests provide a source of berries and lumber for consumption and sale. Travel to market centres is necessary for the exchange of goods and services (Patwardhan 2000: 1). Therefore, tribal PAPs are exposed to mainstream society but may not exhibit certain characteristics of modern society in their daily existence.

*The notion of individual property was uncommon among them [adivasis]. Even when it existed, it was in some form or other, linked to the community (Fernandes 1993: 36.)*

Restricted access to infrastructure development (e.g., roads, transportation and electricity) and social services (e.g., health and education) determine the nature of contact with society. For instance, PAPs from Joshi's Zones III-A and III-B tend to engage more in agricultural activities with a greater reliance on forest materials for their livelihood. In comparison, PAPs from villages closer to the dam (Joshi's Zones I and II) may rely less on agriculture and more on wage labour. Economic stratification, therefore, amongst tribals is based on their dependence on the environment, and on the degree to which external market forces influence their daily lives.

---

<sup>17</sup> Joshi (1983) also recognizes marginal cases, where villages may have characteristics of more than one zone (i.e., Makadkhada resembles both Zones II and III as in Table 1.3).

## 1.5. Research Background and Rationale

### 1.5.1. PRIOR RESEARCH, 1993

During the summer of 1993, I conducted an anthropological study to examine the economic, social and political conditions of a sample of nine resettled families after relocation.<sup>18</sup> With the help of a female interpreter, I interacted and communicated with both male and female resettlers. Together with a one-year desk study, data collected from this ethnographic study were analysed and written up for an undergraduate honours degree in anthropology at Brandeis University (Jain 1994). My investigations revealed that resettled households experienced an increase in the amount of land, land capacity and livestock in absolute terms due to Gujarat's R&R policy. The role people played in the policy's development seemed to explain this unusual increase in household assets.

The methodology used in 1993 was systematic in approach and embedded in the disciplines of anthropology and economics. A more comprehensive investigation was not possible due to constraints in time and funding of the research. The following research methods were used: (i) informal group discussions helped to highlight the main issues, (ii) open-ended questions were developed and piloted at different resettlement sites and (iii) final questions were administered to a sample of resettlers. The questions focused on the following:

- Culture and tradition: how celebrations and marriage ceremonies have changed since resettlement;
- Agricultural production: how amounts of agricultural inputs, outputs and wastes have changed and what are the effects on households;

---

<sup>18</sup> Data collected during this period is referred to in all sources as Field research (1993)

- Domestic activities: how women’s daily responsibilities (e.g., preparation of food and collection of water, fuel and fodder) have changed post-resettlement and
- Gujarat’s R&R policy and participation: the roles PAPs fought to play in policy formation and implementation.

I held general discussions with more than a hundred male and female resettlers about their lives post-resettlement and about Gujarat’s R&R policy by focusing on the above topics. Whilst some talks were held in private, others were held in an open forum with neighbours and friends. Focus group meetings played an important part in determining the role people played in the R&R policy. Informal discussions with groups of individuals, segregated by age and by sex, provided additional information. It was an opportunity to verify the stories of participation that people told me in different settings. In-depth interviews of nine families (nuclear and extended) shed light on how resettlement affected intra-household relations.

The nine families came from four different resettlement sites in Gujarat, all within a five-mile radius from Dabhoi in the Vadodara District.<sup>19</sup> I selected at least two families from each resettlement site. They were Tadvi or Rathwa tribals, and were representative of the tribal population with whom I held numerous discussions. The Tadvi families had resettled from villages close to the dam site and the Rathwa families came from the interior villages of the Narmada River Valley.

I also interviewed some families and individuals from neighbouring communities to the resettlement sites. These “host” communities existed prior to the development of the resettlement sites in the area. Four non-

---

<sup>19</sup> I also visited other resettlement sites in Gujarat and Maharashtra.

resettled families from the Tadvi tribal group, and two host village officials were interviewed.

Findings from this anthropological study suggested small-scale improvements in the lives and well-being of Gujarati tribals resettled by the SSP. They were in the process of adapting to new surroundings immediately after resettlement—about one to two years after relocation. At that time, families were newly resettled with land allotments in areas with existing or potential irrigation. Land was redistributed according to choice—provision even rich landlords are not guaranteed. Civic amenities and compensations grants were in the process of being distributed in line with the R&R policy for Gujarat. The data collected in 1993 provide information on resettlers during the adaptation process or the transition stage. By 1991-1992, many of the resettlers had been relocated but were still able to maintain homes and farms at both the resettlement sites and their place of origin (Morse and Berger 1992: 102-103).<sup>20</sup> One explanation for this improvement appeared to be the right resettlers gained to participate in the articulation and implementation of the R&R policy.

Findings from 1993 also identified a slight change in the way women perceived the birth and the childhood development of girls (Jain 1994). At the time, a more in-depth study was not possible due to the research constraints previously mentioned. However, I remained interested to further investigate the effects of displacement on women.

### *1.5.2. PRIOR RESEARCH, 1997*

Since the completion of my bachelor's degree in 1994, I had followed the plight of the SSP in the media and heard about the fate of the resettlers

---

<sup>20</sup> The Independent Review does not consider resettlers as being physically “displaced” as submergence in the Valley had not yet begun in 1991-1992. However, the Review notes that the resettlement process was “incomplete” as PAFs were able to maintain homes and farms in both places (Morse and Berger 1992: 102-03).

through colleagues working in R&R implementation. Based on my earlier experience in 1993, I remained sceptical about how the SSP was perceived in the media. I had little knowledge about the situation in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, but understood the R&R policy development in Gujarat. Simultaneously, resistance movements against large dams gained momentum worldwide, especially with the International Commission on Large Dams (ICOLD). Activists, professionals and academics advocated the need to include people in the policy process. However, the entry point and process through which people affected by large infrastructure projects become primary stakeholders was unclear.

In 1997, I revisited Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987 for a master's degree in development studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science (Jain 1997). From 1996 to 1997, I reviewed case studies and literature on participation and resettlement to help delineate a process of participation in Gujarat's R&R policy.<sup>21</sup> I tested the applicability of this theoretical framework by using raw data from 1993 and additional information gathered through letters and electronic mails. Additional research and interviews with activists and academics added a new perspective to my understanding of the participation process. However, the participatory nature of Gujarat's R&R policy did not match the ongoing discussions of the policy design in the media at that time.

The role resistance played in igniting Gujarat's R&R policy had not been realised. I considered a number of case studies, which documented the extent to which people's resistance played a pivotal role in policy changes associated with hydroelectric projects: the Sobradinho and Itaparica schemes in Brazil (Hall 1992, 1993; Mougeot 1990), the Arenal project in Costa Rica (Partridge 1993) and the Three Gorges in the People's Republic of China (PRC) (Barber and Ryder 1993; Fearnside 1993). I learned that in a number of

---

<sup>21</sup> Data collected during this period is referred to in all sources as Field research (1997)

similar projects, PAPs began to participate for a better R&R with the help of an active NGO or a third party. For example, the Catholic Church, local NGOs and local trade unions helped improve the R&R policy of the Itaparica Project in Brazil (Hall 1992, 1993). The selection of these case studies was based on the timing of resistance movements and subsequent outcomes. In my research, I did not find a case study where resistance played a negative role. In some instance, it improved policy, and in others, it stopped or suspended the respective project.

These case studies and the work done by de Wet (1988) and Oliver-Smith (1991, 1996) suggested that PAPs become active stakeholders only after experiencing a point of resistance. Resistance by PAPs was the entry point to participation in Gujarat's R&R policy process. At that time, participation in improving the R&R policy was secondary. The need to maintain control of their lives was essential — they had to fight for the right to participate in the development of a revised R&R policy. The revised policy was a result of people's struggle, early NGO initiatives and involvement of the World Bank.

After reviewing these popular case studies of dam projects, the process of involvement could be documented into stages that reflect some similarities with other projects. The right to participate in forming Gujarat's R&R policy was based on the assumption that participation can be seen as a means to a desired outcome and/or an end in and of itself (Oakley and Marsden 1984). The participation process could be delineated into five stages: (i) the learning process, (ii) exchange of information, (iii) self-mobilisation, (iv) collaboration — methods of protest and (v) acquiring the right to implement choice. See **Appendix B** for more details about these five stages.

### *1.5.3. NEXT STEPS*

The five stages outline the process through which PAPs acquired the right to implement choice. With support from NGOs, they included three unique provisions in Gujarat's R&R policy. Research revealed that



these measures were essential for PAPs to be able to restore previous living standards and earning capacities. One of these three unique provisions is the right to choose the plot of land, resettlement site and relocation unit. The final stage is acquiring the right to implement choice, which can be seen as an outcome of participation.

By incorporating the notion of *choice* in Gujarat's R&R policy, PAPs may have been able to reduce the feeling of vulnerability associated with forced migration. However, the extent to which the policy has continued to be implemented since 1993, and since its development in 1987, is not known. The nature and degree of participation in the policy process is not known. If the SSP is a rare case where some PAPs have been "involuntarily" resettled by choice, then the provision of choice seems to challenge the term itself. The extent to which the policy has an effect on resettlers' livelihoods, including those on women, remains to be examined.

## 1.6. Research Questions

The purpose of the current research is to investigate the effect of Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987 on the livelihoods of resettlers, with a special reference to the impacts on women. It involves determining the extent to which the R&R policy has actually been implemented, the degree and nature of participation in the policy process and the effect of policy implementation on resettlers' livelihoods. The effect of Gujarat's R&R policy implementation is examined first at the community or site level, then at the household level and finally at the individual level. The following main questions will be considered:

- To what extent has Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987 actually been implemented?

- What has been the degree and nature of participation during the policy process, and how has it influenced the extent to which the policy has been implemented?
- What has been the effect of policy implementation on the ability of resettlers to regain and improve their livelihoods, relative to their conditions and status prior to resettlement, and to others in the same villages that had not participated?
- What has been the effect of policy implementation on gender relations (e.g., division of labour, access to and control of resources and the ability to make decisions) within the household and within the community at the resettlement sites?

In order to investigate these main questions, I will consider a number of additional questions. First of all, in order to determine the actual extent to which Gujarat's R&R policy has been implemented, I will consider the following questions:

- Has the R&R policy been implemented?
- To what extent has the policy actually been implemented?
- What are the variations in policy implementation with respect to important characteristic of resettlers?

Secondly, my anthropological study in 1993 was limited in scope. Findings from this study do not explain the role of participation in improving the lives and well-being of Gujarati PAPs. The dimensions of participation (i.e., nature and degree) were undetermined in 1993. In this thesis, I will operationally define the concept of participation in terms of nature and degree

based on my field research in 2000-2001. I will then document the effect of participation and key characteristics of resettlers on policy implementation. I will consider the following questions:

- What is the nature or type of participation in policy development and articulation?
- What is the degree or level of participation in policy development and articulation?
- How has the nature and degree of participation in policy development influenced policy implementation?

Thirdly, a detailed investigation of the livelihood strategies and capabilities of resettlers to cope with changes brought about by displacement is required in order to determine the effect of the R&R policy implementation on resettlers' lives after resettlement. I will consider the following questions:

- (i) What combination of assets do resettlers use for livelihood strategies and activities for generating particular outcomes?
- (ii) How do organisational structures (e.g., government and non-governmental organisations) and institutional processes influence combinations of assets?
- (iii) What do resettlers expect to achieve in terms of outcomes when selecting a livelihood strategy?
- (iv) How does choice influence the degree of vulnerability associated with "involuntary" resettlement?

The fight to identify provisions in Gujarat's R&R policy was an empowering process based on the assumption that "empowerment" is a collective process induced by external agents of change, such as Action Research Community Health and Development —Vahini (ARCH-Vahini or ARCH). The process also strengthened the capacity of resettlers to make choices. They transformed these choices into desired actions and outcomes within a changing social and institutional context (based on Smulovitz et al., 2003: 3). However, the extent to which this "empowerment" resulted in a redistribution of power is not known. Batliwala (1994) claims that such empowerment aims to achieve three goals: (i) to challenge patriarchal ideology, (ii) to transform structures and institutions that reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and (iii) to enable women to gain greater access to and control over both material and informational resources. In exploring the effect of the R&R policy implementation on individuals, the following question will be considered:

- What influence did women who participated have on gender relations (i.e., roles, responsibilities and decision-making abilities) within the resettlement site and possibly the wider community, in comparison with those who did not participate in the policy process?

In India, women's roles and responsibilities are ascribed through a process of "socialisation" (Kapadia 1999). It is a process whereby girls are brought up to behave in a certain manner based on tradition and practices repeated from one generation to the next. It must be noted that a socialisation process might also influence the way boys are raised to behave in a certain manner. Based on this caveat, if the R&R policy has caused a number of female resettlers to positively change their attitudes and behaviour towards their daughters and sons, then the following questions might be asked in relation to Batliwala's definition of empowerment:

- Does a change in attitude provide ample evidence to suggest that women themselves are beginning to challenge patriarchal ideology?
- Are women beginning to question and transform the structures and institutions that reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and social inequality?

## 1.7. Methodology

The overall approach to this research is interdisciplinary. I have applied a number of concepts to the area of “involuntary” resettlement, which are borrowed from applied development studies. Such studies incorporate both economic and social dimensions (e.g., sustainable livelihoods, participation and empowerment, and gender and development). The research employs both quantitative and qualitative methods<sup>22</sup> in determining the effect of Gujarat’s R&R policy on resettlers’ livelihoods. Quantitative methods (e.g., surveys and official statistics) help to measure participation levels and changes in household infrastructure. Qualitative methods (e.g., open-ended responses to survey questions, observations and interviews) help to describe different participation-related issues within the policy process.

A combination of these methods has provided a more comprehensive evaluation of Gujarat’s R&R policy on the livelihoods of resettlers. Initially, I understood this evaluation to be a type of impact assessment where I was investigating the impact of Gujarat’s R&R policy on resettlers’ livelihoods. However, this assessment is more a type of “policy appraisal” on a select sample of individuals. A project or policy appraisal “deals with ‘existing’ projects, programmes, and policies, assessing expected and intentional

---

<sup>22</sup> Rao and Woolcock (2003) discuss the benefits of integrating quantitative and qualitative methods in evaluating the effects of an intervention.

change, often checking to see whether goals have been accomplished and are being maintained” (Barrow 2000:7). On the other hand, an impact assessment, or social impact assessment, is more concerned with “predicting the unexpected impacts of ‘proposed’ developments” (Barrow 2000: 7).

In this research, I first present the extent to which Gujarat’s R&R policy has been implemented, including the key R&R provisions. I then determine the extent to which the degree and nature of participation has been influential in the policy process. I finally examine the effect of policy implementation on resettlers’ livelihoods, with a special reference to the impacts on women. I propose to apply the sustainable livelihoods framework to involuntary resettlement in order to help conduct this evaluation or appraisal.

Specific methods employed in this research include (i) a review of international and Indian literature on relevant concepts (e.g., involuntary resettlement, livelihoods, participation and gender); (ii) interviews with key informants such as academics, government and agency officials, resettlers and NGO activists; (iii) focus group interviews, segregated by sex, age and tribal group; (iv) a household survey administered at six resettlement sites; (v) a gender assessment of a small sample of female resettlers; (vi) area mappings; (vii) official government documents on the SSP and general socio-economic indicators and (viii) participant observations.<sup>23</sup> Based on these different sources, I was able to triangulate the information collected. These sources have also provided insight into the changes the R&R policy has brought on resettlers’ livelihoods.

The research that I conducted in 1993 and 1997 has helped in developing my research questions in this thesis. My research questions (Section 1.6) are addressed based on my field research in 2000-2001.

---

<sup>23</sup> All but a few key informants requested that they remain anonymous. In complying with their request for confidentiality, a list of key informants has not been provided in the appendices.

References are occasionally made to both the 1993 and 1997 research, as background information. These references have been clearly marked in the text.

For this thesis, I conducted field research from September 2000 to March 2001 to investigate the effect of Gujarat's R&R policy on resettlers' livelihoods (see **Appendix A** for timetable).<sup>24</sup> My affiliation with the Maharaja Sayajirao (M.S.) University granted me local credibility and research independence that I needed to effectively conduct my research.<sup>25</sup> Whilst at M.S. University, I had access to library and research facilities, was assigned an office in the host department and rented a room in the University guesthouse. I conducted a number of research seminars and participated in academic discussions with faculty and students on a variety of research topics. In addition, I corresponded with professionals from the World Bank and other research institutions that helped keep me abreast of the R&R issues.

During the six months, I designed and administered two survey questionnaires.<sup>26</sup> One was developed for a full household census of six resettlement sites, and the other was used for a gender assessment. These surveys were administered with the help of two interpreters that I hired from a local survey institute. They translated the questionnaires to Gujarati and the questionnaire responses to English. They accompanied me to the resettlement sites, and assisted in administering the questionnaires in Gujarati. For safety considerations and assistance in administering gender-specific questions to men and women, I hired one male and one female assistant.

---

<sup>24</sup> Data collected during this period is referred to in all sources as Field research (2000-2001).

<sup>25</sup> I was affiliated with the Department of Human Development and Family Studies at M.S. University of Baroda as a Visiting Research Fellow. I also volunteered my time at the Center for Operations Research and Training where I edited reproductive health reports and engaged in relevant discussions. Through this combination, I gained significant insight into questionnaire design, data collection and data entry.

<sup>26</sup> In designing these surveys, I consulted household and gender surveys that had been developed by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFW 1998a, 1998b).

### 1.7.1. THE RESEARCH SURVEYS

I conducted two surveys at six resettlement sites within the *talukas* (or sub-districts) of Dabhoi and Sankheda in Vadodara district of Gujarat. This sample represented five out of the 19 sites in Dabhoi (26%) and one out of 35 sites in Sankheda (3%).

The first survey was a household census that found 380 PAFs at six sites, of which 370 (97%) were available for interview. This is equivalent to about 15% of the 2,467 PAFs resettled in Dabhoi and Sankheda. The census aimed to collect general socio-economic information about the households before and after resettlement, and to identify households that had participated in the policy process.

The census was supplemented by the second survey, which aimed to assess the gender situation within the resettlement sites. Out of 120 possible respondents, only 97 women were found. The survey was fully completed by only 89 women, of which about half had participated in policy-related events prior to resettlement.<sup>27</sup>

In preparing the surveys, I first began with informal visits to the six study sites to introduce the purpose of my research and share findings from my research in 1993 and 1997. At the four sites that I previously visited in 1993, I easily re-established my rapport. At the two new sites, I had to foster new relationships with the local leaders and resettlers. I explained that the new study would be conducted over six months, and that participation was optional with no rewards (e.g., monetary or in kind). However, I agreed to report any difficulties or problems associated with R&R to the implementing agency for effective redressal. During these initial visits, I piloted draft questions for final inclusion into both survey questionnaires.

---

<sup>27</sup> Only 89 women completed the survey in its entirety. In some instances, more than 89 responses were received for some questions. In such cases, the total number of women is indicated as  $N \leq 97$  women.



In the first survey, the household questionnaire (**Appendix C**) was divided into five sections, namely:

- (i) A listing of all family members, which included demographic and socio-economic information on each individual (e.g., age, marital status, level of education and nature of work);
- (ii) Changes in pre- and post-resettlement in CPRs (i.e., water and fuel sources);
- (iii) Changes in collective and individual land ownership and livestock possession (i.e., extended versus nuclear households) pre- and post-resettlement;
- (iv) Degree of people's involvement and the extent of choice in the policy process (i.e., members that participated, helpful organisations, choice of land and relocation unit) and
- (v) Open-ended questions for both the respondent and his/her spouse, to capture individual opinions regarding their overall sentiments towards "involuntary" resettlement.

The unit of analysis was the household. The household was defined as the total number of persons who used the same *chulha* (or cooking range). Based on this definition, a total of 380 households<sup>28</sup> were identified at six study sites, but only 370 households were available for interview (**Table 1.4**).

---

<sup>28</sup> Figures in this thesis may differ from other sources due to the different definitions of "households." In some instances, households may be defined in terms of structure; in other cases, it may include the

**Table 1.4: Actual Number of Completed Questionnaires**

Resettlement Site	Households		Sample for Gender Assessment	
	Total	Actual Number Interviewed	Total	Actual Number Interviewed
Site A	71	70	22	11
Site B	78	74	24	22
Site C	126	125	39	33
Site D	59	59	20	13
Site E	14	12	5	3
Site F	32	30	10	7
<b>Total</b>	380	370	120	89 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>A total of 97 women were found, but only 89 completed the questionnaire in its entirety. These totals exclude those who disagreed and those who left the questionnaire incomplete. Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The head of a household was determined by asking family members who they felt was the one who manages the home. In each instance, the head of the family was deemed to be the eldest male —husband or son. Respondents, however, included both men and women since some male heads were unavailable (e.g., about 31% of household questionnaire responses came from women).

The household questionnaire, which included a census and a socio-economic survey, gave me a general overview of the resettlement sites. It ensured that all views were recorded and no one view was purposely ignored. It also helped me identify women who had participated in policy-related events prior to resettlement, and widows who were awarded land compensation with legal titles.

The second survey —a gender assessment questionnaire —was administered to a sample of 120 women. This sample was randomly selected from two different pools of the 370 households surveyed using the household questionnaire. Pool 1 consisted of 90 households in which (i) at least one woman participated in the policy process and/or (ii) comprised of a widow

---

actual number of R&R package recipients. For instance, one PAF may include up of four *chulhas*, or one *chulha* could include two or more PAFs.

who received land compensation. Pool 2 consisted of the remaining 280 households in which no women participated in the policy process. I randomly selected 60 women from each pool, which gave me a sample of 120 women.

Out of 120 women, 97 women were found. The remaining could not be contacted because they were unavailable, visiting their natal home, working in the field, did not have time for the interview, experiencing trauma due to an internal site conflict and/or were dead. Of the 97, only 89 women had completed the gender assessment questionnaire. The completion rate was particularly low at **Site A (Table 1.4)** where only 12 out of the anticipated 22 women were available for interview. Twelve women agreed to participate in the interview, of whom one later became offended by the questions and discontinued the interview. Three women were unavailable because of a marital dispute within the resettlement site, three were busy in their agricultural work and did not have the time, one refused because she was still grieving the loss of her son, and one had died.

The gender assessment questionnaire (**Appendix D**) was used for conducting a gender analysis of women's conditions before and after resettlement. To gain a better idea of how the R&R policy affected women's livelihoods, information was collected in the following five areas:

- (i) Extent of women's participation in policy-related events;
- (ii) Division of labour within the household, including the different activities and responsibilities that women and men hold;
- (iii) Access to and control over resources by men and women within the household;

- (iv) Decision-making capacity of women within the household and
- (v) Open-ended questions aimed at determining any change in women's attitudes and practices over time (i.e., fertility, education, health care, marital age, hopes and dreams).

In instances where change had occurred, women were asked why they thought such a change had occurred. Questions relating to the R&R process gave some insight as to what the process of revising the R&R policy meant to women and the effects, if any, on their relations within and beyond the household.

#### 1.7.2. RESETTLEMENT SITE SELECTION

The six sites selected for this study are located within the Vadodara district — five are in Dabhoi *taluka* and one is in Sankheda *taluka*. In Dabhoi *taluka* there are 19 sites with Gujarati PAFs, and 35 sites in Sankheda *taluka*. Each of the six sample sites varies in size and in population characteristics. These characteristics are believed to exert an influence on the rehabilitation process. I have changed the names of resettlement sites, in order to ensure anonymity of respondents participating in this research (Table 1.5).

**Table 1.5: Size and Tribal Composition at Six Resettlement Sites**

Resettlement Site	Original or New Site	Taluka	Major Tribal Group	No. of Households	No. of Women
Site A	Original	Dabhoi	Rathwa	71	22
Site B	Original	Dabhoi	Tadvi	78	24
Site C	Original	Dabhoi	Tadvi	126	39
Site D	Original	Dabhoi	Rathwa	59	20
Site E	New	Dabhoi	Bhil/Vasava	14	5
Site F	New	Sankheda	Bhil/Vasava	32	10
<b>Total</b>				<b>380</b>	<b>120</b>

No.=number

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Gujarat has a total of 184 *vasahats* (or resettlement sites) in six districts and 25 *talukas*. About 9,067 PAFs from the affected states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh (SSPA 2001a, 2001b; Table 1.6) live at these sites.

**Table 1.6: Project-affected Families at Resettlement Sites by District and Taluka in Gujarat**

District	Taluka	From Gujarat		From Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh		Total	
		No. of Sites	No. of PAFs	No. of Sites	No. of PAFs	No. of Sites	No. of PAFs
Vadodara	Dabhoi	19	955	7	253	26	1,208
	Sankheda	35	1,512	17	895	52	2,407
	Others (7)	28	834	29	1,772	57	2,606
	Total	82	3,301	53	2,920	135	6,621
Other Districts (5)	Others (16)	28	998	21	1,482	49	2,480
	Total	28	998	21	1,482	49	2,480
Miscellaneous		—	296	—	70	—	366
<i>Total</i>		110	4,595	74	4,472	184	9,067

PAFs=project-affected families; No.=number  
Source: SSPA (2001a, 2001b)

The 370 households primarily came from Zones II and Zone III-B of Joshi's classification system.<sup>29</sup> I have further subdivided Zone II into two groups: (i) villages that are closer to the dam site and (ii) villages that are found midway between the dam sites and interior forests (Table 1.7 and Map 1.7, where the green lines show Joshi's Zones, and the red lines my regional classifications). The map shows that most affected villages lay toward the right of the dam site, with the exception of a few that are found in Joshi's Zone I. Similarly, most of the submergence villages are situated in the northern part of the submergence area, whilst Mokhadi and Surpan villages lie on the southern banks of the Narmada River.

<sup>29</sup> The sites that we had selected did not consist of families from Joshi's Zone I, or Zone III-A. The anti-dam movement has been strong in Joshi's Zone III-A and interactions with the members have been limited.

**Table 1.7: Key Characteristics of Gujarati Resettlers in Sample**

Joshi's Classification	Jain's Classification	Submergence Villages	Total Sample of HHs Surveyed <sup>a</sup> (N=370)	Major Tribal Groups (% of total HHs)
Zone II	Close to Dam Site	Vadgam, Mokhadi	195	Tadvi (98.5) Rathwa (0.5) Goval (0.5) Vasava (0.5)
Zone II	Mid-way (Between Dam and Interior Forests)	Gadher, Makadkhada	44	Vasava (97.7) Rathwa (2.3)
Zone III-B	Interior Forests	Kadada, Ferkada, Turkheda, Hanfeshwar	112	Rathwa (78.6) Vasava (13.4) Nayka (7.1) Brahmin (0.9)
Other	Other (Not part of the 19 submergence villages)	Others	19	Rathwa (42.1) Vasava (31.6) Tadvi (10.5) Nayka (10.5) Dungri Bhil (5.3)

HHs=households; N=total; %=percentage.

<sup>a</sup>A majority of households (90%) relocated in 1990-1994.

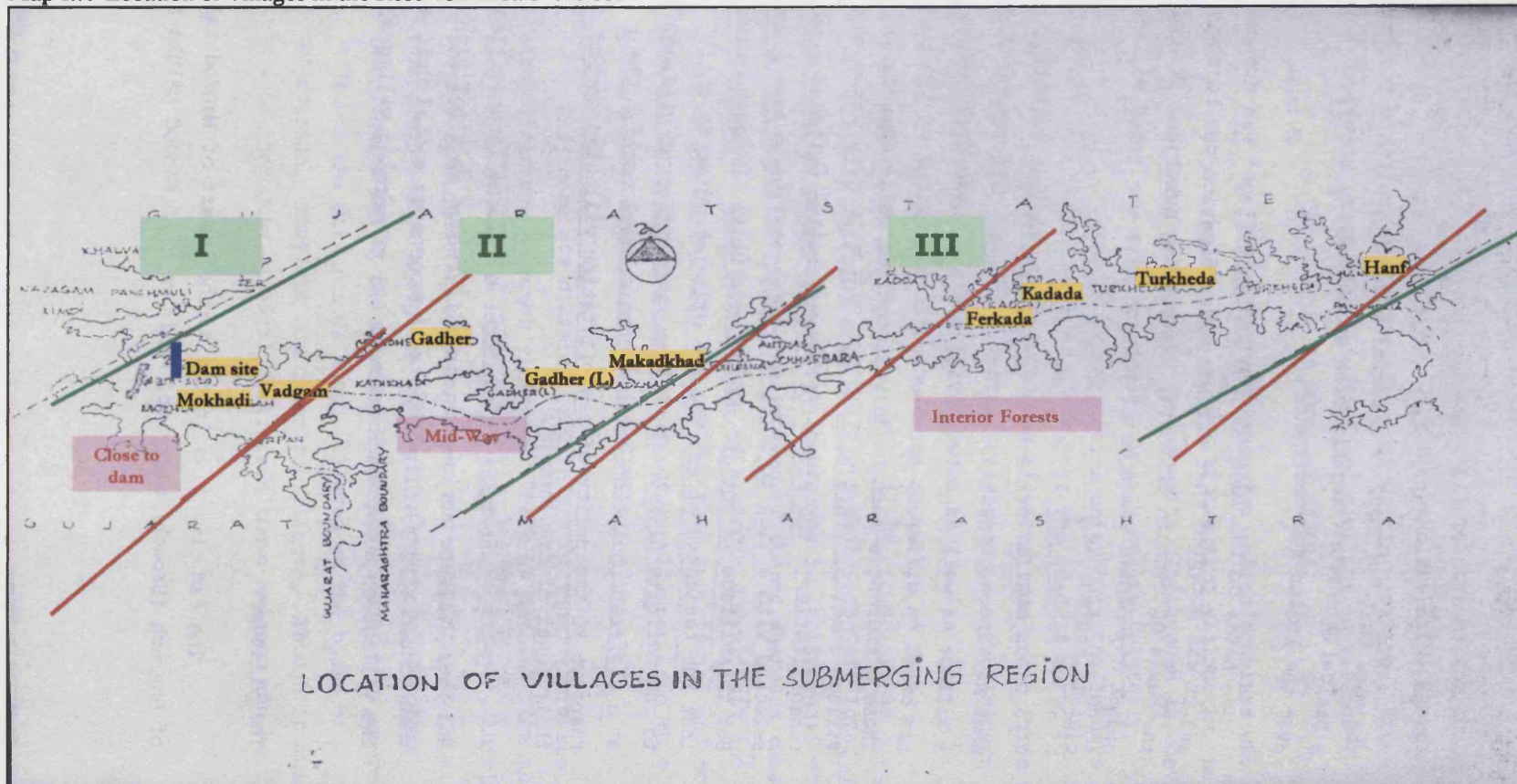
Source: Joshi (1983: 59); Field research (2000-2001).

### 1.7.3. STUDY POPULATION

The six study sites for this thesis represent three major tribal groups displaced from the Narmada Valley —the Tadvi, Rathwa and Bhil/Vasava (Table 1.5). Two new sites were included to represent a major tribal group that had been under-represented in 1993 —the Bhil/Vasava tribal groups. According to SSPA statistics, families in Gujarat affected by the dam height up to the reduced level of 95 m have already been resettled within Gujarat, including about 811 PAFs from Madhya Pradesh and 20 PAFs from Maharashtra (SSPA 2001b).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Total costs incurred by Gujarat in providing agricultural land and civic amenities up to 31 January 2001 amounted to Rs. 22 million; figures are cumulative at a given level (SSPA 2001b).

Map 1.7: Location of Villages in the Reservoir Area of the SSP



Source: Joshi (1983: 46); Field research (2000-2001).

Respondents came from seven different groups —Rathwa, Vasava, Tadvi, Dungri Bhil, Nayka Goval and Brahmin. Of these, I have combined the last three groups into “other.” All are tribals except for the Brahmin. I have reclassified the Brahmin that was found as “other” so that the total number of households interviewed remains 370. Based on such a categorisation, I was able to focus on the major tribal groups interviewed without losing those groups that have a low representation at the sites.

The relationship between tribal group and place of origin is illustrated in **Table 1.8**, which is supported by Joshi (1983) and Patwardhan (2000). The association will be used throughout the thesis to demonstrate characteristics pertinent to one group of tribals with respect to their place of origin. For instance, about 90% of Rathwas interviewed came from interior villages, whilst around 99% of Tadvis came from villages at or close to the dam site. The third major group of tribals, Vasavas and Bhils, are concentrated in the mid-regions of the Valley.

**Table 1.8: Percentage of Households Based on Place of Origin by Tribal Group**

Tribal Group	No. of HHs		Submergence Area							
	No.	%	Close to Dam		Midway		Interior Forests		Other	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rathwa	98	100.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	88	89.8	8	8.2
Tadvi	194	100.0	192	99.0	—	—	—	—	2	1.0
Vasava+Bhil	66	100.0	1	1.5	43	65.2	15	22.7	7	10.6
Other	12	100.0	1	8.3	—	—	9	75.0	2	16.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>52.7</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>30.3</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5.1</b>

HHs=households; No.=number; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Official government data indicate that **Sites A** through **D** were established in 1991-1992, and **Sites E** and **F** in 1993-1994. The year of resettlement according to the respondents varied from 1988-2001. However, such discrepancy is due to the difference between when PAPs considered themselves displaced and when the government began developing the



resettlement sites. A majority of the respondents (90%) relocated in 1990-1994: about 20% in 1990, 43% in 1991, 11% in 1992, 8% in 1993 and 8% in 1994. Based on this information, I grouped the year of resettlement into three periods —1988-1991, 1992-1995 and 1996-2001. The first two periods take into account the pattern of resettlement for Sites A through D, and the last time period considers families that relocated more recently (i.e., at Sites E and F). The periods also take into account the time when SSP construction was suspended, which influenced the quality and status of R&R activities.

I found that certain tribal groups have resettled collectively to common sites during specific times (Table 1.9). Rathwas mainly resettled at Sites A and D (83% and 66%), whilst Tadvis resettled at Sites B and C (99% and 97%). A majority of resettlers moved to these four sites from 1988-1991 and the remainder during the latter two periods. Further investigation revealed that about 87% of all Rathwas and 66% of all Tadvis moved from 1988-1991. Whilst these two tribal groups show more definite trends in terms of sites and years, Vasavas and Bhils are more scattered since they are found in nearly all sites. Sites E and F host 100% of Vasavas and Bhils, whilst only 29% are found at Site D. A majority of Vasavas and Bhils relocated during 1992-1995, whilst a few moved from 1988-1991 (64% versus 27%). Such a movement pattern might be explained by the submergence cycle or possible secondary relocation if the first site was unsuitable.

**Table 1.9: Distribution of Households by Resettlement Site**

Resettlement Site	No. of HHs		Year of Resettlement*			Tribal Group			
	No.	%	1988-1991	1992-1995	1996-2001	Rathwa	Tadvi	Vasava + Bhil	Other
Site A	70	100.0	91.4	7.1	1.4	82.9	—	7.1	10.0
Site B	74	100.0	83.8	16.2	—	—	98.6	—	1.4
Site C	125	100.0	55.6	35.5	8.9	0.8	96.8	1.6	0.8
Site D	59	100.0	76.3	6.8	16.9	66.1	—	28.8	5.1
Site E	12	100.0	—	91.7	8.3	—	—	100.0	—
Site F	30	100.0	—	93.3	6.7	—	—	100.0	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>65.0</b>	<b>28.2</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>52.4</b>	<b>17.8</b>	<b>3.2</b>

HHs=households; No.=number; %=percent.

\*Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

#### 1.7.4. CHALLENGES AND OBSTACLES

During my field research, I encountered a number of challenges and obstacles. Some could have been avoided, whilst others were beyond my control. One of the biggest challenges was organising the field research around the festivals and holidays that are celebrated from October to March. Each social group has its own set of major festivities: Hindus celebrate Diwali; Muslims celebrate Eid; Christians celebrate Christmas and tribals celebrate Holi. This could have been avoided by scheduling my field work during different months. However, the ideal time to conduct research is during the winter months. At this time, less work is required in the agricultural fields, which increases the number of respondents available for interviews.<sup>31</sup> However, even with careful preparations, I was unable to reach all of my respondents. I had cases where identified respondents were unavailable, refused to participate and/or had left the questionnaire incomplete. I have incorporated their answers whenever possible to reflect the true dynamics of a community.

Internal village events (i.e., conflicts and celebrations such as weddings and funerals) also help to delay my research and specifically, the collection of data. A total of five weddings took place at Sites B and C during February, delaying the last few weeks of data collection. Similarly, a marital dispute at Site A also postponed collection of data at times, as anger and violence flared between two prominent groups.

Resettlers from Site A remained preoccupied even after a resolution was reached. For instance, a woman abruptly ended her interview with me even after 10 days before resuming the gender assessment questionnaire. The question that triggered her anger and unhappiness dealt with a woman's

---

<sup>31</sup> In comparison, the field research we conducted in 1993 was more difficult as it took place during the monsoon months; the rains made it logistically difficult to reach the resettlement sites and virtually impossible to interview respondents with heavy agricultural work schedules.

choice in marriage since resettlement. Although consent was attained, questions pertaining to female education and a girl's marital age seemed to remind her of the events surrounding the marital conflict.

The earthquake that shook Gujarat on 26 January 2001 also interrupted my research for some time. For three weeks after the quake, the people of Gujarat lived in fear, especially those individuals who resided in Bhuj and Ahmedabad.<sup>32</sup> My research was not important in comparison to the loss and vulnerability felt by my respondents. After three weeks, I made informal visits to the resettlement sites to assess the situation and discuss with resettlers about their willingness to continue with the interviews. Most were agreeable to the idea, but felt the need to express their distress first. This was incorporated into my future interviews with resettlers at the six resettlement sites.

## 1.8. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured in 10 chapters. **Chapter 1** introduces the purpose and aim of this doctoral research. It provides a comprehensive overview to the SSP within a broader discussion about large dams and tribal populations. It introduces the background and rationale for the research, poses four main research questions and explains the methodology employed and challenges experienced in undertaking field research during 2000-2001.

**Chapter 2** reviews the process of involuntary resettlement, and the key issues and debates surrounding R&R policies. The chapter considers India's experiences in resettlement, and the uniqueness of Gujarat's R&R policy. It also examines gender and displacement issues, including a discussion about the assumptions that are often made when designing R&R policies.

---

<sup>32</sup> In Vadodara, some people were walking around with all their belongings in hand during the day. At night, some people slept fully dressed and arranged their shoes and a bag of belongings next to the door.

These assumptions, made at all levels of policy development, often adversely affect women and their status within the household and community.

**Chapter 3** discusses the evolution of Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987 through a stakeholder analysis. A stakeholder analysis underpins the livelihood assessment, as it distinguishes between internal and external players, within and between participating and non-participating resettlers. It warrants its own chapter because of (i) the process through which PAPs gained a right to participate in the formulation of Gujarat's R&R policy and (ii) the role organisations and institutions played in the evolution of the policy. This Chapter describes the roles of external players such as the World Bank, the state governments, the implementing agency and the NGOs in policy development. The chapter considers the relationships amongst the GOG, ARCH-Vahini and the NBA in policy implementation. This chapter is also important in later explaining any variations in policy implementation at the different resettlement sites.

**Chapter 4** introduces the conceptual framework for this thesis —the adaptation of the sustainable livelihoods framework for involuntary resettlement. The chapter reviews the sustainable livelihoods framework and subsequent adaptations by different institutions. Current R&R approaches and past frameworks are also presented —Cernea's Risk and Reconstruction Model, and Scudder and Colson's Four Stages of Relocation. These different models are reviewed in order to understand the process of involuntary resettlement, and the steps taken to mitigate the adverse affects. The sustainable livelihoods and involuntary resettlement (SL/IR) framework provides a more holistic approach to determining the effect of Gujarat's R&R policy on the livelihoods of resettlers. The framework helps to explain the livelihood strategies and outputs sought by both male and female resettlers during the R&R process.

**Chapter 5** marks the beginning of my analysis. It answers the first question posed in this research —to what extent has Gujarat’s R&R policy of 1987 actually been implemented? It looks at the situation and conditions of resettlement sites at the present time. Findings from the household survey explain the extent to which the three unique provisions outlined in the policy have been implemented. It gives insight to the mix of assets that resettlers have post-resettlement. The chapter presents the level of infrastructure development at the resettlement sites, and access to basic social amenities. It examines the percentage of households that have received land compensation, including housing and land allotments. It also considers the ability of resettlers to implement choice in selection of resettlement site and relocation unit. The chapter ends by considering variations in policy implementation by key characteristics of resettlers (e.g., tribal groups, place of origin and year of resettlement).

**Chapter 6** defines participation in terms of degree and nature, and sets the stage for answering my second main question —how has the degree and nature of participation during the policy process influenced the extent to which the policy has been implemented (i.e., choice has been implemented)? Participation is defined in terms of involvement in policy-related events. There are two major dimensions of participation —degree and nature. The degree of participation is defined by the extent to which a residential unit (i.e., single *chulha* and/or joint household), by gender (man, woman or both), partook in various activities. The nature of participation will consider how such involvement was manifested. I build on the stakeholder analysis presented in **Chapter 3**, by considering the organisations that discussed R&R issues prior to resettlement, types of policy-related meetings and events in which resettlers participated, and the topics discussed during these gatherings. The association between the two dimensions will help to demonstrate the extent to which participation was active or passive.

In **Chapter 7**, I will consider the effect of participation on policy implementation —both degree and nature of participation. I will consider the effect of each dimension of participation on household compensation and choice, which are assumed to be the outcomes of participation. I will also examine the influence of key characteristics of resettlers on any variations in participation levels and types.

**Chapter 8** will answer my third main research question —what has been the effect of policy implementation on the ability of resettlers to regain and improve their livelihoods, relative to their conditions prior to resettlement, and to non-participants in the same villages? This will be done by examining the effect Gujarat’s R&R policy has had on current household conditions through a number of different change variables. Whilst some households experienced change, others experienced none or even lost in the process of resettlement. The chapter will consider the effect of compensation and choice on the current status of resettlers. The degree and nature of participation in the policy process will invariably have an effect on resettlers’ livelihoods. These considerations will shed some light on how choice influences the degree of vulnerability associated with “involuntary” resettlement. The effect of key characteristics of resettlers on their livelihoods will also be assessed. For instance, the place of origin and year of resettlement may affect the level of change experienced.

**Chapter 9** considers the effect of Gujarat’s R&R policy implementation on livelihoods by gender based on the gender assessment questionnaire. It examines the roles and responsibilities within the household and the community before and after resettlement, and any changes in women’s decision-making abilities and their access to and control over resources. This gender analysis is structured using Moser’s (1993) triple roles —productive, reproductive and community management. The effect of participation on women’s livelihood outcomes and the extent to which Gujarat’s R&R policy formation and implementation has been an effective

catalyst for change in attitude and ideology are both examined within the SL/IR framework. It draws on Kabeer's (1994) social framework for policy planning and formation. This chapter aims to answer my last research question and the sub-questions associated with it based on a smaller sample of 89 women. This sample has been divided into four categories based on their participation before and after resettlement: (i) those who did not participate at all; (ii) those who participated only before resettlement, (iii) those who participated only after resettlement and (iv) those who participated both before and after resettlement.

Finally, **Chapter 10** summarises the major points of discussion from this thesis and will incorporate the overall feelings resettlers have regarding the R&R process. It makes suggestions and recommendations for future R&R work on the SSP and for implementing future R&R policies.

## Chapter 2

### INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR DEVELOPMENT THROUGH R&R POLICIES

*'Development' is not a simple, sanitary process of investing capital or introducing new technologies into a country. It is a messy, conflict-ridden business of social change. .*

—Eckholm (1979: 35)

*...resistance signifies that development itself has become a contested domain, an argument involving many voices and perspectives, notably those affected by displacement and their allies [...] Resistance acts as an initiator of social change. Crises are times of fluidity, redefining a variety of internal and external relationships.*

—Oliver-Smith (2001, cited in de Wet 2002: 8-9)

*In 1987-88 Gujarat developed a policy for its Sardar Sarovar oustees that has since been welcomed as the most progressive packages of measures ever devised for securing the long-term rehabilitation of people displaced by large-scale development projects. Many told us in the course of our review that the Gujarat policies should become Indian, if not worldwide, norms by which resettlement policies should be guided. .*

—Morse and Berger (1992: 82)

Involuntary resettlement due to infrastructure projects (e.g., transport, energy, water and sanitation) has gained increased importance in development literature since the 1980s. During the 1990s, at least 80 million to 90 million people were displaced worldwide as a result of such programmes (Cernea 1997: 6). The World Bank estimates that approximately 10 million people enter the cycle of forced displacement and relocation annually due to either dam constructions or urban/transportation projects alone (World Bank



1996). Roughly four million people are displaced each year by about 300 large dams.<sup>33</sup> An additional six million people are displaced due to urban and transport development projects (Cernea 1997: 6; Rew 1996: 204). Such projects include urban water supply and sanitation development or expressway projects. The former tends to have more structural impacts than the latter where productive land is higher.

In Southeast Asia, development projects have replaced the occurrence of war as the major cause of displacement (Permpongsacharoen 1998, cited in Patwardhan 2000:6). In India, dams have caused about 80% of total displacement since independence in 1947, which is equivalent to about 164,000 to 40 million people (Patwardhan 2000: 5). These figures do not, however, include individuals who are indirectly affected by the construction of dams (e.g., those affected by the downstream effects of the project).

## **2.1. Dams and Involuntary Resettlement**

International conferences (e.g., Second World Water Forum) and organisations (e.g., World Commission on Dams [WCD]) have brought increased attention to involuntary resettlement as being more than a mere “consequence” of development projects. Meetings and institutions have generated awareness on the dangers of resettlement for local populations displaced by development and on their ability to re-establish, if not improve, their livelihoods (Dorcey et al., 1997). Involuntary resettlement has often been perceived as an obstacle in eradicating poverty and achieving social equity. However, it also has the potential of being an opportunity for development if coupled with appropriate rehabilitation measures (Asif 2000: 2005; Mathur and Marsden 1998; World Bank 2000: 1). This opportunity is often realised years after relocation has taken place once rehabilitation measures are implemented.

---

<sup>33</sup> It is unclear if this includes both direct and indirect displacement (i.e., those affected downstream).

According to the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage (ICID), dams of all sizes are “an essential component of overall and integrated water management systems” (ICID, not dated: 4). Dams not only divert water but also retain it over a long period of time so that it may be used more effectively to avert the severe impact of floods and droughts. They provide a continuous and timely supply of water for irrigation, drinking and hydropower. Large dams, in particular, “enable larger storage of water at suitable places, thus saving on multiplicity of efforts which would be needed to construct several smaller ones” (ICID, not dated: 2).

A “large dam” is considered to be “an artificial barrier with a dam wall higher than 15 m, a crest length over 500 m, and a reservoir capacity greater than 1,000,000 cubic meters” (ICOLD 1998, cited in World Wildlife Fund [WWF] 2000: 3). Larger water storage is necessary for societies to respond to the needs of growing urban and industrial centres. Close to 100 large dams per year were constructed worldwide between 1900 and 1950, and over 500 large dams were being built per year by the latter half of the twentieth century. By 1996, there were 41,413 operational dams that were higher than 15 m (ICOLD 1998, cited in WWF 2000: 3-4). About 6% of 800,000 dams that had been constructed by 1997 were large dams (Carino 2001).

Large dams are amongst the major development projects causing displacement. According to ADB, between 40 million and 80 million people have been forced to leave their homes due to the construction of large hydroelectric dams alone (ADB 1999; WCD 2000: 104). From 1950 to 1990, dams in the PRC have displaced close to 10.2 million people, whilst in India the figure ranges from 16 million to 38 million people (Fernandes and Paranjpye 1997: 17, cited in WCD 2000: 104). Excluding India and the PRC, 134 completed dams have displaced about 2.2 million people (McCully 1996: 67).

---

For instance, the Sobradinho Hydroelectric Project in Brazil displaced 70,000 people, but downstream effects resulted in the displacement of 50,000 additional people (Gutman 1999: 10).

World Bank-assisted hydroelectric projects have accounted for about 63% to 67% of displacement worldwide (ADB 2001; WCD 2000: 104; World Bank 1996: 90-92; Table 2.1 and Appendix E for project examples.) In comparison, the ADB has funded about 101 projects from 1994 to 2000, of which 30% were for hydropower and water purposes and have affected about 150,000 PAPs (ADB 2001). The most recent large dam under appraisal by the World Bank, ADB and other financial stakeholders is the Nam Theun II dam, located in the Lao People’s Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) which is expected to affect an estimated 1,000 families or 5,700 people in 22 villages in Nakai Plateau.<sup>34</sup>

**Table 2.1: Examples of World Bank-assisted Projects Causing Displacement**

Country	Name of Project	Estimated No. Displaced
Bangladesh	Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge Project	65,000 people
Brazil	Sobradinho Hydroelectric Project	70-72,000 people
People's Republic of China	Jingjiu Railway Project	210,000 people
Malaysia	Batang Ai Hydropower Project	3,600 people
Philippines	Second Manila Port Project	8,500 families
Philippines	Hopewell Power Corporation Project	223 families

No.= number

Source: Rew (1996: 204).

National governments and project planners often underestimate the degree to which individuals and communities are disrupted during project design, planning and implementation. Downstream effects in agriculture and production systems and the development of “boomtowns” around the construction site also receive little attention (Cernea 1997). Downstream impacts of projects could alter the way people earn their livelihoods further down in the Valley (i.e., fisheries communities and flood-dependent farmers). The development of boomtowns changes the state of equilibrium when “outsiders” (i.e., migrant workers and project authorities) establish themselves

<sup>34</sup> For more details, see Nam Theun II Hydroelectric Project (not dated) at <http://www.namtheun2.com/safeguards/nakresettlement.htm>.

in the area. By excluding both types of impacts, the magnitude of displacement is underestimated and the benefits of a project are overemphasised. Both contribute to making a project more attractive and cost-effective.

Adverse impacts on host populations may be significant. Host populations may not be consulted when populations are relocated into their villages or when sites are established nearby. Host people may also face adverse social and environmental effects

*'if they [the resettlers] do that [protest against the dam] even after receiving all this, then let them sink with the water. They are being given electricity facilities and we don't even have that. After all this, if they make [a] big deal then let them drown. Those who had two acres with five sons now have 30 acres' (Anonymous 1993i).*

due to increased competition with resettlers over limited resources in the area. The effects on host populations go beyond the scope of this thesis, but comparisons will be included where appropriate.

Involuntary resettlement entails unfavourable economic, social and environmental impacts on displaced populations. It is a process that starts with displacement, and is followed by relocation and resettlement (Morse and Berger 1992: 83). It consists of two closely related but different processes — displacing individuals and rebuilding their livelihood (Asthana 1996: 1468). Resettlement and rehabilitation are important processes that deal with individuals who are forced to move due to developmental activities aimed at improving national infrastructure and welfare. Resettlement refers to the physical movement of individuals from one place to the next, and rehabilitation refers to the social restoration of their state to the same or better condition.

Unlike people who move due to environmental scarcity or socio-economic pressures, those affected by development-induced resettlement are “pushed out” of their original habitats without any choice of staying. Homes are abandoned, production systems are dismantled and productive assets and

income sources are lost. Displaced people may be relocated to environments where their skills may be less applicable, the competition for resources may be greater and host populations (or pre-existing villages) may be hostile or culturally incompatible.

Well-established community structures, social networks and kinship ties may be broken or weakened. Resettlers cannot maintain social and economic ties with their original villages, which would help families cope with levels of anxiety and insecurity associated with forced displacement (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993). Cultural identity, traditional authority and the potential for mutual help may be diminished. When a project threatens a community's socio-economic and cultural existence, people respond by mobilising themselves into an opposition, and resisting either the project *per se*, or the resettlement process (Oliver-Smith 1991, 1996). However, this is often the exception than the rule.

For survival, displaced persons may be forced to over-exploit ecologically fragile areas, exacerbating environmental degradation. In such circumstances, "adequate" rehabilitation packages are required for rebuilding and, where possible, improving living standards and earning capacities. Rehabilitation involves:

*...replacing the lost economic assets, rebuilding the community systems that have been weakened by displacement, attending to the psychological trauma of forced alienation from livelihood, transition to a new economy which is alien to those from a predominantly informal society and preparing them to encounter the new society as equals and not just suppliers of cheap raw materials and labour that they are in today's system of displacement (Fernandes and Naik 1999, cited in Asif 2000).*

Whilst the R&R process is expected to help PAPs rebuild and develop their socio-economic capabilities, PAPs are often seen as "obstructions to progress, and not as unwilling victims entitled to full support and recovery" (Cernea 1997: 10). The process is often carried out in a manner

that displays state power over the people rather than a process of development for the people (Asif 2000: 2007). PAPs are rarely notified in advance of the

*The ultimate object of the R and R [R&R] process is to rebuild and develop the social and economic life of the displaced. However, the manner in which it is carried out shows that representatives of the state use it more as a mechanism of power over the people than a process of development (Asif 2000: 2007)*

development project and of its consequences on their livelihoods. They have limited opportunities to participate in the process, with little inputs to the provisions outlined in respective R&R policies. Mitigation and rehabilitation measures are often mismatched, as they tend not to reflect individual needs and preferences.

## 2.2. Approaches to Involuntary Resettlement

Development-induced resettlement has been approached in various ways, using different disciplines to help construct the concepts and issues central to forced relocation. Different disciplines include refugee studies, human rights, migration and population settlements, sociology, economics, anthropology, psychology and legal studies. The approach used to address displacement and rehabilitation determines the context within which involuntary resettlement is understood and managed. Significant contributions to the field include, but are not limited, to the following:

- Legal entitlements (Dhagamwar 1989, 1992; Escudero 1988; Shihata 1993),
- Economic analysis of displacement (Cernea 1999; Eriksen 1999),
- Physiological and psychological stress (de Wet 1988; Good 1996; Scudder and Colson 1982),

- Social and environmental impact (Barrow 1997, 2000; Cernea 1988; Hansen and Oliver-Smith 1982; Goldsmith and Hildyard 1984; McCully 1996),
- Institutional dynamics (Baviskar 1995, 1997; Joshi 1997),
- Impacts on women (Bhatia 1993, 1997a; Ganguly-Thukral 1996; Gopal 1992a, 1992b; Mehta and Srinivasan 1998) and
- The need for the increased use of social science (Cernea 1985, 1993, 1999).

Involuntary resettlement, as a type of land settlement and adverse consequence of infrastructure projects, exposes populations to higher degrees of vulnerability and to increased risks of impoverishment and marginalisation, post-resettlement (Cernea 1999; Scudder 1997). However, PAPs are able to cope with such changes based on their ability to make choices. They may be passive victims or active protesters against resettlement. The ability to hope for stability is pivotal to their ability to make choices and transform them into action for desired outcomes. Social and institutional factors help to create the space for resistance and participation in the policy process.

*Impoverishment of displaced people is the central risk [...] To counter this central risk, protecting and reconstructing displaced people's livelihoods is the central requirement for equitable resettlement programs (Cernea 1996b: 1).*

Three stakeholder approaches influence the approach a government employs towards resettlement (Gray 1996: 119-20). The first approach is based on the viewpoint of multinational and bilateral funding institutions. Assuming development projects are inevitable, the implementing agency has to be committed to the R&R process so that it can be carried out smoothly and efficiently. It is no longer acceptable to consider involuntary resettlement

a side effect of development projects where it is cured using minimum standards. In the first approach, institutions stress the importance of mitigating the impact of displacement on villagers to the fullest possible extent. The second approach is embedded in a human rights approach, which is often expressed by NGOs or local groups. In instances where development projects (e.g., dams, transport networks, water and sanitation projects) violate human rights or dismantle local people's livelihoods, the government must be held accountable for its actions. The third approach reflects the viewpoint of the PAPs themselves whereby they, and not the nation-state, have "power of eminent domain" over the territories. These approaches are further illustrated with respect to SSP in **Chapter 3**.

The second and third approaches are often intertwined, especially when NGOs hold consultation and participation meetings with PAFs. A combination of these three approaches helps in justifying the need for land compensation for acquired land. Moreover, they help in identifying three important elements of R&R, as evident in the case of Gujarat's R&R policy: (i) compensation for lost assets and loss of income and/or livelihood, (ii) assistance for relocation and provisions at new sites and (iii) assistance for rehabilitation to regain at minimum the same level of well-being.

In parallel, Penz (2000: 4-5) justifies development-induced displacement through three perspectives, focusing on the theoretical values of (i) public interest, such as a cost-benefit analysis of the project; (ii) self-determination, including freedom and liberation and (iii) equality, based on poverty reduction and equity. Requiring self-determination by project-affected communities implies acknowledging that PAPs have a right to full compensation. Moreover, it gives the PAPs a right to veto any relevant development activity deemed "unsuitable," even in cases where negotiations and consent cannot be reached. The dichotomy lies with the two extremes. On one hand, public interest and poverty reduction may justify the development project at a national level. On the other, self-determination and



individual rights may warrant compensation and possible vetoing rights (Penz 2000: 5).

An integrated approach supports the need for stakeholder consultation, where planners, policy makers, and agents of change are part of the overall analysis for designing a development intervention (Marsden 1990). In this case, the PAPs are amongst the primary stakeholders. For instance, projects funded by lending institutions have the potential of yielding better outcomes when complemented with local development efforts of NGOs (Gray 1996). ARCH-Vahini, an NGO formerly involved in Gujarat's R&R implementation, states: "to ask the bureaucracy to prepare the detailed blue print of rehabilitation without active involvement of the PAPs and activists from the very beginning is to undermine the provisions of choice and preference guaranteed to them to safeguard their vital interests" (ARCH-Vahini 1988a: 6). Involvement of PAPs is essential during project development, especially in the design and implementation of R&R policy. They help to minimise the adverse affects, and to seek appropriate mitigation measures.

The case of the Samut Prakarn Wastewater Management Project in Thailand emphasises the importance of involving the affected community in project planning. Financed with the assistance of ADB, this large infrastructure project aimed to address the water pollution problems in Samut Prakarn Province —located on the Chao Phraya River, southeast of Bangkok. A change in project design moved a single wastewater management facility about 20 km from the east bank of the River in the Klong Dan district (Bank Information Center [BIC] 2002). Based on an inspection panel's review (initiated in July 2001), residents at the new location only learned about the change after the construction had started at the new site. About 60,000 villagers near the new project site raised concern over the adverse environmental and social impacts of the Project on their communities and on their individual well-being, and thereby formulated an objection (Herz 2004:

21-25; Focus on the Global South 2002). This objection, perhaps, could have been avoided had the villagers been consulted early in the process of the site selection for the wastewater treatment plant.

### 2.3. India and Involuntary Resettlement

A national R&R policy helps to ensure efficiency through a legal framework, whilst participation of PAPs in the project-cycle helps to personalise the R&R process. The Department of Land Resources of the Ministry of Rural Development recently approved a *National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation for Project Affected Families—2003* (GOI 2004).<sup>35</sup> The National Policy (or NPRR-2003) applies to projects that displace 500 families or more in plain areas, 250 families or more in hilly areas, Desert Development Programme blocks and areas mentioned in Schedule V and Schedule VI of the Constitution of India. Beneficiaries of this policy include PAFs both above and below the poverty line. The NPRR-2003 is presented in the form of broad guidelines with executive instructions guiding all those concerned—the appropriate government and administrator for R&R.

Before the NPRR-2003, legal regulations and formal resettlement policies at the national level were absent in India. Development-induced displacement did not have a clear resettlement plan prior to the

*Although intelligent planning is a prerequisite to sound implementation, excessive reliance on 'paper plans' is dangerous. Reality almost always differs from plans (World Bank 2000: 4)*

1980s; rather it was *ad hoc* in nature. According to the Constitution of India, R&R is the responsibility of individual states and as such, remains *ad hoc* in nature with a *pari passu* (or incremental) approach. In employing such an approach, displaced people are relocated and resettled in accordance to the submergence schedule, or as they become impediments in the development process.

---

<sup>35</sup> The National Policy was published in the *Gazette of India* on 17 February 2004.

R&R plans, designed in an *ad hoc* manner and implemented using a *pari passu* approach, are believed to leave out displaced populations due to a lack of communication and coordination amongst various stakeholders (de Wet 2002: 6; Rew et al., 2000). However, some claim that such flexibility is necessary especially in situations where reality is different from predetermined blueprints (Asif 2000: 2005; de Wet 2002: 6; Rew et al., 2000; World Bank 2000: 4). For instance, the SSP has been criticised for being planned in an *ad hoc* fashion using a *pari passu* approach. However, people that face submergence due to the reservoir in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh have different needs and requirements for re-establishing their livelihoods based on key characteristics of PAPs and the implementation schedule of project activities.

In India, some central ministries or state departments have had their own policies and guidelines. For instance, only three states had a formal R&R policy —Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka.<sup>36</sup> The Maharashtra Project Affected People's Rehabilitation Act of 1976, amended in 1986, is the most comprehensive (Multinational Environment and Social Assessment Services [MESAS] 1996). Orissa and Rajasthan are currently in the process of developing their own R&R policies. However, other states (e.g., Gujarat) have issued a series of government orders or resolutions for R&R provisions, which they now refer to as a policy. Some of these have been sector-wide but more often they have been project-specific (e.g., the SSP). Moreover, only two public sector companies have formulated R&R policies in relation to their business enterprises —the Indian National Thermal Power Corporation policy in 1993 and the Coal India, Limited policy in December 1994 (MESAS 1996; Internally Displaced People [IDP] Project 2000).

---

<sup>36</sup> According to Ganguly-Thukral (1992b), certain states in India have laws governing the rehabilitation of PAPs: the Maharashtra Project Displaced Persons Act of 1976 and the Madhya Pradesh Pariyojana ke Karan Vishthapit Vyakti [Punahsthan] Adhinyam of 1987.

Involuntary displacement often reflects planned political decisions, which are justified when the activity is deemed beneficial to society as a whole (Asthana 1996; Guggenheim and Cernea 1993; McCully 1996). Acts such as the Indian Forest Act of 1878 and the Land Acquisition (LA) Act of 1894 give supreme authority to the state to control and own all the property, including forest land, within the country's territory (Patwardhan 2000: 2). The "power of eminent domain" is a legal concept that gives states, as property owners, the right to acquire private property for public purposes, and often it precedes all other legal provisions and protective measures (Escudero 1988; Patwardhan 2000; Ramanathan 1996; Shihata 1993). International law recognises the right of states to exploit assets within their national territories. Land for large dam projects is expropriated based on this principle, whilst obligating governments to provide compensation for property acquired.

In India, the LA Act of 1894 is the main tool used for acquiring land for public use. It initially offered cash payments for land, but was later amended in 1984 to offer replacement land (or land-for-land compensation). The LA (Amendment) Bill in 1998 makes the process of land acquisition easier, highlighting the preference for investment in infrastructure at the costs of adversely affecting people (Fernandes 1999). The LA Act, including subsequent amendments, continues to ignore the essential R&R needs of people displaced by development projects.

The current NPRR-2003 policy refers to the LA Act of 1894, without giving further consideration to the Amendment Bill of 1998 (GOI 2004: Paragraph 3.1(b)). The LA Act of 1894 continues to be the principal instrument in compulsory land acquisition and compensation payments. It does not, however, address individuals without legal land titles. It also lacks uniformity across states, as every case of involuntary resettlement is different based on governments, loan institutions, project engineers, implementing agencies, affected people, et cetera (Sinha 1996: 1454). The NPRR-2003 aims

at presenting the “basic norms and packages in the shape of a Policy” (GOI 2004: Paragraph 1.3), but does not mention PAFs without legal land titles.

## 2.4. R&R: Issues and Debates

A number of issues and debates pertaining to involuntary resettlement and R&R policies have surfaced during the last two decades based on international and Indian experience (Table 2.2). These pertain to three fundamental elements of effective R&R: (i) compensation for lost assets and loss of income and/or livelihood, (ii) assistance for relocation and provisions at new sites and (iii) assistance for rehabilitation to regain at minimum the same level of well-being. These elements are also considered fundamental by lending institutions such as the World Bank and ADB.

**Table 2.2: Key Resettlement and Rehabilitation Issues and Debates**

Issue/Debate	Explanation
Unit of Analysis	The unit of analysis has often been the <u>household</u> where it is assumed that all members will benefit equally from the provisions outlined in R&R policies
Eligibility – Categories of Displaced Recipients	Clear scope of the R&R policy, including eligibility criteria for benefits and cut-off dates for compensation entitlements
Adverse Impacts	Identify categories of adverse impacts;
Mitigation Measures (e.g., compensation for lost assets)	Measures to be taken to prevent the impoverishment of PAPs, which requires determine what and how assets will be remunerated —cash versus land-for-land; allowances; employment; and housing plots
Common Property Resources	Determine how to manage the loss of CPRs (i.e., forest land, grazing land, water sources) during the resettlement process
Support Services and Infrastructure	Need for support services (i.e., follow-up) and infrastructure (i.e., schools, roads, health care) at resettlement sites
Women and Land Rights	Establish whether women, especially widows, should be entitled to land
Stakeholder Consultation and Participation	Steps to ensure consultation with PAPs so that R&R package reflects their needs and capabilities; Participation in policy formation and implementation, including information dissemination, communication, consultation and

Issue/Debate	Explanation
	genuine participation
Vulnerable Groups	Need to address specific issues that relate to vulnerable groups (e.g., tribals, households below the poverty line and female-headed households)
Choice	Importance of choice in terms of land selection, site location and resettlement units (individual versus collective units)
Effect on Host Populations	Determine possible adverse affects on the host community if one pre-existent at the site of relocation
Integration	Need to design R&R policy so that implementation is consistent with local laws, allow PAPs to restore their living standards without disrupting local markets, and do not negatively impact the environment and
Independent Authority for R&R	Establish a separate authority for R&R in each state/province (i.e., Ministry of Rehabilitation)
Forum for Grievances	Include a system where disputes and grievances can be discussed and resolved.

CPRs=common property resources; PAPs=project-affected persons; R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation.

Source: Cernea (1997: 12-13); Field research (2000-2001)

Translating these elements into provisions requires a systematic approach, which includes the following steps: (i) conducting baseline studies, (ii) determining key stakeholders; (iii) holding community consultations; (iv) designing a comprehensive compensation and rehabilitation package, which includes consultations on rates and standards with the affected people; (v) assessing the environmental impact of resettlement on the displaced and host communities, if applicable; (vi) estimating a reasonable implementation schedule, including proper arrangements and sufficient budget and (vii) establishing periodical monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of resettlement activities.

Despite the growing need to incorporate these features into national policy, a number of governments continue to resist the need to do so. Rew (1996: 209-22) highlights some of the variables that create resistance and/or low levels of commitment. First, implementing agencies find it difficult to accept responsibility for resettlement administration and management because

of the high level of uncertainty associated with its “successful” implementation. This high-risk venture becomes less attractive when federal funds for such matters are limited (World Bank 2000: 2).

Second, major gaps in perspectives between displaced populations and engineers may lead to a high degree of mistrust in the intentions and skills of implementers. Government and project agencies tend to lack local knowledge (World Bank 2000: 2). This is most evident in the types of income-generating options that are integrated into the rehabilitation packages. In such instances, government and project authorities should seek cooperation with NGOs and private sector organisations whose mandate allows them the flexibility and patience required for such activities. Such gaps are also evident between local communities and NGOs, especially when information is not shared, access is restricted and unrealistic promises are made (Patel 1997).

Whilst some R&R issues appear straightforward (Table 2.2), others are more debatable. Discussions on some issues are vast, and range from what constitutes a “proper” and “adequate” R&R package to how a “beneficiary” is defined. They emerge from the opinions and perspectives of different stakeholders. In the following section, I have selected three key debates that warrant further discussion with respect to Gujarat’s R&R policy and the newly approved NPRR-2003.

#### *2.4.1. DEBATE 1: THE BENEFICIARIES*

Project authorities often find it challenging to determine the sections of the populations that would directly and indirectly be affected by large infrastructure projects (i.e., reservoir, downstream or upstream, main alignment, right-of-way, et cetera).<sup>37</sup> Such conclusions help to determine the beneficiaries eligible for R&R compensation. The definition of beneficiaries is

based on select criteria that are used to guide categories of beneficiaries. Clarifications regarding beneficiaries need to be made in advance so that estimates are more accurate and further marginalisation of vulnerable groups is avoided.

When beneficiaries are not properly defined, it could lead to confusion during the initial stages of planning and during the latter parts of implementation. For example, a “beneficiary” should be considered in terms of his/her gender, age, caste, socio-economic condition and political status. Without this clarity, there is room for disagreement on how PAPs are defined during implementation (Ganguly-Thukral 1992). An R&R policy that does not properly define its beneficiaries may therefore overlook the individuals that it is meant to mitigate (e.g., marginal farmers or illegal land occupants). People that are not initially categorised as PAPs may later demand compensation for their losses. This underestimation of PAPs would invariably affect the budget and timely implementation of resettlement activities.

Establishing official cut-off dates early and sharing them with PAPs can avoid demands for retroactive compensation. In the case of the SSP, some people affected by the development of Kevadia Colony still demand compensation according to the revised Gujarat’s R&R policy based on the better provisions that it offers in comparison to the NWDT Award.

Part of the difficulty in defining the category of beneficiaries is rooted in how PAPs are perceived in terms of their cultural characteristics. In the case of the SSP, Gujarati PAPs are *adivasis* (tribals). However, they are seen as *indigenous*—people isolated from the market or from mainstream society (Patel 1997; Verghese 1998). Such

*A widespread myth is that tribal people to be resettled from the submergence area are living in pristine forests in a traditional manner as hunters and gatherers in harmony with the environment. This is not correct. (Patel 1991: 59)*

---

<sup>37</sup> The former chairman of the SSNNL admitted that the downstream effects of the SSP had been forgotten and not considered (Appa and Patel 1996: 145-46).



perceptions affect the definition of beneficiaries as they are often linked to other debates, such as tribal development —to assimilate or preserve tribals in mainstream society.

Beneficiaries can be defined at a macro-level and then disaggregated so that individual interests are considered. For example, it is possible to identify beneficiary populations based on the geographical residence with respect to the project. The fishing community in Bharauch (Gujarat) depended entirely on the Narmada River for survival and therefore, was adversely affected by the SSP and the subsequent flow of the river.

Similarly, Kevadia Colony is a project town or a “boomtown” that emerged near the original dam site in Navagam (Cernea 1997; McCully 1996: 67; Morse and Berger 1992: 89-94). At Kevadia, an estimated 165 revenue landowners and 120 landless families (approximately 800 families) lost their land to this new town. The families affected by the development of Kevadia Colony are not considered PAPs in Gujarat’s R&R policy of 1987. The reasons are political and go beyond the scope of this thesis.

Host populations also need to be considered within the categorisation of affected people (or potential beneficiaries). These communities are affected due to changes in land-use patterns, dismantling of socio-economic networks and/or increased competition over limited resources (Ganguly-Thukral 1992). Whilst the NPRR-2003 refers to the need to integrate PAFs with host communities, the policy does not consider the possible adverse affects of resettlement on host populations:

*...it has to be ensured that the PAFs may be resettled with the host community on the basis of equality and mutual understanding, consistent with the desire of each group to preserve its own identity and culture (GOI 2004: Paragraph 5.9).*

NPRR-2003 clearly defines the categories of affected families (e.g., agricultural family, agricultural labourer, marginal farmer, small farmer,

occupiers, et cetera), but these categories have some limitations on compensation entitlements (GOI 2004). For instance, the procedures outlined in the policy indicate that the purpose of a survey/census is to identify the affected families and people. However, it fails to incorporate the eligibility of families who illegally occupy land. Whilst the government cannot support illegal occupancy, encroachers are nevertheless a major category of families affected by involuntary resettlement.

Once categories of the affected people are determined, the appropriate unit of analysis has to be decided. Beneficiaries are determined based on who receives R&R compensation and benefits. When the household is used as the unit of analysis, all members are assumed to reap equal benefits based on the filter-down effect. However, the distribution of benefits may be different based on subsequent factors: (i) sex of the household head; (ii) composition of the household by sex and age (iii) size of household, such as nuclear versus extended families.

Eligibility has often been assumed to focus on men and sons, whilst women and girls are often left out of the equation during operations. For instance, the World Bank's Operational Directive 4.30 (World Bank 1990) does not define "displaced persons" but indicates, "displaced persons should be compensated for their losses..." (Gopal 1992b: 5). Whilst the terminology does not exclude women, they are often left out during implementation since they are usually not specified (Gopal 1992b: 5).

In the case of the SSP, the eligibility criteria for R&R beneficiaries include both major sons (18 years and older) and widows. The decision of whether to include daughters has been questioned and debated. During 1993, the interviews that I conducted with parents revealed little concern about whether their daughter had a legal land title. They were more concerned with the marriage of their daughters before the age of 18. In fact, parents felt that it was more difficult to marry a daughter with landholdings. Some worried that

the boy would marry only for land and would subsequently leave their daughter after marriage. Some feared that it might increase dowry expectations, which could lead to an increase in domestic violence against their daughters. Others felt that giving land to daughters would increase agricultural responsibilities, especially after they have married and moved in with their in-laws. During my field research in 2000-2001 for this thesis, I found that women are now keen to have their name on landownership titles (see Chapter 9).

#### *2.4.2. DEBATE 2: GENDER AND DISPLACEMENT*

Within the context of involuntary resettlement, there are a number of assumptions that guide the way in which R&R policy is planned and designed with respect to gender (Gopal 1992a, 1992b). These assumptions tend to weaken the livelihoods of families displaced by large infrastructure projects, as families rely on a gendered-division of labour for survival.

The shift from the Women in Development (WID) to the Gender and Development (GAD) approach was premised on the idea that women are not “objects” of development, but rather “subjects” of development programmes. As subjects, women are equal partners in development activities. They make significant contributions to development through their contributions as food producers, labourers and environmental managers. The shift meant that women were no longer “invisible” or objects in development thinking and planning. Instead, women are equal partners in development activities whose needs and interests are central to the sustainability of any development policy and project (see Appendix F for details on the shift from WID to GAD). Translating this approach into practice within involuntary resettlement requires addressing the following two key assumptions that often underlie resettlement planning.

First, income loss by households is often calculated in monetary terms and on an aggregate basis. Project designers are unable to formulate targeted

rehabilitation activities for women due to a lack of gender-specific data on the impact of involuntary resettlement. Women give priority to certain activities (e.g., domestic work, collecting firewood, et cetera). Women could find themselves unable to restore their livelihoods after resettlement, if provisions to sustain these gender-specific activities are not considered.

Household information is significant for designing provisions to ensure the overall sustainability of the family. However, the household is made up of members. Collection of gender-disaggregated information during the initial survey gives resettlement planners the opportunity to consider men and women as individuals, given their roles and responsibilities. Resettlement planners are able to use this information to effectively estimate individual losses, understand constraints women face when accessing compensation and benefits, determine support mechanism for minimising impacts and propose strategic interventions to improve their status.<sup>38</sup> It enables planners to include key interventions and/or targets for women who are heads of households, income-generating family members, domestic caretakers, et cetera.

Second, it is assumed that every member of the household will equally reap compensation and benefits that are paid to the heads of households. Common mitigation measures are believed to address both the needs of men and women. However, compensation is often awarded to male heads of households. Even in cases where the female is the head of the households, compensation award may go to the husband or eldest male family member (i.e., the son). This arrangement may exacerbate gender disparities and reinforce gender inequalities, especially for female heads of household.<sup>39</sup> It gives males greater access to and control over resources, and more bargaining power to make decisions than females in the households. Such arrangements

---

<sup>38</sup> This brings together the issues of women's strategic gender interests (Molyneux 1985), women's practical gender needs (Moser 1993) and women's individual resettlement needs (Mehta and Srinivasan 2000).

<sup>39</sup> Female heads of households can be a result of two situations: (i) the male head is absent due to migrant labor or death or (ii) the female is the elected head of the family.

could further marginalise female heads of households, especially those who have limited access to support services (i.e., networks).

Provisions for compensation and benefits must therefore be made for female heads of households who could be considered more vulnerable during the R&R process. The NPRR-2003 implies a definition for vulnerable groups, which remains inconsistent throughout the documents (GOI 2004). The need to consider adverse affects on women is suggested, but procedural steps are not incorporated especially for female-headed households. Specific needs of Scheduled Tribes and families below the poverty line are explained in the NPRR-2003 (GOI 2004: Paragraphs 6.21.1 to 6.21.9, and paragraphs 1.6, 6.1 and 6.3, respectively).

*The Government of India recognizes the need to minimize large scale displacement to the extent possible and, where displacement is inevitable, the need to handle with utmost care and forethought issues relating to Resettlement and Rehabilitation of Project Affected Families. Such an approach is especially necessary in respect of tribals, small & marginal farmers and women (GOI 2004: Paragraph 1.1).*

Some have argued that women receive a separate compensation (Gopal 1992b). However, this approach could once again limit women as objects of development. By conducting a detailed analysis, women's strategic gender interests and their practical gender needs could be documented (Moser 1993; Molyneux 1985). Based on the findings, the resettlement needs of women could be addressed and integrated into an R&R policy. In some countries, female heads of households are more vulnerable than low-income households whilst in other countries, they are better off. If resettlement planners are able to avoid making these two key gender assumptions, R&R policies might better reflect the PAPs it represents. Moreover, such planning could also help justify any separate and necessary cost for mitigating adverse affects of resettlement on women as being a "gratuitous attempt to raise the generally low status of women" (Gopal 1992b: 5).

### 2.4.3. DEBATE 3: COMPENSATION—CASH OR KIND

Rehabilitation includes some type of compensation (cash or kind) that provides resettlers with means to reach a state of recovery to pre-project standards. Compensation is often given

*Compensation is not as a right but as a “discretion to care that has been prescribed” (Ramanathan 1996: 1488-89).*

to PAPs who hold a legal title to the property they have lost, whilst rehabilitation is given to all PAPs regardless of their prior landholdings or other property holdings. Escudero (1988: 6) defines *compensation* as “what the owner(s) of a property forcefully acquired by government receives in-lieu of the property so acquired.” Compensation is awarded based on the current market value of what is acquired; this becomes problematic when mechanisms for price adjustments are not included in the policy.

Shihata (1993: 47) defines *rehabilitation* as “a series of measures, including but not limited to monetary compensation, aimed at affording the affected population the possibility to become re-established and economically self-sustaining in the shortest possible period.” Rehabilitation provisions might be aimed at individuals, households or communities (e.g., transportation allowance, individual training or community infrastructure). Employment opportunities, subsistence allowances, support-services and other amenities are useful in helping individuals rebuild their lives (as also suggested by Reddy 1993: 66-67). The purpose of these provisions is to help those affected by a project regain their previous standards of living.

Land or cash compensation is rendered on the assumption that property rights are well defined and documented. However, only a minority have legal land titles whilst the majority are landless and/or are encroachers with customary land rights. When awarding compensation, it has been asserted that land rights that are both legally and/or culturally secured should be considered (Lassailly-Jacob 1996). The nature of the land tenure system

enables land compensation to be awarded more effectively, but this is often overlooked at the time when cash payments are determined and dispersed.

Another issue related to compensation is what Anthony Hall calls “displacee inflation.” It is the influx of people moving into an affected area once the eligibility cut-off date is established, and the R&R plans announced (Hall 2000). This behaviour not only increases the numbers affected by the project disproportionately, but also skews the number requiring rehabilitation and relief. In addition, outsiders may also purchase additional property in the area, knowing that the land will be compensated at a high price, especially if a financial institution is involved in the project. Such purchasing behaviour could potentially increase the market value of land, especially in the case of land scarcity and/or availability. Involuntary policies of lending institutions (i.e., World Bank and ADB) generally require that a cut-off date be set so as to avoid displacee inflation.

The issue of legal titles is often pivotal to the type of compensation that should be awarded. Some PAPs prefer land-for-land compensation in place of cash-for-land payments. Zaman (1990) indicates that sudden cash income gives resettlers the false impression of wealth. Land-for-land compensation, on the other hand, transfers property in a settler’s name and gives him/her a concrete possession and a source of income. Cash options give PAFs the choice of compensation based on individual familial circumstances and living structure (Asif 2000: 2005; World Bank 2000: 5).

Cash compensation may be preferable to resettlers who (i) wish to repay a debt, (ii) live as part of an extended family, (iii) want to invest in other options such as agricultural inputs (e.g., inputs, training or equipment), (iv) choose to purchase nearby land in order to stay closer to their original habitat and (v) want to pursue other income-generating options (i.e., micro-enterprise). Tied-cash options (e.g., installation payments, joint accounts and specialised training programmes) are underused instruments of cash

compensation due to implementation difficulties (World Bank 2000: 5). However, some of these options have been successfully employed in the case of the SSP in Gujarat.

The idea of land replacement is an important one because land is not only a mode of production, but also a commodity that can be used as collateral in obtaining credit. The Multiple Action Research Group (MARG) considers land a “lifelong and inheritable livelihood-producing asset” (Goyal 1996: 1464). In comparison, cash payments for a plot of land are based on the prevailing market price of a similar piece of land in the new locale. The payment may be influenced by the plot’s location, level of productivity including soil characteristics and use. Whilst lost assets are replaced at current market value, the risk of being under-compensated is higher if a PAP opts for cash compensation.

Using cash compensation leads to a number of problems. Resettlers are often believed to be “incapable” of translating cash payments into wealth and livelihood opportunities, and they could thereby find themselves more impoverished than before resettlement (Cernea 1996a, 1996b; Escudero 1988; Ganguly-Thukral 1992; Goyal 1996; Sharma 2005). In external transactions, resettlers are either cheated out of their compensation payments whilst negotiating with landowners during a sale, or do not expense their allowances properly. Land is often undervalued at the place of original habitat, whilst it is inflated in areas of possible resettlement (Vaswani 1992: 162-3). Within the household, women tend to spend income received on the basic needs for their families (e.g., food, fuel or health care), whilst men tend to spend it on consumer goods (e.g., tobacco and liquor). Past studies have confirmed this behaviour where male resettlers are less likely to invest cash compensation in goods that will improve the overall well-being of the household (Gopal 1992a, 1992b; Koenig, not dated; Sequeira 1993).



Whilst the type of compensation should be based on individual choice and preference, cash-for-land compensation poses a heightened impoverishment risk especially when complementary funds are not provided for house construction or repairs. For instance, resettlers displaced by the Saguling Dam in Indonesia spent cash compensation on luxury items rather than investing it in livelihood development. Findings from a follow-up survey indicated that these families' incomes were 49% lower and land ownership was 45% less than it had been before the project was implemented (Cernea 1985).

## 2.5. Gujarat's R&R Policy

Given these key issues and debates, Gujarat's R&R policy is considered to be one of the most progressive in nature. A number of experts, activists and lending agencies also acknowledge its liberal nature (Bhatia 1993, 1997b; Drèze et al., 1997; Mehta 1992; Morse and Berger 1992; Parasuraman 1997, 1999; Patwardhan 2000: 12).

Gujarat's R&R policy contains three provisions, which are unique in comparison to other R&R packages:

- (i) Replacement irrigable land to all PAPs;
- (ii) The option to select the plot of land, the resettlement site and the relocation unit of their choice and
- (iii) Physical and social infrastructure at new sites.

**Table 2.3** compares Gujarat's policy with the NPRR-2003, to show how some of these provisions have been carried over to national policy. These three provisions will be highlighted in this section, whilst discussions regarding the evolution and implementation of Gujarat's R&R policy will be presented in forthcoming chapters based on the field research conducted in 2000-2001.

**Table 2.3: A Comparison of Key Elements in Gujarat's R&R Policy-1987 and NPRR-2003**

<b>R&amp;R Compensation Grants and Amenities</b>	
<b>Gujarat's R&amp;R Policy-1987</b>	<b>NPRR-2003</b>
<b>Land Allotment</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minimum of 2 ha of irrigable land for landholders</li> <li>• 2 ha of irrigable land for encroachers of forest or government land</li> <li>• 2 ha of irrigable land for and landless</li> <li>• Minimum of 2 ha of irrigable land for all sons aged eighteen and above on 1 January 1987 irrespective of previous landholdings<sup>a</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maximum of 1 ha of irrigated land; or</li> <li>• Maximum of 2 ha of unirrigated/wasteland</li> <li>• None</li> <li>• None</li> <li>• None</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minimum of 2 ha of irrigable land for all women widowed in 1980 and after</li> <li>• Land development by the government; or</li> <li>• Rs.600 per PAF</li> <li>• Land title in the household head's name</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• None</li> <li>• Rs.10,000 per ha for land development</li> <li>• May be in joint name of husband/wife</li> </ul>
<b>Allowances</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Compensation of lands and proper acquisition from PAPs</li> <li>• Resettlement grant of Rs.1,470 per PAF (initially Rs.750 with base year 1980, plus 8% escalation per year)</li> <li>• Subsistence allowance of Rs.4500 per PAF in 3 instalments at new resettlement (Rs. 15 per day for 25 days in a month for a period of one year)<sup>b</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same</li> <li>• Monthly allowance at 20 days MAW for a period of 1 year up to 250 days of MAW</li> <li>• Financial assistance of 750 days of MAW for each PAF who lost all his/her land = "loss of livelihood"; or</li> <li>• Financial assistance of 500 days of MAW for each PAF who had become a marginal farmer due to resettlement; or</li> <li>• Financial assistance of 375</li> </ul>

<b>R&amp;R Compensation Grants and Amenities</b>	
<b>Gujarat's R&amp;R Policy-1987</b>	<b>NPRR-2003</b>
	days of MAW for each PAF who has become a small farmer due to resettlement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subsidy allowance of Rs.5000 to every PAF for raising their standard of living under various production schemes</li> <li>• Employment opportunity for one person from each PAF</li> <li>• Insurance for house, death, personal accident, etc.</li> <li>• Access to benefits of all ongoing developmental schemes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rs.5,000 per PAF for agricultural production</li> <li>• Financial assistance of 625 days of MAW for agricultural or non-agricultural labour</li> <li>• Financial assistance of Rs.10,000 for the construction of shops/sheds for rural artisans, traders, self-employed people</li> <li>• None</li> <li>• Same</li> </ul>
<b>Housing and Transportation</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Free transportation to resettlement site for dismantled house, fodder, firewood and cow dung</li> <li>• House site plot of land 18.29 m x 27.43 m (60' x 90') for each family (about 502 m<sup>2</sup>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rs.5,000 for transportation</li> <li>• Maximum house plot of 150 m<sup>2</sup> (rural); or</li> <li>• Maximum house plot of 75 m<sup>2</sup> (urban)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rs.45,000 per PAF for the construction of a core house</li> <li>• Rs. 10,000 per PAF for the construction of plinth</li> <li>• Rs.2,000 per PAF for the purchase of new roof tiles</li> <li>• Rs.5,000 per PAF to be provided for the purchase of productive assets (e.g., bullocks, agricultural equipment)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One time grant of Rs.25,000 for house construction to families Below the Poverty Line</li> <li>• Financial assistance of Rs.3,000 for construction of cattle sheds</li> </ul>
<b>Site Infrastructure and CPRs</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some compensation for loss of</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One time assistance of 500</li> </ul>

R&R Compensation Grants and Amenities	
Gujarat's R&R Policy-1987	NPRR-2003
CPRs (e.g., community platform, grazing land, ceremonial area) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Infrastructure facilities (i.e., primary school, health care facilities and roads)</li> <li>• Drinking water well for every 50 families</li> </ul>	days of MAW for loss of customary/grazing/fishing rights ( <i>for tribals only</i> ) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision included</li> </ul>
<b>Special Needs</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• N/A, 97% of PAFs in Gujarat are tribals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tribal families resettled out of the district receive higher R&amp;R benefits to the extent of 25% in monetary terms.</li> </ul>

CPRs=common property resources; GOG=Government of Gujarat; GOI=Government of India; ha=hectare; m=metre; m<sup>2</sup>=square metre; MAW=minimum agricultural wages; N/A=not applicable; NPRR-2003= National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy for Project-Affected Families —2003; PAF=project-affected family; PAPs=project-affected persons; R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation; Rs.=Indian rupee.

<sup>a</sup>The cut-off date for major sons has been moved from 1 January 1980 to 1 January 1987

<sup>b</sup>Parasuraman (1997) cites a figure of Rs.15 per day for 20 days in a month for one year.

Source: SSPA (1993); GOI (2004); Joshi (1997); Parasuraman (1999).

### 2.5.1. LAND ALLOTMENT

Gujarat's R&R policy emphasises land compensation for every reservoir-affected person displaced, regardless of previous land title. Sons who are 18 years or older and widows are treated as a separate family unit, and thus receive the same provisions since they are each treated as a separate family unit.<sup>40</sup> Private landholders, encroachers and landless labourers are each allotted five acres of irrigable land of their *choice* —an option even Cernea (1996a: 30) recommends, but feels is rarely used. Furthermore, there is no discrimination against encroachers and/or landless farmers:

<sup>40</sup> A number of researchers have been critical of this cut-off date; because it is often difficult to prove a son's age and a woman's marriage status, it has often left many without compensation and rights to the provisions outlined in the policy. Widespread corruption and a decline in the status of women have also been observed (Bhatia 1993, 1997; CSS 1997).

*Few rehabilitation packages like Gujarat's package in Sardar Sarovar do not discriminate against 'encroachers', at the level of policy discrimination would not affect the tribal people adversely, but these provisions are exception rather than rule... (Patwardhan 2000: 10, footnote 16).*

Once the amount and quality of land were established in policy, land availability became a critical issue for implementation. However, this concern did not last for long, as GOG decided to acquire private irrigable land in the command area from landlords ready to sell for the purposes of resettlement (GOG 1985: 7); Ganguly-Thukral 1992: 25; Morse and Berger 1992: 103; Sheth 1991: 12). The land was purchased and arrangements were made for its ownership once the PAPs had individually or collectively identified the land plot. In June 1990, GOI was pressured into releasing forest land for the purpose of resettlement. PAPs accustomed to residing in or near the forest, had an additional land allotment option available.

The NPRR-2003 does not consider individuals over the age of 18 as a separate family, thus limiting the number of beneficiaries and ignoring intra-household dynamics. It defines "family" as:

*...a Project Affected Family consisting of such persons, his or her spouse, minor sons, unmarried daughters, minor brothers or unmarried sisters, father/mother and other members residing with him and dependent on him for their livelihood (GOI 2004: Paragraph 3.1(j)).*

The policy limits replacement land compensation to only occupants or tenants (GOI 2004: Paragraph 3.1(i)). Affected families that illegally encroached on a plot of land are not compensated for lost land. However, scheduled tribes affected by a loss of forest land are acknowledged as "occupiers" and are compensated accordingly (GOI 2004: Paragraph 3.1(o)). Whilst the government cannot encourage illegal occupation, compensation for lost assets on illegally occupied land should nevertheless be compensated. This, however, is not clear from the policy.

## 2.5.2. PROVISION OF CHOICE

Gujarat's R&R policy states that PAPs have a *choice* to relocate *where* and with *whom* they desire:

*...[oustees](ii) be relocated as village units, village section or families in accordance with the oustees' preference (GOG 1985: Preamble, section 1 (ii)); and*

*Each landed oustee shall be entitled to and allotted irrigable land in the State in which he chooses to resettle, of equal size to that which he owned prior to his resettlement subject to the applicable land ceiling laws, acceptable to him... (GOG 1985: Preamble, section 3)<sup>41</sup>.*

In Gujarat, PAPs have a choice of relocating individually or as groups; most have opted for the latter. The fact that land selection is by PAP choice and preference means that the PAP has not only taken his economic preference into consideration, but also other factors that are considered important for survival (e.g., social, cultural and religious composition of fellow resettlers relocating to the area, ARCH-Vahini 1988a: 4). Based on the provision of *choice*, some resettlers said that they were able to cope with feelings of homesickness and future uncertainty.

The NPRR-2003 acknowledges the importance of involving affected communities, and disclosing information at various stages. The NPRR-2003 further indicates that the findings from survey/census should be disclosed during the draft and final stages, "inviting objections and suggestions from all persons likely to be affected thereby" (GOI 2004: Paragraph 5.6). As with procedures stipulated in involuntary resettlement policies of the World Bank and ADB, disclosure of all relevant documents in a language they can understand is emphasised at various stages in the NPRR-2003 (GOI 2004: Paragraphs 5.2 to 5.9):

---

<sup>41</sup> This provision was extended to (i) oustees cultivating government lands as per GOG (1987b) and (ii) to landless oustees as per GOG (1987c).

*Every declaration made under para 5.1 of the Policy shall be published in at least two daily newspapers[;] one of them should be in the local vernacular having circulation in villages or areas which are likely to be affected and also by affixing a copy of the notification on the Notice-Board of the concerned Gram Panchayats and other prominent places in the affected zone (GOI 2004: Paragraph 5.2).*

However, it is too early to assess whether the need to consult with PAFs and disclosure of all relevant documents translate into effective implementation of choice. The NPRR-2003 policy statement explicitly indicates “preference in allotment of land” for PAFs of the Scheduled Tribes (GOI 2004: Paragraph 6.21.1). Furthermore, choice of relocation unit for tribals is implied but not clearly stated: “Tribal PAFs will be re-settled close to their natural habitat in a compact block so that they can retain their ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity” (GOI 2004: Paragraph 6.21.4). The right to choose is either stated or implied, but it remains too early to be able to assess the impacts.

### *2.5.3. SITE INFRASTRUCTURE AND AMENITIES*

Gujarat R&R policy outlines a number of amenities that are to be provided in terms of rates and fixed prices:

*[Oustees] (iii) be fully integrated in the community to which they are resettled; and (iv) be provided with appropriate compensation and adequate social and physical rehabilitation infrastructure, including community services and facilities (GOG 1985: Preamble, section 1 (iii) and (iv)).*

Similarly, the NPRR-2003 emphasises a number of amenities, and the need for proper infrastructure facilities to be constructed at new resettlement sites. The national policy includes it as a necessary detail within any R&R plan developed: “details of the basic amenities and infrastructure facilities which are to be provided for resettlement” (GOI 2004: Paragraph 5.18(i)).

It is unclear whether these figures have been adjusted to reflect the fluctuations in the market and in the cost of living in the area, with the exception of the resettlement grant at an 8% escalation rate.<sup>42</sup> Past R&R policies that have included only cash compensation have been ineffective in rebuilding the lives of the displaced. In these instances, cash allowances have not been adjusted to current market behaviour. However, the NPRR-2003 states that allowances shall be paid in relation to “minimum agricultural wages” (GOI 2004: Paragraphs 6.11 to 6.15 and paragraph 6.21.3), which would help to ensure that compensation/allowances are in line with current market rates.

## 2.6. Conclusion

Involuntary resettlement due to infrastructure projects (e.g., transport, energy, dams or railways) has gained increased importance in development literature since the 1980s. In the past decade, at least 80 million to 90 million people have been displaced worldwide as a result of such programmes (Cernea 1997: 6). Involuntary resettlement is a process that starts with displacement, and is followed by physical relocation and resettlement. The latter entails the social restoration of individuals’ state of being to the same condition or better. People displaced due to infrastructure projects do not have the choice of staying; therefore, the process is involuntary. However, the process could be considered an opportunity for development, rather than an adverse consequence of development.

Past approaches to R&R of individuals and communities have been rooted in different fields and disciplines such as refugee studies, human rights, migration and population settlements, sociology, economics, anthropology, psychology and legal studies. During the planning process there exist a

---

<sup>42</sup> The SSPA had indicated that such a mechanism has been included to allow for price adjustments for compensation and allowances to the current market value. However, such a clause is not evident in the official GOG documents, and comparison of figures in government documents from 1979-2001



number of approaches to handling development-induced displacement, including the views of multinationals and governments, the NGOs and the PAPs themselves. Some justifications are based on theoretical values of public interest, self-determination and equality. An optimal approach would be an integrated one where PAPs are considered primary stakeholders with the capacity for effective decision-making about their lives in the R&R process. The “rights at risk” approach may be one step forward as an improved tool for decision-making within development-induced resettlement, especially by PAPs whose lives would be affected by displacement (**Chapters 3 and 4**).

R&R in India is a complex process. The National Policy on R&R was only recently approved for application to future infrastructure projects. Before the NPRR-2003, a national legal legislation on R&R was absent. Land is acquired through Acts such as the Indian Forest Act of 1878 and the Land Acquisition Act of 1894. The principle of “eminent domain” gives the state the right to expropriate property for public purposes in lieu of minimal compensation. Moreover, R&R is the responsibility of individual states, as per the Indian Constitution: it is often *ad hoc* in nature with a *pari passu* approach. Only three states and two public sector companies have a formal policy on R&R. The recent NPRR-2003 aims to provide guidance on matters of development-induced resettlement.

Issues and debates on resettlement arise from the lack of legal clarity on resettlement concepts and definitions (e.g., beneficiaries and compensation). Eligibility is conventionally based on legal land-use patterns and compensation is often awarded to the male heads of households and their sons. Such an approach dismisses other categories of PAPs, namely PAPs with traditional landholding rights and female heads of households. The type of compensation awarded is key to the ability of resettlers to regain, if not improve, their livelihoods. However, the appropriateness of the

---

shows that grant amounts have not changed, but additional provisions (e.g., training) have been added.

compensation type depends on the category of PAP (e.g., replacement land may be optimal for farmers, but not for skilled artisan labourers).

Gujarat's R&R policy seems to be one of the most progressive in nature. This policy holds unique provisions compared to any other packages, including: (i) awarding replacement irrigable land to all PAPs, irrespective of legal land titles; (ii) the option to choose the plot of land, the resettlement site, and the relocation unit and (iii) physical and social infrastructure at new sites. However, these provisions came at the cost of years of resistance and effective partnerships amongst different interest groups—local-international NGOs, development partners and the PAPs themselves. **Chapter 3** presents the evolution of Gujarat's R&R policy through a stakeholder analysis. It discusses the process through which Gujarati resettlers won the right to participate in policy-making, and presents the influential organisations that played a key role in the evolution of the R&R policy.

### Chapter 3

#### EVOLUTION OF GUJARAT'S R&R POLICY, 1987

*...the individuals, groups and organisations—national and international—which spontaneously grew into a powerful network of forces, have extracted a policy out of the reluctant hands of the State Government. It is the actual existence of these forces and its determination to see that the policy is fairly implemented that allows us to take a calculated risk and to hope that implementation of new R and R policy in Gujarat in a large measure is a possibility.*

—Patel (1988)<sup>43</sup>

Gujarat's R&R policy formulation was an evolutionary process (see **Appendix G** for a timeline of events). Cases of involuntary resettlement from India and elsewhere in the world have shown that the R&R process leads to impoverishment of PAPs due to the ambiguous entitlement definitions and ongoing policy debates (**Chapter 2**). However, Gujarat's R&R policy for the displaced of Gujarati PAPs appears to be exceptional, as it includes three unique provisions: (i) replacement land with irrigation potential, irrespective of previous landholdings; (ii) option to select plot of land, resettlement site and relocation unit of their choice and (iii) amenities or infrastructure development at new resettlement sites. These provisions represent measures that PAPs felt would be sufficient to help in the re-establishment of their livelihoods.

A stakeholder analysis underpins the livelihood assessment, as it distinguishes between internal and external players. Since its inception, a number of stakeholders have criticized the SSP on the basis of the dam's height. The height of the dam directly affects the long-term sustainability of

---

<sup>43</sup> Papers and articles that support this claim include Koenig and Diarra (2000); Mathur (2000); Morse and Berger (1992) and Patel (1997, 2001).

the SSP, the degree of environmental degradation, the feasibility of water and electrical generation and the level of displacement and resettlement required. The height of the dam has been easily influenced by internal and external politics. For instance, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh state governments have disputed the height of the dam since the beginning due to the unfair distribution of costs and benefits. The NWDT was created to resolve these agreements, and stipulated that the hydro-benefits would be awarded according to the level of environmental and social costs each state incurred. However, tensions continued amongst the three state governments due to the lack of a single coherent R&R policy for all three states.

Gujarat's R&R policy evolved as a result of people's struggle, early NGO initiatives and involvement of the World Bank. Such an optimal approach includes the views of all stakeholders including those of PAPs, as primary stakeholders (Chapter 2). For instance, the World Bank had strict social and environmental protection policies, which were transformed into guiding benchmarks for the GOI. Similarly, the support NGOs gave to project-affected communities in their opposition against the SSP was based on the poorly planned R&R provisions. They acted as liaisons between the people and project authorities. The purpose of this local-international alliance was "to secure a decent R&R policy for the tribals in the SSP" (Patel 2001: 317). Resettlers, as primary stakeholders with the "power of eminent domain," were able to make significant changes in policies and structures of state governments and financial institutions.<sup>44</sup> Implementation of these revised provisions accelerated once changes were made in administrative structures. This allowed for greater partnership and commitment amongst all stakeholders in the R&R process.

---

<sup>44</sup> Conventionally, participation of resettlers in the planning process of a project is still thought to be irrelevant (Patwardhan 2000: 4).

### **3.1. Politics Surrounding the SSP: The Role of the State Governments**

The role of the three state governments of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh seems to be more consumed by self-interests rather than mutual cooperation. The distribution of costs and benefits of the SSP has been the centre of political struggle amongst the three state governments. Lack of uniformity on social and environmental issues has not only exposed the governments' vulnerability, but it has also made them more susceptible to criticism by NGOs, development agencies and the resettlers themselves.

Governments' disputes surrounding the SSP can be traced back to inception of the SSP over 55 years ago. Discussions on the dam and reservoir first took place in 1946 —prior to India's independence in 1947. The Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission (CWINC), a GOI agency, had conducted a survey to develop the water resources in the Valley as a response to numerous discussions on the need to create irrigation facilities. Initially, the SSP was designed as a district level river project for Bharauch in South Gujarat. One year after the state of Gujarat was formed on 1 May 1960, a water scheme that consisted of the Navagam dam (320 ft or 97.5 m) and the Bharauch Project (a check dam of 162 ft or 49.4 m) was immediately sanctioned. Late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru laid the first foundation stone at Navagam in April 1961 and since then, it has grown into a controversial regional river project cutting across three states.

A number of objections were raised to the height and size of the Navagam dam, which led to a series of negotiations between Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh (Joshi 1991: 2-3). Gujarat's desire to raise the height of the dam to 460 ft (or 140 m) stemmed from the need to reach the drought-stricken areas of Kachchh and the deserts of Rajasthan. Madhya Pradesh, followed by Maharashtra, opposed the increase. They believed that the height should not exceed 425 ft (or 130 m) due to the level of submergence that would result in their respective states (Joshi 1991: 3).

In efforts to resolve this stalemate, GOI convened the Narmada Water Resources Development Committee (NWRDC or Kholsa Committee) on 5 September 1964. The objectives of the committee were twofold: (i) to develop a master plan for the Narmada basin and (ii) to study the problems regarding the logistics of the proposed dam and subsequent scheme (Joshi 1991: 3; Morse and Berger 1992: 4). The NWRDC believed that the SSP, as the last dam in the water development scheme, would be significant in collecting and using water that was unused by other dams further upstream (Joshi 1991: 3). Both the governments of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra rejected this proposal based on the large areas of submergence that was planned in both states. Politics increased when Gujarat involved the Government of Rajasthan as an ally in favour of the SSP and in opposition to the governments of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra (Joshi 1991: 4).

As an interstate river project, the SSP continued to be criticized on the basis of its height and size. In another effort to reach agreement, GOI sanctioned the NWDT in response to a registered complaint filed by the state of Gujarat regarding the SSP's original location and height of 163 m (or 535 ft). The NWDT was established in October 1969 under the Interstate Water Disputes Act of 1956. In an attempt to resolve the differences amongst the states, the NWDT aimed to distribute the costs and benefits associated with the dam amongst the four states. However, engineers, officials and politicians gave R&R measures little consideration, as little concern for the social and cultural effects of the dam on PAPs was demonstrated. In 1978, one politician stated:

*...we don't have to move a finger. When the water rises, these people will be flushed out like rats from their holes (cited in ARCH-Vahini 1991: 1).*

The NWDT delivered its verdict on 16 August 1978, with the specifications for the SSP (Table 3.1).

**Table 3.1: Basic Features of the Sardar Sarovar Project**

Feature	Total	Specific Breakdowns/Allocations
Height	FRL: 138.68 m (455 ft)	
Families to be resettled	40,827 PAFs	
Submergence area	FRL: 34,867 ha <sup>a</sup>	Forest area: 10,719 ha <sup>a</sup> Cultivable area: 11,279 ha Riverbed area (barren/uncultivable): 12,869 ha
Allocation of water	28 MAF (on basis of 75% dependability)	Madhya Pradesh: 18.25 MAF Gujarat: 9.00 MAF Rajasthan: 0.50 MAF Maharashtra: 0.25 MAF
Annual irrigation	1.875 million ha	Gujarat: 1.8 million ha Rajasthan: 75,000 ha
Power generation	1450 MW	Madhya Pradesh: 57% Maharashtra: 27% Gujarat: 16% Rajasthan: 0%

ft=feet; FRL=full reservoir level; ha=hectare; m=metre; MAF=million acres feet; MW=megawatt; PAFs=project-affected families; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>The amount of forest land to be submerged has been estimated to be as high as 13,533 ha.

Source: GOI (1978: 105-108); Raj (1990: 20); SSNNL (2005a); SSPA (2001c: 4).

The NWDT Award stated that the height of the dam was to be fixed at 455 ft (about 139 m), with a reservoir capacity of 9,492 cubic metres (m<sup>3</sup>) by 10 m<sup>3</sup>, and a canal system stretching across 75,000 km.<sup>45</sup> The reservoir alone was expected to submerge approximately 37,000 ha of land across the three states, whilst the canal system would have affected an additional 80,000 ha of land. The Award specifies other engineering, economic and submergence characteristics of the terminal dam. It states the specific allocation of benefits and compensation measures for individual states and respective PAPs.<sup>46</sup> The State of Gujarat was expected to receive most of the water and power benefits, whilst its neighbouring states would incur most of

<sup>45</sup> Following the NWDT Award, Gujarat decided to construct the SSP near Vadgam —about 3 km away from the original Navagam site. The reservoir that would be created was declared the “Sardar Sarovar” (Joshi 1991: 7).

<sup>46</sup> According to the NWDT Award (Section 16.4.1, Clause I (2)), an “oustees” shall mean any person who “has been ordinarily residing or cultivating land or carrying on any trade, occupation or calling or working for gain in the area likely to be submerged permanently or temporarily” (GOI 1978: 102). It is used interchangeable with “PAPs” and “displacees.”

the financial costs and non-monetary costs. However, Gujarat was made responsible for the R&R of PAPs from Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.

The situation became more unstable when GOG started civil works without attaining proper clearance and whilst specific R&R issues were still pending (Parasuraman 1999). GOG had already started moving tribals in Gujarat before R&R issues across all states had been resolved. Whilst baseline surveys had been completed on 19 submergence villages in Gujarat, similar surveys were still pending completion in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The magnitude of displacement and the subsequent consequences had not been fully assessed (Parasuraman 1999: 233-35).

Such a lack of “co-opetition” created more anxiety amongst the affected tribal populations, as access to information was limited and rumours began spreading about the risk of impoverishment due to resettlement. The need for the governments to *cooperate* was fundamental to R&R success and SSP completion, but just as important was the need to *compete* with one another for limited resources (i.e., technical, financial and land). State governments found themselves *competing* externally with one another and internally with decisions pertaining to the allocation of resources for the continuation of the project.<sup>47</sup>

### **3.2. The Process of People’s Participation in Policy Development**

A policy in Gujarat was virtually non-existent prior to the construction of the SSP. The NWDT Award was passed in 1979, which delineated agreements that were reached on resettlement issues in other states. The Award dealt with the GOG’s responsibility for the R&R of PAPs

---

<sup>47</sup> A business publication by Brandenburger and Nalebuff (1996) provides a framework for analysing, expanding and utilising the opportunities created by relationships, which often involve both competition and co-operation. Using game theory, they offer ways in which groups can choose the right strategy and make the right decision. Such collaboration is not perceived as zero-sum games in which there are winners and losers; rather, such complementary relationships can add value to each entity in creating sustainable alliances and networks.



displaced in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The Award, however, did not consider the fate of Gujarati PAPs, as it did not fall into the jurisdiction of the NWDT (Joshi 1991: 55-56; Morse and Berger 1992: 5). Whilst cash compensation was paid to PAPs in Gujarat, measures for rehabilitation were not included in the NWDT Award.

Nevertheless, the NWDT Award was considered progressive in nature “primarily because it moved away from the earlier practice of ‘cash only’ compensation, adding land to the compensation” (Parasuraman 1999: 182). The Award stated that each ousted family who lost more than 25% of his private landholding, was entitled to a minimum of five acres (or two ha) of irrigable land. Males 18 years and older were considered a separate family according to the NWDT Award (GOI 1978). The Award also prescribed that PAFs would be entitled to a number of additional provisions (e.g., cash compensation for lost property, resettlement grants and grants-in-aid, housing plots and civic amenities at the new resettlement sites).

The NWDT Award, however, neither recognised nor mentioned the rights and entitlements for PAPs who did not own land legally —landless PAPs and encroachers of forest land and government wasteland. It also did not mention the status of those PAPs (i.e., those residing in the plans of Madhya Pradesh) whose land would be surrounded by water but not submerged (Parasuraman 1999: 181-2). This was a major flaw since a majority of PAPs were landless and encroachers on private or government lands, and many of the landholdings were divided amongst multiple households. Those who did not receive land were given cash payments based on prevailing market rates. The Award was a legal document and could be challenged in the high courts on different grounds of disagreements (e.g., its definitions of PAPs and PAFs were unclear and ambiguous).

In 1979, GOG passed two resolutions. The first resolution stated that Gujarati PAPs would be provided land-for-land compensation, including

facilities at the resettlement sites. The second resolution stated that Gujarati PAPs who did not wish to be rehabilitated on the land that the government provided, could buy land from the open market with loan assistance from the government. The underlying assumption of these two government resolutions was that the cash compensation provided by the government was not sufficient for purchasing land at higher prices in the open market (Joshi 1991: 56). Such lack of clarity in both the Award and the resolutions created a basis for the struggle by the PAPs and room for future negotiations regarding minimum land allotment (ARCH-Vahini 1988b).

An important event that illustrates people's struggle for a better R&R policy and demonstrates their right to participate in policy design was the rally of 1984. It came at a time when public show of resistance was crucial in increasing pressure

*the last thing it [GOG] wanted, at that time of delicate negotiations with the World Bank, was this organized show of strength on the part of tribals who were refusing the government's insignificant favors" (Patel 1997: 74)*

on GOG and the project authority. The rally took place on 8 March 1984 and was 10 km long. It started at Vadgam (a village located near the dam site) and finished at the offices of the project authority in Kevadia Colony. It was organised by a large number of PAPs from the Narmada Valley and local NGOs. Their demand was simple —a minimum of five acres of land for every PAP, irrespective of previous landholdings and titles.

Mehta (1992: 129) notes, "the march of 1984 of all 19 Gujarat villages forced the government of Gujarat to raise the compensation as well as a minimum of five acres to each PAP. Many villagers have acknowledged the importance of this decision and the role played by the NGOs, notably Arch Vahini." A memorandum was presented at the end, which included their requests to the GOG (ARCH-Vahini 1988b). Within a month, the minister of irrigation (also an *Adivasi*) verbally promised a minimum of five acres for every PAP —encroachers, landless and sons aged 18 and older. This demand was reflected in Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987.

Participation, as defined by Oakley and Marsden (1984: 64), means “giving the rural poor a chance to have some realistic chance to influence the decisions that affect their livelihood.” Participation is therefore a process through which the capacity of individuals is enhanced to improve their own lives and facilitate social change (Cleaver 1999). It is therefore necessary to focus on how a group is able to influence and partake in something (i.e., development process). Participation can therefore be seen as “an exercise of giving rural poor the means to have a direct involvement in development projects [...] [They also] must be given the strength to be able to seek this direct involvement” (Oakley and Marsden 1984: 64). In sum, participation can be seen as (i) a means to a desired outcome and/or (ii) an end in and of itself, where participation might signify social change or transformation.

The right to participate in the formulation of Gujarat’s R&R policy of 1987 could be delineated into five stages of participation. These five stages were formulated in 1997, as a result of the research I had completed for a master’s dissertation. The work done by de Wet (1988) and Oliver-Smith (1991, 1996) helped construct my argument that resistance was the entry point to participation in the policy process.

- |   |
|---|
| <p><b>Five Stages of Participation:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Learning process</li> <li>2. Exchange of information</li> <li>3. Self-mobilisation</li> <li>4. Collaboration —methods of protest</li> <li>5. Right to implement choice</li> </ol> |
|---|

After completing the field research in 2000-2001 for this thesis, I have rearranged the stages whereby Stages 2 and 3 have been switched. I discovered during my field research in 2000-2001 that self-mobilisation is only possible after individuals have full information about their current and future conditions. However, each case study is different and often these two stages cannot be delineated. A review of international and Indian literature helped in formulating these stages of participation with respect to the SSP. The five stages of participation that were mentioned in **Section 1.5.2** are detailed in **Appendix B**. The following is a brief overview of these stages.

The first stage is the *learning process* where PAPs initially become aware of the project. When information and skills are lacking, NGOs play an instrumental role in informing PAPs of the situation and the available options. There has to be an *exchange of information* to and from the PAPs, which Cernea (1996b) claims to be a prerequisite. Communities then *mobilise themselves* and determine their plan of action based on the information that is made available. Affected people need to decide whether to resist the development project itself, to seek ways of countering the adverse affects of the project or to improve the provisions that are already prescribed for R&R purposes. In some cases, NGOs help guide the process rather than interfere during this stage of mobilisation. Once communities and NGOs agree on a common mandate, they *work in unison* towards achieving these objectives, which ideally should be predetermined by the PAPs. Tactics that are employed at this stage can be either violent or non-violent, and legal or illegal in nature (Oliver-Smith 1991). The final stage is acquiring the right to *implement choice* in the selection of site location, resettlement land and relocation unit. This right was endorsed by the GOG:

*...the plan for Resettlement and Rehabilitation of the Oustees shall ensure adequate participation by the oustees... (GOG 1985: Preamble, section 2).*

In summary, through an active participation process which included enhanced awareness and information gathering, self-mobilisation and grassroots action, project-affected people acquired the right to implement choice —the focus of this thesis. Moreover, it can be inferred that effective participation requires not only free flow of information at all stages, but also a clear set of operating rules that are understood and adhered to by all parties. According to Bessette (2004), participation cannot be limited to just “consultation:”

*Participation is not limited to the notion of "consultation." In development, communities must be involved in identifying their own*

*development problems, in seeking solutions, and in taking decisions about how to implement them. If there is some generation of information, it should be conducted in order to help the community understand and act upon the debated issues, not as an "extractive process," as has generally been the case with traditional research (Bessette 2004).*

For effective participation, four “prerequisites” can be identified (Smith 1993: 66, cited in Barrow 2000: 46). These include:

- (i) The legal right and opportunity to participate,
- (ii) Access to information,
- (iii) Resource provision and
- (iv) The “representativeness” of the participants.

These prerequisites support the five stages previously described. In this thesis, participation is defined and measured as one’s involvement in policy-related events (i.e., nature and degree), as the five stages have outlined the process through which the chance to participate was attained. The last stage —implementing the right to choose —is more of an outcome than a prerequisite, which provides the basis for this doctorate research. The other stages help form the basis for the measurement of participation in terms of degree and nature (Chapter 6).

### 3.3. Role of the World Bank

The World Bank played a leading role in events preceding the revision of Gujarat’s R&R policy (Appendix F). It helped to create an international clout within which the need for R&R revisions was emphasised. Concepts of

*The local-international NGO alliance worked relentlessly for the next two years [1985-87] to lobby with the World Bank to ensure that the state of Gujarat could not wiggle out of its commitments. The Gujarat government tried its best but in December 1987, was forced to announce a new R&R policy, unprecedented by India’s standards (Patel 2001: 317).*

compensation and measures of rehabilitation became increasingly popular

with the World Bank. Developments leading to the World Bank's R&R policy in early 1980s were influenced by a number of factors, amongst them the resistance movements that took place worldwide in connection with other large infrastructure projects. Barrow (1997: 262-63) reports that protests during the 1980s by NGOs and local people in various countries over dam-related impacts helped promote the need for more serious impact assessments of large dams.

The World Bank was involved in developing R&R guidelines as early as the 1980s. In February 1980, the World Bank became the first funding agency to adopt policy and operational guidelines for projects in which resettlement was anticipated. The Bank rejected the notion that adverse consequences of resettlement are unavoidable, and encouraged better strategies to minimise the effects of displacement on local populations and the environment. It took on greater responsibility to ensure the quality of displacement planning and execution by grounding policy statements, such as its resettlement policy, in social sciences. For instance, policy developments in the areas of involuntary resettlement and the protection of indigenous peoples collectively helped guide projects entailing displacement.

In October 1986, the policy statement was reviewed, and both the 1980 and 1986 documents were integrated and published as *Involuntary Resettlement in Development Projects: Policy Guidelines in World Bank-Financed Projects* (Cernea 1988). This 1988 policy was re-examined and further strengthened in 1990. The statements set a precedent for other development partners. By the early 1990s, all member countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) adopted and ratified policy guidelines for involuntary resettlement (OECD 1992; Cernea 1997).

In the case of the SSP, policy revisions came about through efforts made by different stakeholders that collectively pressured the World Bank to assess the magnitude of displacement in all three states (Parasuraman 1999;

Patel 2001). According to Patel (2001: 316), two documents —ARCH-Vahini's letter of August 1983 and Scudder's report of November 1983— influenced the World Bank's stance on R&R issues and increased GOG's cooperation in providing complete information to resettlers and other groups. Morse and Berger (1992) confirm the occurrence of these two incidents in their independent review report. They mention that ARCH had “detailed the problems and protested vigorously in a letter” to a Bank official (Morse and Berger 1992: 48) and had “lobbied Professor Scudder, expressing his [their] extreme anxiety about implementation problems” (Morse and Berger 1992: 86).

In May 1985, the World Bank signed a Loan Agreement conditional to certain provisions based on three key events: (i) the rally at Kevadia Colony, (ii) Scudder's recommendations after his World Bank Mission and (iii) a formal letter addressed to the Bank stating the demands of the PAPs. The loan referred to encroachers as landless PAPs, and emphasised the need to resettle the landless in either the agricultural or non-agricultural sector. Moreover, it stressed that PAPs of the Valley should be entitled to a stable means of livelihood (Patel 1997).

These occurrences were significant in forcing the GOG to recognise the rights of encroachers to land entitlements as means to livelihoods (Patel 2001) as later reflected in Gujarat's R&R policy in 1987. They were in line with the Bank's overarching principle to restore the livelihoods of PAPs to the same standard of living, if not better, than that prior to displacement:

*...displaced persons should be assisted in their efforts to improve their livelihoods and standards of living or at least to restore them, in real terms, to pre-displacement levels or to levels prevailing prior to the beginning of project implementation, whichever is higher' (World Bank 2001a).*

The World Bank's Independent Review of the SSP also shed light on the conditions in which R&R was being implemented. In Gujarat, the Review

reported favourable findings that were in direct contrast to those in the other two states. The recommendations that were made to the Bank's president focused on two essential points: (i) to enable PAPs to improve, or at least regain, the standard of living that they were enjoying prior to resettlement (Morse and Berger 1992: xviii) and (ii) the importance of consultation with the PAPs being relocated (Morse and Berger 1992: xxv):

*...it [the World Bank] must bear in mind the critical importance of consultation with the people of the valley and along the route of the canal...in accord with the Brundtland Report, which said that in the case of tribal people, 'they must be given a decisive voice in the formation of resource policy in their areas' (Morse and Berger 1992: xxv).*

Based on these recommendations, the World Bank insisted that a number of social benchmarks be met on R&R and environmental issues. Subsequently, GOI cancelled the World Bank loan on 31 March 1993, before the benchmarks could be met (Holmes 1993: A5).

Since the termination of the World Bank's role in the SSP, the World Bank has finalised its guidelines on involuntary resettlement in December 2001 in consultation with different stakeholders. These guidelines took into consideration experiences from different infrastructure projects that entailed resettlement. The World Bank's *Operational Policy 4.12: Involuntary Resettlement* (World Bank 2001a) and *World Bank Procedure 4.12: Involuntary Resettlement* (World Bank 2001b), both replaced the pre-existing Bank's *Operational Directive 4.30: Involuntary Resettlement* (World Bank 1990). These guidelines are statements that should be adapted to country-specific situations and incorporated into a country's own legislation for effective and successful livelihoods restoration (Waters 2001, 2002).

Revisions made to the World Bank's policy were based on the following (Cernea 1985, 1988; Morse and Berger 1992; World Bank 2001a, 2001b):



- Equating resettlement with an opportunity for development,
- Using a cost-benefit analysis to determine success,
- Employing a development rather than a welfare-oriented approach,
- Relocating persons at a minimum distance from their place of origin,
- Using pre-existing tenure systems to dictate compensation eligibility and
- Paying sufficient attention to the affects on host communities.

Downing (2002: 13-14) critiques the World Bank's revised statements on involuntary resettlement in the areas of (i) definition and measurement of impoverishment risks for PAPs, (ii) confusion between "restoration" and "development," (iii) calculation of resettlement costs in terms of "direct economic and social impacts" and (iv) lack of an assessment of impoverishment risks and/or the socio-economic analysis of potential impacts on the displaced population.

Whilst the World Bank's guidelines were in part influenced by its experience with the SSP and other projects (e.g., Itaparica hydroelectric project in Brazil), the importance of participation, choice and the appropriate mechanisms to institutionalise such provisions remain, in my view, unclear. Inclusion of participation and choice within R&R policies would invariably decrease the costs associated with reintegrating displaced people, as the provisions would not only be relevant but also desirable by the affected populations. Incorporating a participatory approach to resettlement planning includes an early assessment of the potential adverse impacts (Gutman 1994, cited in Barrow 1997: 279; Hall 1994).

### **3.4. Role of Non-governmental Organisations and Research Institutions**

Organisations and institutions will affect the livelihood outcomes of resettlers differently, based on their role in the R&R process. For instance, NGOs (also referred to as voluntary organisations) are better able to reach the poor based on their grassroots experiences and knowledge of participatory methods. Moreover, the mere presence of NGOs in R&R increases the chances that provisions will be implemented as NGO-supported projects seem to be more effective than government-supported ones (Gazelius and Millwood 1988; Mathur 2000; Mathur and Marsden 1998; Pandey 1996). However, their missions and tactics cannot be assumed to be neutral and democratic simply because they are “voluntary agencies” (Anonymous 2000a: 25; Patwardhan 2000: 11). Relationships that NGOs forge with governments also have to be examined since the government is often the implementing agency of R&R plans.

The five NGOs and one research institution that have been active in the R&R process include the NBA, ARCH-Vahini, Acil-Navasarjan Rural Development Foundation (ANaRDe), Anand Niketan Ashram (ANA), Rajpipla Social Service Society (RSSS) and CSS. This section describes the roles of NGOs (i.e., the NBA and ARCH-Vahini) and research institutions (i.e., CSS) that have actively participated in the development of Gujarat’s R&R policy. For a discussion on other NGOs, see **Appendix H**.

#### *3.4.1. THE NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN*

The NBA is an NGO that began as a local grassroots movement against large dams in Narmada Valley. The NBA, along with other NGOs, played an active and significant role in supporting the PAPs’ fight for a just R&R policy in Gujarat. Since the policy revision in 1987, the NBA has gained stronger support amongst the PAPs affected by the SSP in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Despite the revised R&R policies of these two states in

1992, state governments might find it difficult to meet the demands of PAPs as per the progressive provisions outline in each respective R&R policy. Moreover, the anticipated costs and benefits of the SSP for each state appear to be unevenly distributed (Tables 1.1 and 3.1).

In 1994, the NBA filed a civil writ petition (No. 319/94) in the Supreme Court of India against the SSP. The petition alleged that fundamental rights of various groups affected by the dam were being violated (John 2001). As a result, further construction on the SSP beyond 80.3 m (excluding the 3 m humps) was suspended on 5 May 1995. On 18 February 1999, the GOG established the Grievances Redressal Authority (GRA). After nearly five years, construction of the SSP resumed to a height of 85.0 m (excluding the humps) as per the orders of the Supreme Court on 19 February 1999.<sup>48</sup>

Since NBA's initial involvement with the SSP, it has emerged as the forerunner in anti-dam protests in India and elsewhere. Members of the NBA are known as strong international advocates against dams worldwide. Medha Patkar, leader of the NBA, was commissioned to work on *The Report of the World Commission on Dams* (WCD 2000). Other members of the NBA have since started their own agencies (e.g., Himanshu Thakkar who established the South Asian Network on Dams, River and People).

The mere presence of the NBA has influenced the fight for proper R&R of dam-affected populations by guaranteeing a constituency in the name of "project-affected persons." Governments and politicians tend to fear the name "NBA," as it is synonymous with words such as "delays," "opposition" or "threat to national development." The NBA has also influenced the fight by forcing government agencies to maintain a level of excellence in R&R

---

<sup>48</sup> The Supreme Court passed an order on 18 October 2000. It granted permission to raise the height of the SSP dam to 90 m (excluding the humps), with an increase to the original height of 138.6 m in stages after obtaining approval from concerned authorities (Anonymous 2000b). NCA granted clearance to raise the height of the dam spillway to 110.64 m in March 2004 (NCA 2005).

implementation. The presence of such an organisation is important for a system of checks and balances to operate effectively. However, an equally strong movement is needed to keep such an opposition accountable.<sup>49</sup>

### 3.4.2. ARCH-VAHINI

ARCH-Vahini (or in short, ARCH) is an NGO that has played a key role in the PAPs' struggle for a revised R&R policy in Gujarat. Since 1987, ARCH has been committed to implementing this policy into practice based on the provisions outlined in Gujarat's R&R policy. They support the claim that "resettlement and rehabilitation is a development opportunity and, if implemented with commitment and sensitivity, will achieve real economic and social gain for virtually all Gujarat oustees" (Morse and Berger 1992: 107).<sup>50</sup>

ARCH has often been called a "pro-dam" or "pro-government" organisation by the anti-dam movement.<sup>51</sup> They have been accused of being easily susceptible to the politics of the government agencies. In some instances, ARCH has been referred to as pawns of the GOG. However, Anil Patel, director of ARCH, has maintained the neutral position of the organisation. As early as 1988, he wrote an opinion piece for a daily Indian newspaper where he stated:

*...while we are aware and in know of the large controversy that rages for and against the SSP, we must admit that we are not in a position to take any firm and unqualified stand, because the nature of and quality of evidence that has surfaced so far appears to us not to be strong enough (Patel 1988).*

---

<sup>49</sup> An organisation called the Nimar Sarvoday Manch has recently taken a counter stance to the NBA in Madhya Pradesh.

<sup>50</sup> The Independent Review precludes this statement by labeling Gujarat as "a state with strong entrepreneurial tradition and a high standard of literacy. Not surprisingly, therefore, Gujarati officials and NGOs are particularly forceful in characterising tribal villages as suffering from deprivation" (Morse and Berger 1992: 107).

<sup>51</sup> In 1993, I was initially under the same impression. I later discovered that ARCH supports the revised R&R policy and the policy's implementation.

ARCH's involvement ceased during 1993-1995 when the R&R implementation process broke down (Mishra 2000; Patel 2000). A major reshuffling took place in the administrative structures of government agencies, including the project authority responsible for R&R implementation. A slip in government commitment to effective R&R led to a decline in high R&R performance, especially with respect to providing "choice." Patel (2001: 324) reports that "the standard safeguards of viewing the land with the concerned oustees and representatives of our organization [ARCH] before land was allotted was set aside." ARCH's involvement only resumed after the government renewed its commitment to implementing Gujarat's R&R policy.<sup>52</sup>

### 3.4.3. CENTRE FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

The CSS is a research institution that is located on the campus of South Gujarat University in Surat, Gujarat. Established in 1969, the Centre was known for undertaking a number of socio-economic studies on the tribals and resettlers of Gujarat displaced by the SSP. As per GOG Resolution of 15 April 1984 (GOG 1984), CSS was entrusted with conducting a socio-economic survey of the 19 submergence villages in Gujarat.<sup>53</sup>

CSS produced 19 individual monographs and a general report on the submergence villages in Gujarat during the 1980s. Subsequently, the Centre conducted M&E activities and reported the conditions of PAPs post-resettlement. They used Joshi's classification system (**Chapter 1**) to categorise the affected tribals by the point of origin. The monographs contain detailed information about individual submergence villages including socio-economic,

---

<sup>52</sup> During my field research in 2000-2001, I noticed a decline in ARCH's involvement at the sites. As resettlement was complete, the process of restoration administrative tasks was evident.

<sup>53</sup> The Centre had commenced socio-economic surveys of the PAPs prior to the passing of the Resolution(GOG 1984), which is why some monographs based on the CSS' socio-economic surveys are dated as far back as 1982 (Das 1982, 1983; Patel 1983a; 1983b; Vishwanath 1982).

cultural and habitual information of tribals. The information in these monographs is mostly qualitative in nature.<sup>54</sup>

CSS also conducted a total of 24 M&E reports from late the 1980s to early/mid-1990s. These M&E studies were commissioned at the request of the Narmada Planning Group (CSS 2001: 3). The reports have attempted to consolidate second-generation problems that resettlers face, but the reports have not escaped thorough criticism by researchers.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, the monographs that the Centre prepared have provided empirical baseline information on the conditions of PAPs prior to resettlement.

### 3.5. The Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency

The SSPA was established under the orders set forth by a GOG resolution, dated 5 December 1992. It was created as an independent agency responsible for the implementation and management of the R&R of Gujarati PAPs and those from Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra wishing to relocate to Gujarat. The SSPA was formed to operate on a two-tier basis —the General Body and the Executive Committee (**Figure 3.1**).

The blue-shaded boxes are factions of the SSPA, whilst numerals I – IV indicate four different levels of operation. The organisational chart explains the channels through which R&R is implemented in Gujarat and the process through which problems are resolved —it is an illustration of how “top-down” and “bottom-up” approaches are employed. The structure of the SSPA has evolved to keep pace with the improving R&R policy in Gujarat

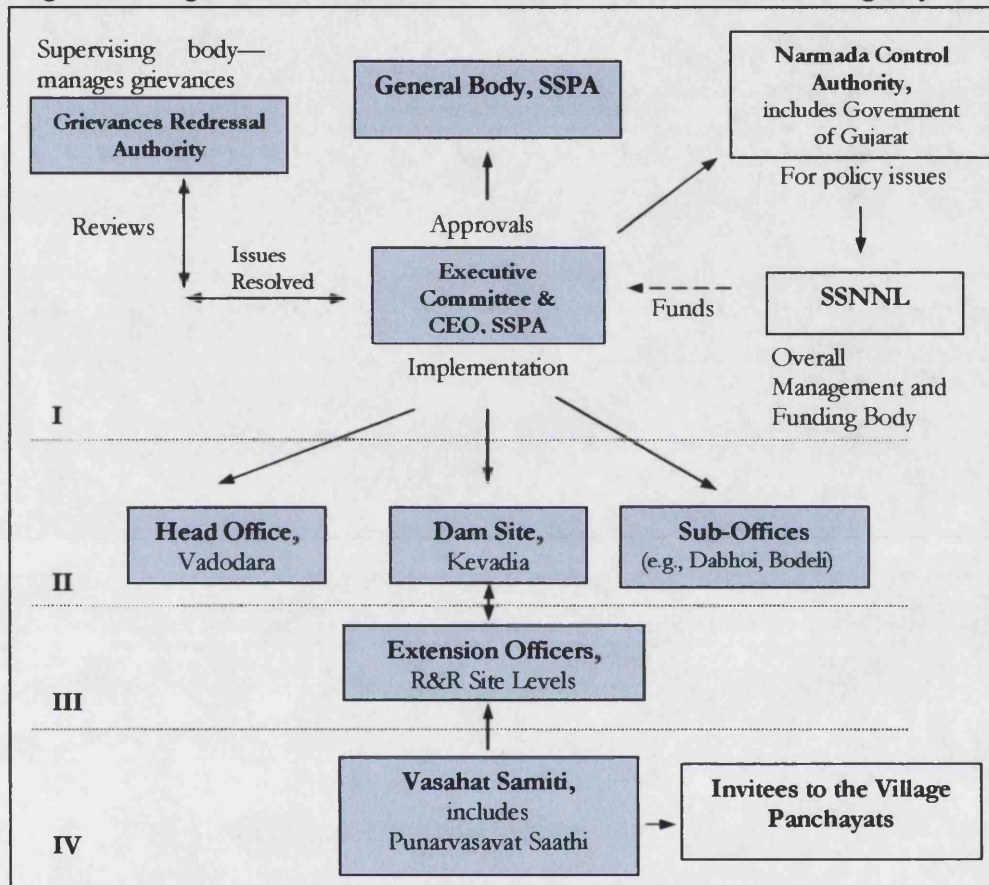
---

<sup>54</sup> I have used these monographs to triangulate information resettlers have provided me in interviews and where necessary, to help me link different events and/or fill in gaps where the information was missing (i.e., local leadership dynamics prior to resettlement). These monographs have been used as a baseline against which to compare changes in socio-economic post-resettlement conditions of tribals.

<sup>55</sup> I was able to locate two M&E reports: Report No. 22 (Sah 1996) and Report No. 24 (Sah 1997). The former contains general perceptions and conditions of resettlement populations, whilst the latter, information about caloric intake of households. The exchanges between Sah (1999) and Whitehead (1999, 2000, 2002) raise doubts about the validity of findings based on the methodology used. The Tata Institute for Social Sciences (TISS) in Mumbai also conducted M&E activities for the affected villages in Maharashtra.

(e.g., establishment of a health unit within SSPA). The role of the agency has also changed in order to accommodate local knowledge and local expertise (e.g., reliance on local resettlers to help manage resettlement sites).

**Figure 3.1: Organisational Chart of the Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency**



CEO=Chief Executive Officer, R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation; SSNNL=Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited; SSPA= Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency.  
 Source: Babbar (2001b); Field research (1993, 2000-2001); NCA (not dated); SSNNL (not dated); SSPA (2001c).

### 3.5.1. SSPA —THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee is most directly concerned with the R&R of resettlers, and is responsible for three subgroups —the headquarters in Vadodara, the dam site office in Kevadia and township sub-offices where new resettlement sites are located. These three sub-offices employ extension officers, each of whom oversees rehabilitation conditions for four to five

sites, depending on population size. These extension officers represent the SSPA at the field level, and the resettlers at the administrative level.

The Executive Committee includes the following members:

- Minister of Narmada Development (as the Chairman),
- Chief Executive Officer of the Rehabilitation Project (as the member-secretary),
- Nine (9) representatives from voluntary agencies in Gujarat,
- Two (2) representatives from voluntary agencies from Madhya Pradesh,
- Additional Chief Secretary and
- Other officials.

The *Vasabat Samiti* is a committee of resettlers that was introduced in 1999 (see IV in **Figure 3.1**). A *Vasabat Samiti* is similar to a residence committee of an apartment or condominium. A *Vasabat Samiti* has been formed at almost every resettlement site with a minimum of five member-resettlers, of whom one is expected to be a female.<sup>56</sup> The extension officer for the site is often the convener of these meetings, and a representative of the assigned NGO is an invited member. The *Vasabat Samitis* collectively work to resolve minor problems, monitor development programmes and select a

---

<sup>56</sup> Whilst regulations stipulate that at least one of the five members of the *Vasabat Samiti* should be a female, in practice, this was not found to be the case. I found that often a female may be appointed, but it is a male member of her *chulha* (i.e., husband, father or brother) that attends meetings or events. Mechanisms to ensure women's formal participation are lacking. Informally, however, women attended the meetings.



*Punarvasavat Saathi* (or resettlement friend) at resettlement sites. It allows resettlers to take responsibility for the management of R&R conditions at their own sites, including speedy redressal of their site-specific grievances.

A *Punarvasavat Saathi* is selected by the *Vasabat Samiti* from a group of peers at a resettlement site. The *Punarvasavat Saathi* is provided with financial resources for resolving minor problems at the site and is their representative to the R&R machinery. The resources must be used in consultation with other *Punarvasavat Samiti* members. At some sites, there is more than one *Punarvasavat Saathi*—a reflection of the number of interest groups present.<sup>57</sup>

Some resettlers are also invited to partake in the village *panchayat*—the local self-government composed of members from the host-community with invitees from the resettlement sites.<sup>58</sup> To ensure better integration of the resettlers, the GOG issued an order under Section 98 of the 1993 Gujarat Panchayat Act stating that one or two resettlers from each site should be appointed an “invitee” to the village *panchayat* (SSPA 2001c; Babbar 2001b).<sup>59</sup>

### 3.5.2. SSPA—GRIEVANCES REDRESSAL AUTHORITY

The Executive Committee also interacts with other units of the SSPA and works with the GRA for the management and resolution of major R&R problems and complaints (i.e., land-related issues). The GRA interacts with resettlers, their representatives and voluntary agencies. Between April 1999 and September 2000, the GRA dealt with a total of 13,719 grievances, of which 10,725 were resolved in favour of the resettlers (SSPA 2001c). Those who disagree with GRA-rendered decisions may file an appeal. The GRA handles grievances in one of three ways:

---

<sup>57</sup> As of 2000, 165 out of 185 sites had a *Vasabat Samiti* and an appointed *Punarvasavat Saathi* (SSPA 2001c).

<sup>58</sup> “Invitees” to the village *panchayat* become members after being elected to the post.

<sup>59</sup> About 196 resettlers have been inducted as invitees to the village *panchayat*, whilst four have been elected *Sarpanch* (village leader), one deputy-*Sarpanch* and 26 members of the Village *panchayat*. Out of the six study sites from this survey, there was no formal representation by a woman to the *panchayat*.

- Using the *Tatkal Fariyad Nivaran Yojana* (or Immediate Grievance Redressal Scheme),
- Through written submission or
- In accordance with the framework of the Single Window Clearance System (SSPA 2000e).

A number of initiatives have been launched as a result of past grievances. A medical cell within the SSPA was established and became operational on 28 April 1999 (Express News Service 1999; SSPA 2001c). The cell has improved resettlers' access to health care facilities through mobile health units (MHUs) and diagnostic health camps. It has also increased the number of resettlers that have been examined and issued health identity cards. In 1999, a health survey of 172 sites revealed that 17,186 resettlers had been examined and issued individual cards, with an increase to 29,423 individuals by the end of July 2000 (SSPA 2001c). In June 2000, the GRA instructed that a family folder be created and maintained at the SSPA head office in Vadodara in order to track family health and illnesses at resettlement sites.

Grievances have also led to the strengthening of auxiliary services provided by the *Panchayat* system and health and family welfare department. The GRA has mandated that regular testing of the drinking water be done at sites, in order to monitor the quality of water from reaching high levels of contamination and/or saline. A public health sub-division of the SSPA has been directed to test water quality and distribute chlorine tablets as needed.

Grievances have also led to the strengthening of other governmental health programmes. For example, programmes include the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), the Mid-Day Meal Programme (MDMP) and

the Special Nutrition Programme (SNP).<sup>60</sup> These programmes were functional at all six study sites. They provided nutritional supplements and services through the schools, local women's groups, et cetera. The Hyderabad Mix<sup>61</sup> was distributed to children of *anganwadi*-age (or pre-school students below the age of six) as per the ICDS. Through the SNP, nutritional supplements such as vitamin A and iron tablets were provided to infants and expecting mothers. The MDMP provided meals for school children (ages 6-11), and was a source of income for some women at the sites (**Chapter 9**).

Some initiatives have resulted in the area of agricultural development and environmental improvement. The agricultural cell was established in 1999, and helps to enhance agricultural productivity of resettlers through (i) extension programmes aimed at technology transfer and other farm management practices, (ii) credit in production and investments (i.e., construction of tube wells or irrigation cooperatives) and (iii) subsidised agricultural inputs and implements (SSPA 2001c). The cell also assists the GRA in resolving programmes related to agricultural land awarded. The Forest Department has also undertaken re-forestation at 33 sites by planting saplings along the side of the approach roads, common plots and school premises (SSPA 2001c). My resettlers from the six resettlement sites confirmed their participation in agricultural training sessions, receipt of credit or loans for irrigation purposes and of subsidised agricultural implements.

### 3.5.3. SSPA—GENERAL BODY

The Executive Committee also interacts with the General Body of the SSPA. This unit of the SSPA is consulted when the Executive Committee seeks approval regarding specific R&R implementation measures. Members of the General Body include

---

<sup>60</sup> The ICDS was initiated in 1975-1976, the SNP was introduced in 1970-1971 and the MDMP was started in 1962-1963. As part of the Minimum Needs Program, both the SNP and MDMP were transferred to the state sector in India's Fifth Five-Year Plan (1975-1979).

<sup>61</sup> The mix is a savory Indian snack of lentils and gram flour bits.

- Chief Minister of Gujarat (the chairman),
- Minister of Narmada (the vice chairman and chairman of the Executive Committee of SSPA),
- Nineteen (19) representatives from prominent voluntary agencies (17 from Gujarat, one from Madhya Pradesh and one from Maharashtra),
- Five (5) representatives from NGOs and
- Seven (7) other designated officials.

#### 3.5.4. SSPA—OTHER DIVISIONS

The SSPA consults with the NCA, including the GOG on policy-related issues and with the SSNNL on financial matters (Babbar 2001b). The NCA was created under the final orders of the NWDT, and is responsible for the overall coordination and direct implementation of its final decision. Established on 20 December 1980, the NCA became functional four years later on 15 April 1984.<sup>62</sup> The NCA was later modified (3 June 1987) to include the Secretary of the Ministry of Environment and Forest/GOI. The SSNNL is a public company that was established in April 1988 by GOG. The SSNNL is the project authority specifically in charge of the overall management of the SSP, including the disbursement of funds (John 2001).

### 3.6. Relationship Amongst Organisations

In the previous sections, I have introduced five key stakeholders — the three state government, the PAPs, NGOs and institutions, the World Bank and the implementing agency. I have discussed their significant involvement and key roles in the Gujarat's R&R process, ranging from the policy's development to its current implementation. The purpose of presenting this information at the beginning of this chapter is to give a general

---

<sup>62</sup> See NCA website (<http://www.ncaindia.org>) and SSNNL website (<http://www.sardarsarovardam.org>) for details.

idea about who the key players were and are in the R&R process. To further illustrate the political nature of organisations, and the influence they exerted on resettlers, the following section includes a brief analysis on the relationships amongst three stakeholders —the government (SSNNL or Nigam), NBA and ARCH. These groups have been selected based on the responses that I received during my field research in 2000-2001. This section will highlight the influence an overlap of two or more organisations had on resettlers, their level of information, perceptions and ability to act.

### 3.6.1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND NGOS

Organisations will often use financial networks to help influence internal policies through external means and systems. Mayo and Craig (1995) believe that it is difficult to separate political power from economic power in a capitalist society. By identifying the source of funding for any organisation, their interests, source of support and relevant networks are revealed.

For instance, the relationship between the NBA and Madhya Pradesh government is significant. As previously mentioned, the NBA was an active participant in the fight for a just R&R policy in Gujarat. During the last decade, the NGO has gained more support in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. It is alleged that the roots of the anti-dam movement lie in the rich *Nimar (Nimad) Plains* of Madhya Pradesh, where residents have played a “major role in the NBA-led anti-dam movement” (Baviskar 1995; Dwivedi 1999; Sharma 2000; Singh 1997: 15):

*We do not take any money from outside [...], [but] from the tribal area [as] every house contributes five rupees per month, et cetera. That is a minimum contribution—cash or kind. We do not promise anything in return. [...] We get donations from all over India. We specifically don't take big donations [...] It is spent in the daily expenses of Manibeli. If someone is to travel to Kevadia, Koti or Baroda, it is expended in there; or even when medical facility is to be provided [...] in many local issues also. In tribal areas there normally are drought areas, drought years, or some crisis years, at that time we just don't insist on that. Occasionally when there is a programme, then a special fund campaign is taken in*

*every village. Fund is not in form of rupees but in forms of grains. At the harvest time, we go with jolis [or cloth bags] [...] we collect and sell it in the market and then get funds (Sanvi 1993).*

I shared this comment with resettlers from Site A (Focus Group Discussion 1993b), who were shocked and proclaimed that “[we are] too poor—especially in Manibeli. [This is] not true—very wrong!” They added, that “[the NBA] must have promised something [...] then they [resettlers] join.”

One problem with this association is that PAPs are often considered to be *adivasis*. PAPs that are non-tribals (i.e., rich landowners from the *Nimar Plains*) are also PAFs that have homes and/or lands that will be totally or partially submerged.<sup>63</sup> Irrespective of their landholdings and social stature, these non-tribals have a right to voice their dissatisfaction with the R&R policy within the state. However, the difference is that PAFs from the *Nimar Plains* have the monetary resources to influence local organisations and political figures.<sup>64</sup>

*It is also being brought to your notice that the people whose lands are affected by the submergence are not at all opposing the project since they are happy with the liberal compensation being offered by the project, and this is substantiated by the offers from 75 per cent of the affected landholders (India Abroad News Service 2000).*

A new organisation, *Nimar Sarvoday Manch* (NSM or Nimar Welfare Forum), has taken a counter stance to the NBA and is challenging their arguments on R&R and debates on environmental issues. For instance, the NSM asserts that rich landowners are opposing the 400 megawatt (MW)-Maheshwar Dam in Madhya Pradesh and not the local tribals (Sharma 2000).

---

<sup>63</sup> The confusion of how many displaced families are categorised as “tribals” within each state has been a point of discrepancy since 1985. The source for such discrepancies comes from various sources, such as the World Bank’s 1985 Staff Appraisal Report, the Aide-Memoire of the 1987 mission and the Maharashtra R&R Action Plan of 1991 (Morse and Berger 1992: 51-52).

<sup>64</sup> I inquired about this relationship from Medha Patkar at a forum that was held at the School for Oriental and African Studies in London (Patkar 1999a). She gave no comment on the issue.

### 3.6.2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARCH-VAHINI AND THE NBA

These two NGOs have been criticised based on their relationships with each other and with the government. This may be a result of the “antagonistic” relationship that has existed between

*ARCH-Vahini's success depends on achieving a collaborative relationship with the Government and the oustees, which the anti-dam movement is seen to obstruct, while the NBA's success largely depends on the continued failure of resettlement measures, which ARCH-Vahini is trying to prevent (Singh 1997: 8-9).*

ARCH-Vahini and the NBA. I found that there is a level of “co-opetition” between the two NGOs. On one hand, they cooperated with each other for generating a resistance platform against the NWDT provisions. On the other, they began to inherently compete with each other for limited financial resources and international support after the revisions were made.

Researchers have confirmed that NBA and ARCH had a working relationship prior to 1987 (Parasuraman 1999: 235; Singh 1997: 8-9). Members from ARCH confirm their association with the NBA, whilst members from NBA seem to deny any collaboration

*...has been less successful in developing a truly democratic representation of the people's interests, and of the diversity of these interests. The oustees have never really been their own spokespersons, nor have they been incorporated in the top leadership of the NBA. In fact, as the momentum of the movement grew, the functioning of the NBA became somewhat less democratic and participatory (Singh 1997).*

(Sanvi 1993; Thakkar 1993; Patkar 1999a). According to Parasuraman (1999: 235), Ms. Patkar worked with ARCH-Vahini around 1985. However, after Gujarat's R&R provisions were revised in 1987, Ms. Patkar became anti-dam and established the NBA based on the belief that violations were being committed on environmental, economic and social grounds. At that time, further negotiations were still required in attaining a revised R&R policy for Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh (Patkar 1999b).

It is believed that NGOs that successfully achieve their ultimate goals are in danger of being abolished, as the effects of local capacity building begin to take place. In light of this fear, some have become self-perpetuating

institutions where they seek new problems and change their missions to accommodate new areas of need and assistance (Anonymous 2000a: 28). In other cases, they have changed their approach and their targeted audience. Local NGOs that grow in popularity due to media attention and fame are more able to attain “national” and/or “international” status. The possibility that NGOs may lose sight of their initial goal tends to increase—to lessen the dependency of resettlers on outside organisations, both government and voluntary agencies (Koenig and Diarra 2000: 353).

The NBA might have become dependent on the oustees for continued international status and organisational existence. In fulfilling their obligations to the PAPs, the NBA might have felt this dependence was lessening. Gill (1995) explores these claims and the tactics the NBA has used to maintain the momentum of their movement. Korten (1987) describes this development of NGOs as being three “generations” of NGO strategies. It begins with relief and welfare work, and then moves to strategies for small-scale self-reliant development, and finally ends with sustainable systems development. However, NGOs do not necessarily move from one stage to the next, although one generation is often portrayed as leading from the other (cited in Thomas 1992: 128).

The status of the NBA today appears to be very different from what it used to be in 1988. Their approach tends to be more focused on a “sustainable systems development” where they seem to work in “catalytic, foundation-like role rather than an operational service-delivery role” (Korten 1987: 149). If the NBA uses the “third generation” approach, then it could be inferred that they have less direct involvement at the local level. However, NGOs might be able to employ a mixture of approaches in their programmes (Thomas 1992: 129).

However, there are some lessons learned from these collaborations. First, fewer respondents said that both NGOs had some presence in their



original villages than those who had attended both of their meetings and sponsored events. Second, the information that was given to PAFs prior to the tensions between ARCH and NBA would have been relatively the same. Voluntary organisations, in particular ARCH and ANA, have assisted in the identification of land, its purchase and selection by oustees, as has been noted by the Independent Review in 1992 (Morse and Berger 1992: 129). They have helped to incorporate the human and environmental dimensions into development-induced projects (Parasuraman 1997). And the presence of the NBA has proven to be that of a watchdog over government responsibility and performance for the oustees of the Narmada Valley. Overall, it cannot be denied that the resettlement process in Gujarat has been greatly facilitated by the efforts of NGOs.

### **3.7. Conclusion**

In summary, this chapter presents the evolution of Gujarat's R&R policy through a stakeholder analysis. The beginning of the chapter identifies the key stakeholders that have been active in Gujarat's R&R policy process. A description about each stakeholder highlights the key structures and processes in the evolution of Gujarat's R&R. The local-international alliance amongst these groups has supported resettlers to participate in policy-related events in Gujarat.

Discussions regarding the SSP amongst the Governments of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh have focused on the height of the dam and its subsequent costs with respect to benefits for each state. Self-interest, rather than mutual cooperation, has led to different R&R policies in each state. However, in the end, the Governments of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh revised their R&R policies so that they were in line with Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987.

The World Bank played an instrumental role before its loan was cancelled in 1993. It helped to create international awareness for improving

R&R policies for large infrastructure projects. For instance, the Bank's policy statements have set precedents for other development partners to follow, including the need to equate resettlement with an opportunity for development, to relocate persons at a minimum distance from their original villages and/or to use pre-existing tenure systems to dictate compensation eligibility.

The SSPA is the independent agency responsible for the implementation and management of the R&R of Gujarati PAPs and those from Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra wishing to relocate to Gujarat. The SSPA is structured on a two-tier basis, which incorporates "top-down" and "bottom-up" approaches in R&R activities. Through the GRA, grievances are voiced and addressed by resettlers. The structure of the SSPA has adapted to these grievances, and new cells have been created to prevent such grievances from recurring. The integration of women could be the next area for the SSPA. Whilst women are required to formally participate in local resettlement bodies at sites, their formal participation is often restricted. Safeguards are needed to ensure that women are able to implement their formal assignments in committees into practice.

Out of five NGOs and one research institution that have been active in the R&R process, three groups have been discussed in detail —NBA, ARCH and CSS. Each played a critical role in helping to inform, mobilise and ensure that the rights of PAPs are protected and their voices heard in R&R policy revision and implementation. They were instrumental not only during the policy development but also during implementation, as will be further discussed in forthcoming chapters.

The relationship amongst the different stakeholders is also presented for three key groups —the government (or Nigam), ARCH and the NBA. A description of each stakeholder in the chapter provides an overview into the associations and the different groups that exerted an influence on resettlers.

For instance, the government seemed to have a stronger bond with ARCH than with the NBA. ARCH and the NBA seemed to experience periods of cooperation and competition in their associations —a relationship some would call “antagonistic.” The relationship between the NBA and the Government of Madhya Pradesh is significant as it demonstrates that PAFs could also include non-tribals.

However, there are limitations to what each stakeholder is capable of accomplishing. For instance, India’s draft national R&R policy (GOI 1994), suggested that NGOs should be responsible for informing people about development projects entailing displacement. However, the NGOs do not control the mechanics of displacement through the concept of “eminent domain.” Instead, NGOs could complement this process by strengthening local capacities (i.e., facilitating the flow of information) so that local knowledge and resources may be incorporated into their work (Fowler 1990; Ramachandran 1987; World Bank 2000). The responsibility for informing people about the project and consulting with them about any impacts should therefore lie with the Government (Patwardhan 2000: 11, footnote 19). This responsibility has since changed; as outlined in NPRR-2003, an administrator or an state government officer, not below the rank of District Collector of a State Government, holds this responsibility (GOI 2004: Chapter IV).

The next chapter will introduce the analytical framework guiding this doctoral research. A sustainable livelihoods approach to involuntary resettlement provides a people-centred focus to the R&R process. It helps to link the macro and micro level influences that together affect resettlers’ strategies, choices and livelihoods post-resettlement.

## Chapter 4

### A SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH TO INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT

*Dams do displace people. So does other development. People migrate in far larger numbers because of distress or opportunity. Distress migration in the developing world is a social disaster with far greater human and political costs than planned resettlement. Tribal people too have a right to development on the basis of informed choice.*

—Verghese (1998)

A sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach to involuntary resettlement conceptualises the effects of R&R on individuals in a more holistic and synergistic manner than previous perspectives. Involuntary resettlement is an intricate process that moves through the phases of displacement, relocation, resettlement and rehabilitation. Past resettlement frameworks have been useful in developing mitigation measures for losses incurred by PAPs (e.g., Risks and Reconstruction Model). However, they do not take into account the external influences that affect the decisions that PAPs make during this process. PAPs often respond to forced relocation by seeking appropriate livelihood strategies, based on a combination of livelihood resources (or assets). By applying an SL approach to involuntary resettlement, it is possible to understand the choices that PAPs make when seeking a livelihood strategy based on available options. These choices help address the impoverishment risks that PAPs face when restoring their livelihoods to pre-project levels.

During resettlement, a number of multidimensional factors are in play at both the macro and micro levels. At the macro or policy level is the regulatory and socio-cultural framework of resettlement. At the micro or project level, the impact of resettlement on individuals is evident. At each

level, influential legal regulations and institutional players guide livelihoods strategies for communities, households and individuals.

In the case of the SSP, PAPs participated in both the policy process and its implementation. The group of PAPs studied for this thesis participated during policy formulation and implementation. They fought for the right to have and exercise choice during the R&R process. An SL approach to resettlement policy analysis helps to investigate the factors, structures and processes that shape and encourage participation in the process. It allows the analysis to be from the point of view of the PAP.

#### **4.1. Sustainable Livelihoods: An Approach to Rural Development**

Based on early developmental models, projects were designed with a focus on economic growth and capital formation. They had a top-down, trickle-down, blueprint-planning approach, where subsistence and traditional sectors (i.e., production and social support) were often neglected. Poverty reduction projects then became concerned with increasing commercial crops for export purposes. Commonly assessed against income or consumption levels, these projects were developed based on the assumption that farmers were motivated by an increase in production and profit generated by new crop varieties and agricultural inputs. Evaluations of these projects were conditional to achieving higher per capita income, and improving the overall “well-being”<sup>65</sup> of the nation-state. The “basic needs”<sup>66</sup> approach is essentially a response to the dissatisfaction with this conventional approach towards poverty reduction.

---

<sup>65</sup> “Well-being” is defined as “the product of a range of factors, including adequate consumption of goods and services, health, status, achievement, and security” (Squire 1991, cited in Ahmed and Lipton 1997: 6).

<sup>66</sup> “Basic needs” is defined in terms of health, food, water, education, shelter and sanitation, but Stewart (1985) extends this definition to include non-material attributes (e.g., participation or cultural identity) for its contribution to the broader objectives.

An SL approach is an alternative way of conceptualising rural development in terms of its objectives, scope and priorities towards poverty reduction. According to Chambers and Conway (1992):

*A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living; a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term (Chambers and Conway 1992: 7-8).*

#### 4.1.1. LIVELIHOODS APPROACHES ADOPTED BY AGENCIES

A number of agencies have adopted the livelihoods approach. I will discuss the approach used by the Department for International Development (DFID), Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Incorporated (CARE), Oxfam and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). All four agencies have adopted the Chambers and Conway (1992) definition of livelihoods, with a focus on assets and micro-macro links. Two out of four agencies are NGOs, which affects the areas of concern and SL approach developed. The following are distinctive points for each approach (Carney et al., 1999: 17):

- Asset-based approach: the number of assets considered differs,
- Capabilities: emphasis differs (e.g., DFID places more importance on this aspect),
- Sustainability: different understanding of sustainability (e.g., CARE focuses on household livelihood security),
- Macro-micro links: related to the different agency-mandates and scale of operations,

- Empowerment: emphasis differs (e.g., DFID finds that individuals who have better access to assets will be more able to influence structures and processes so that these become more responsive to their needs) and
- Technology: as a way of improving asset portfolios of individuals (e.g., UNDP uses it as a means of contributing to human capital).

The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and DFID used the above definition so that the concept of *sustainable livelihoods* places less emphasis on sustainability:

*...livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Carney 1998).*

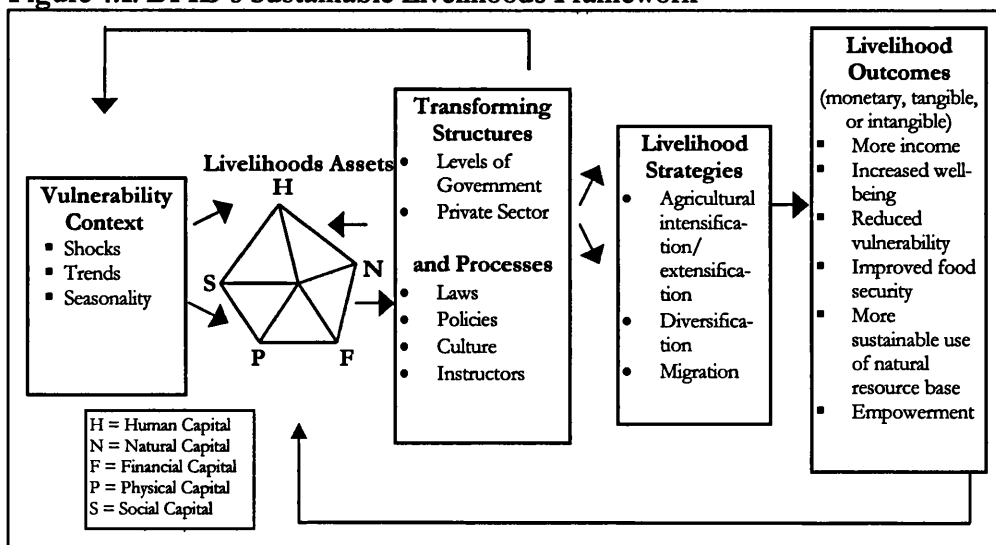
DFID's SL framework was introduced in 1988. The 1988 framework (**Figure 4.1**), describes the sustainable livelihood approach where "livelihood" consists of the following three components —capabilities, assets and activities needed to support individuals in their lives. The process depicts how people pursue a range of livelihood outcomes by drawing on a range of assets to undertake a variety of activities, in accordance with their own preferences and priorities. These assets and livelihood opportunities are accessible, and improve based on context, external policies and institutions (Ashley and Hussein 2000; Carney 1999; Chambers and Conway 1992; Scoones 1998).

The emphasis goes beyond just project outputs but includes the impact of development activity upon people's livelihoods. The effect of development on people's livelihoods requires an asset-based approach and

the improved functioning of structures and processes. The key underlying principles include

- People-centred,
- Responsive and participatory in nature,
- Multi-level analysis,
- Emphasis on public/private partnerships,
- Recognition of dynamic nature of livelihoods and
- Various types of sustainability.

**Figure 4.1: DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**



DFID=Department for International Development.  
Source: Farrington et al., (1999) and Scoones (1998).

CARE introduced its livelihoods approach in 1994. It emphasises household livelihoods security rather than sustainability, where livelihood outcomes are linked with basic needs (Carney et al., 1999: 4). CARE identifies three fundamental attributes of livelihoods: (i) the possession of human capabilities, (ii) access to tangible and intangible assets and (iii) existence of economic activities. It further identifies three categories of livelihood activity:



(i) livelihood promotion that involves long-term development projects; (ii) livelihood protection, which includes programmes aimed at preventing a decline in household security and (iii) livelihood provisioning of immediate or emergency basic needs. Unlike DFID's five assets, CARE focuses more on social (e.g., access), human (e.g., livelihood capabilities) and economic (e.g., resources) assets.

Oxfam adopted the SL approach in 1993, and placed its emphasis on the need to strengthen people's participation in the development process. Oxfam emphasises the use of participatory analysis in developing links to social and human rights approaches (e.g., achieving food and income security). It refers to "sustainability" in economic, social, institutional and ecological terms. It, too, builds on the same five assets as those in DFID's SL approach.

UNDP's SL approach focuses on the way in which men and women employ different asset portfolios for coping or adaptive strategies on either a short or long-term basis. UNDP defines "sustainability" as (i) ability to cope with and recover from shocks and stresses, (ii) economically effective, (iii) ecologically sound and (iv) socially equitable. Unlike the other agencies, UNDP's SL approach highlights technology and subdivides political asset into two elements — participation and empowerment. Both technology and political asset help improve individual asset portfolios so that people can escape from poverty. The difference between the SL approach that UNDP and DFID utilise is that the former emphasises adaptive strategies by focusing on people's strengths, whilst the latter considers people's needs.

#### *4.1.2. CRITIQUES OF THE DIFFERENT SL APPROACHES*

The SL approach adopted by different agencies has given rise to a number of critiques. For instance, "sustainability" is multidimensional — a state achieved when individuals make a number of choices. However,

“sustainable” is not precisely defined by the SL approach, which leaves room in its interpretation and further debate.<sup>67</sup>

Ecological sustainability could refer to the maintenance or enhancement of natural or physical resource stock on a long-term basis (Ahmed and Lipton 1997; Chambers 1988). Economic sustainability might include an individual or collective entity’s ability to be financially viable or a sustainable increase in income (Ahmed and Lipton 1997; Shepherd 1998). Social sustainability could refer to the organisational or management skills of an individual or a collective entity (Harriss and DeRenzi 1997). For instance, sustainability may be based on the premise of social equity when individuals have access to basic needs across generations (Ahmed and Lipton 1997). Institutional sustainability might aim to bridge the gap between micro and macro levels by identifying institutions with a central role in resource allocation, and social rules and norms that have an impact on the outcome of an intervention (Brock 1999: 15).

In my view, sustainability could refer to an ongoing process of adjustment to a given change. It may entail a series of trade-offs individuals must make in order to cope with vulnerability and/or new surroundings, assuming that subsequent contextual factors yield a new state of sustainability. This is linked to the “capacity for aspiration” by social actors as being a necessary condition for active agency, such as choices and actions (Smulovitz et al., 2003). A livelihood strategy, therefore, implies a certain degree of choice based on the assumption that more than one option is available for survival. A sustainable livelihood strategy is, therefore, apparent when an individual (or unit of analysis) is able to substitute one type of capital for another, and then to switch amongst activities in times of stress and hardship (Chambers 1988; Chambers and Conway 1992; Moser 1998; Young 1992).

---

<sup>67</sup> “Sustainable development” means different things, but a common definition was put forth by the World Conference on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987. For more discussion, see Barrow (1997: 6-9).

Because sustainability is not precisely defined, some find that it creates difficulties when analysis is translated into action (Ashley and Carney 1999; Carney 1999). However, I found that vagueness provides an opportunity for flexible interpretations. If sustainability refers to the “importance of reducing vulnerability of livelihoods to shocks and negative trends” (Keeley 2001: 5), then it is difficult to associate sustainability with achieving a final state or outcome.

The conventional SL framework, adopted by DFID, has also been criticised for lacking a domain, which pertains to power and politics (Ashley and Carney 1999:35; Grootaert 1999; Shankland 2000: 12-14; Turton 2000). Social capital (or asset) often refers to social relations. However, social relations have two dimensions: (i) one that represents social networks or the collective entity of a population and (ii) one that represents power relations between people or groups within a community. The latter is often referred to as the vertical dimension of social capital (Coleman 1988: S98; Grootaert 1998: 3; Shankland 2000: 14). Whilst Scoones (1998) touches the issues of power, only UNDP’s SL approach incorporates it as a concept of “political asset.”

The positioning of policy within DFID’s SL framework has been debated by a number of academics and practitioners (Brock 1999; Carney 1998; DFID 2001; Pasteur 2001b, 2001c; Scoones 1998; Shankland 2000). On one hand, DFID’s SL framework incorporates policy into what it calls “Transforming Structures and Processes” (Carney 1998)<sup>68</sup>. They have since termed it “Policies, Institutions and Processes” (DFID 2001), which includes issues relating to participation, power, authority, governance, laws, social relations, et cetera. It is an interactive context within which individuals and households construct and adapt livelihood strategies. On the other hand, Brock (1999) places policy under the “vulnerability context.” Adding policy to

---

<sup>68</sup> Scoones (1998) uses the term “Organisations and Institutions.”

contextual factors fails to recognize the distinctive ways in which policy influences livelihood strategies and outcomes and in effect, “highlights remoteness of policy processes from the poor” (Shankland 2000: 9).

The lack of gender consideration in the SL approach has also been highlighted as a shortcoming. The SL frameworks employed by a number of agencies (e.g., CARE, DFID and UNDP) consider the household to be the unit of analysis. This does not give sufficient consideration to intra-household behaviour and social relations.<sup>69</sup> The lack of consideration warrants the need to complement the SL framework with other forms of tools and analysis, such as a gender analysis (Carney et al., 1999). Beall and Kanji (1999), however, argue the reverse. They maintain that additional tools should not be necessary, as a livelihoods approach should already incorporate both gender-based activities and social relations (cited in Beall 2002). The incorporation of these dimensions helps clarify intra-household behaviour (e.g., how access to and control of resources are determined and shared within households and the communities).

## 4.2. Past R&R Frameworks

Chapter 2 presented the concept of involuntary resettlement, including an overview of what an R&R process entails. However, I saved the discussion on past R&R frameworks for this chapter in order to illustrate the gaps in R&R policy development and implementation. For example, participation of PAPs is often recommended in the R&R process, but the ways in which PAPs are involved and the value added of their participation in the process are unclear. The SL/IR framework will help clarify the positioning of participation within a theoretical framework.

---

<sup>69</sup> Grown and Sebstand (1989: 941) refer to a livelihoods system as “the mix of individual and household survival strategies, developed over a given period of time, that seeks to mobilise available resources and opportunities.”

Past R&R frameworks have historically originated from refugee literature where the focus is directed at providing emergency relief in the short-run. The needs of refugees and of project-induced resettlers are different. Short-term strategies are developed based on the assumption that refugees could return home one day. However, long-term strategies acknowledge that there is no return to the place of origin. As a result, such strategies need to guide resettlers so that they can restore, if not improve, their living standards and earning capacities. Institutional structures need to support these strategies so that displaced populations are able to participate in the R&R process. NGOs or agents of change are fundamental to these structures, as they help to create space for local dialogue and help set parameters for participation.

#### 4.2.1. THE RISKS AND RECONSTRUCTION MODEL

One of the frameworks for analysing the socio-economic content of displacement is Cernea's *Risks and Reconstruction Model* (Cernea 1996a, 1996b). It is a conceptual

*Impoverishment may be temporary or permanent, related to either life-cycle factors or broader economic conditions (Rakodi 1999: 319).*

framework that “anticipates its [displacement’s] major risks, explains the behavioral responses of displaced people, and can guide the reconstruction of resettlers’ livelihood” (Cernea 1996b: 4). Economic and social impoverishment occurs when resettlers face higher risks of landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, marginalisation, loss of access to CPRs and social disarticulation.

Planning of counter-strategies can offset these risks during implementation. For example, landlessness may be avoided by allotting replacement land to resettlers, whilst homelessness may be prevented through the provision of house plots and construction materials (Cernea 1996a, 1996b, 1999a). Increased morbidity and mortality and food insecurity is avoided by the progress resettlers make in economic recovery. For instance, emergency relief may offset immediate risks in the short-run, especially for poor and

vulnerable groups. Institutional building and involvement of social actors are required to successfully minimise the risks of marginalisation, loss of access to CPRs and social disarticulation (Cernea 1996b: 33).

The model, when applied to Gujarat's R&R policy, illustrates that the policy has satisfactorily addressed seven out of the eight impoverishment risks faced by Gujarati resettlers through the provisions (Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1: Application of Cernea's Risks and Reconstruction Model**

Risks of Impoverishment	Definition	Reversing the Risks	Provided in Gujarat's R&R Policy?
Landlessness	Expropriation of land	Land-for-land compensation	Yes, 5 acres of land are provided to the head of household, widows and sons 18 years and over at time of displacement.
Joblessness	Loss of wage employment	Employment opportunities	Yes, opportunities with the R&R implementing agency (SSPA) and managing group (SSNNL) provided.
Homelessness	Loss of housing and shelter	House plots; construction materials; infrastructure	Yes, house plots, construction material, allowances and infrastructure provided.
Increased Morbidity and Mortality	Serious decreases in health levels	Better health care	Yes, medical facilities at or near to resettlement sites provided (including infant/child immunisations and other services for communicable diseases).
Food Insecurity	Increased risk that people will fall into chronic undernourishment	Adequate Nutrition	No, not part of R&R policy as adequate nutrition is supposed to follow economic recovery. However, other district programmes (i.e., IRDP or MDMP) help to supplement nutrition.
Marginalisation	A drop in social status, a psychological downward slide in confidence in society and self, a sense of injustice, a premise of anomic behaviour	Social Inclusion	Yes, resettlers had a choice of their resettlement location and resettlement unit. However, the initial impact of displacement cannot be mitigated.
Loss of Access to Common Property	Loss of non-individual property assets (e.g., forest lands, water bodies, grazing lands)	Restoration of community assets	Average, as water facilities and grazing lands were provided. However, issues pertaining to fodder and fuel remain a problem.

Risks of Impoverishment	Definition	Reversing the Risks	Provided in Gujarat's R&R Policy?
Social Disarticulation	Tearing apart of existing communities and structures of social organisation, interpersonal ties, and the enveloping social fabric	Community Reconstruction	Yes, resettlers had the choice of resettlement unit so they are able to maintain those social networks stemming from family, friends, hamlets and village.

IRDP=Integrated Rural Development Programme; MDMP=Mid-Day Meal Programme; R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation; SSNNL=Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited; SSPA=Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency.  
Source: Cernea (1985, 1996a, 1996b, 1999b); Field research (2000-2001).

The issue of food insecurity is not addressed for two reasons: (i) it is commonly believed that adequate nutrition will be attained once economic recovery is achieved and (ii) there are other policies and programmes at the national, state and district levels that fill this gap. The introduction of mid-day meals provides nutrition for school children. In addition, the school is also able to act as a child care facility for parents by providing a meal during the day.

The issue that remains a potential threat to resettlers is the loss of access to CPRs. Gujarat's R&R policy provides modern water facilities at the resettlement sites, but does not provide good access to fodder and fuel. Whilst some larger sites have been allotted a grazing field, others struggle to secure a source of fodder. Some do not consider this a problem as they have learned to cope with this scarcity by purchasing fodder from the market, whilst others have made simple adjustments in their livestock portfolio.

Similarly, some resettlers have returned to their traditional ways of cooking and rely on crop residue, sticks, or weeds for cooking fuel, and cow dung patties for heating fuel (see Chapter 5).

Cernea's model is an effective diagnostic, predictive and problem-solving tool, which can be used to guide the R&R of resettlers. It offers ways in which to reconstruct economic livelihoods and socio-cultural system. It can

also be a research tool for conducting theoretical field investigations (Cernea 1996b: 5). For example, social capital is lost through social disarticulation and cannot be mitigated by planners. The model helps determine new areas for research so that displaced people are able to restore their “capital in all its multifaceted forms” (Cernea 1996b: 17-19).

The model, however, remains prescriptive and does not specify the stage of R&R in its analysis. The issue of sustainability is also restricted to the reversal of these eight impoverishment risks. On one hand, policies may prescribe provisions for compensation, opportunities and social amenities. Policies may also facilitate social inclusion of PAPs and community restoration. On the other hand, policies are embedded in a social and institutional context. The process of adjustment is not easily understood. For instance, the model is not clear as to how PAPs make choices based on available options and their combination of assets within structures and processes.

The ability of people to participate in the policy process remains peripheral as no entry point is identified in Cernea’s model. If “resettlement impoverishes people by taking away their political power” (Koenig 2001, cited in de Wet 2002: 7), then an element of “political capital”—representing a different type of “social capital”—needs to be incorporated into Cernea’s model. This would address other dimensions of power that are integral to sustainable development: “differences in power among people in affected communities, the human rights of the displaced, their local autonomy and control, and their ability to affect their interactions with national institutions” (de Wet 2002: 7).

#### 4.2.2. *THE FOUR STAGES OF RELOCATION*

Relocation entails a process of change and adaptation over time rather than a mere shift from one locale to another. In order to validate these stages, Scudder and Colson (1982) emphasise the need for longitudinal studies. The



framework that they present delineates relocation in four distinct yet overlapping stages —recruitment, transition, potential development and handing over/incorporation stage (Scudder 1996, 1997; Scudder and Colson 1982).

Scudder and Colson (1982: 274) argue that at each stage, people “initially experience a predictable set of coping strategies in adapting to their new habitat.” Resettlers are initially risk-averse, focused primarily on establishing new networks and meeting subsistence needs within their new environment. They slowly begin to engage in more risk-taking activities (i.e., they may invest in their homes or in their fields), as they begin to adapt and regain their self-sufficiency. A number of Gujarati resettlers displaced by the SSP began investing and improving the structures of their homes within three years of resettlement (Table 4.2). Some have also started employing modern technology and hybrid varieties in their fields. Whilst the four stages provides a timeframe for resettlement, it does not prescribe ways of avoiding or mitigating impoverishment risks and makes little provision for consultation with PAPs throughout the process.

**Table 4.2: Application of Scudder and Colson’s Four Stages of Relocation**

Stages	Definition	Coping Strategies	Case of Gujarati PAPs
Recruitment Stage	Decisions regarding which populations and where they will resettle	PAPs may be unaware of relocation	Initially, PAPs were unaware of their fate but were informed by local NGOs. Soon PAPs voiced their concerns and won their right to participate in revising Gujarat’s R&R policy.
Transition Stage	Begins when PAPs know they have to relocate — rarely shorter than two years involving high levels of stress	Withdrawal from socio-cultural systems —risk averse	This stage lasted for close to seven years. From the moment they knew about their fate (1985), through the struggle to revise the policy with direct consultation (1986-1987), until allotment of land during 1989-1992.
Potential Development	Measured by rise in standard of living	Increased initiative, risk-	Occurred immediately within two years of

Stages	Definition	Coping Strategies	Case of Gujarati PAPs
Stage		taking, emergence of new society	resettlement. By 1993, communities were developing. Most homes that started as temporary homes became semi-brick structures around 1993 and then later around 1997.
Handing Over/ Incorporating Stage	Relocation is complete— long-term integration into the host settings is achieved and stress involved is overcome	People feel at home	Still ongoing as integration is a slow process.

NGOs=non-governmental organisations; PAPs=project-affected persons;  
R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation.

Source: Scudder (1996, 1997); Scudder and Colson (1982); Field research (2000-2001).

Participation has often been limited to consultation during the transition stage when “people are between two steady states” (Hall 1993; McCully 1996; Scudder and Colson 1982: 276). It is rare that locals are informed about their fate during recruitment, since the option to veto the project does not exist. Because there is no incentive to participate in the process, PAPs are unlikely to select coping strategies to reduce the level of stress at each stage. Scudder and Colson (1982: 277) suggest “...those who choose to relocate themselves appear to follow a risk-taking as opposed to a conservative strategy during the transition stage.”

Organisational structures also play a multitude of roles at the local level in terms of resettlement planning and implementation. They inform PAPs of the adverse effects, lobby for improvements in existing policy stature and facilitate the entry of PAPs into the process. The approach is “top-down” and the right of oustees to participate in their own rehabilitation is often overlooked. Relying on their own capabilities to channel sufficient provisions would enable resettlers to regain and sustain their livelihoods post-resettlement.

#### 4.2.3. OTHER R&R FRAMEWORKS

The “rights at risk” approach may be one step forward as an improved tool for decision-making within development-induced resettlement. The WCD proposes a framework where “an approach based on ‘recognition of rights’ and ‘assessment of risks’ (particularly rights at risk) be developed as a tool for guiding future planning and decision-making” (WCD 2000: 206). In other words, “anyone whose right to well being, livelihood or quality of life is at risk from a project should have a say in how those rights are restored” (Wallich 2001). Implementing a “rights at risk” approach may be an effective way of consulting with PAPs during the R&R process by raising the following three questions (WCD 2000: 209):

- (i) Who should participate in the process?
- (ii) What decision-making processes should be followed?
- (iii) What criteria can be applied to assess the process and outcomes?

However, to ensure free and informed negotiation processes, legal and procedural frameworks within countries are required (WCD 2000: 208). In **Chapter 3**, consultations with PAPs were ongoing but only became visible after they publicly demonstrated against the SSP for better R&R provisions. This raises the question, which requires further detailed investigations of different case studies, if resistance is necessary in order for the “rights at risk” approach to be effective.

#### 4.3. The Sustainable Livelihoods and Involuntary Resettlement Approach and Framework

The SL/IR framework attempts to widen the scope of resettlement activities by placing it within a general rural development context. The SL/IR

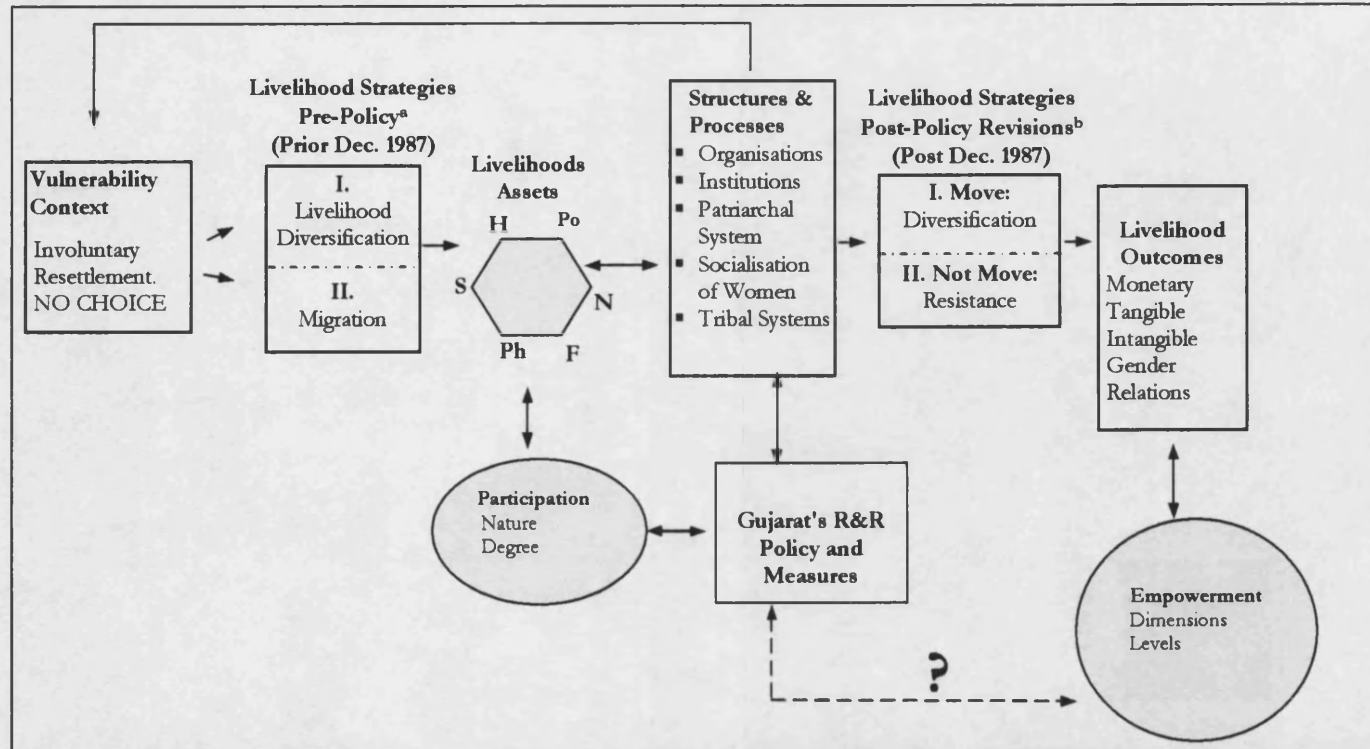
framework, shown in **Figure 4.2**, utilises a more holistic approach to determining how individuals and communities are able to sustain themselves in the long run through adaptive strategies, including temporary coping tactics. Some tactics may be classified as “coping” strategies, whilst others may be more long-term “adaptive” ones: the latter represent “permanent change in livelihoods, whereas the former represent temporary change to cope with shocks or seasonality” (Rennie and Singh 1995, cited in Ashley and Hussein 2000: 42).

Ashley and Hussein (2000) suggest three key themes that are necessary to consider when conducting a livelihoods assessment: (i) an overview of current livelihood strategies, achievements and priorities; (ii) various impacts of the project on livelihood strategies and achievements, the key internal and external influencing factors and the direction and type of change that occurs and (iii) differences amongst different stakeholders (i.e., by tribal groups or by sex). These were considered in developing **Figure 4.2**.

The framework includes components of people’s participation, effects of policy on livelihoods and influences of resistance groups on the policy agenda. The SL/IR framework helps in identifying the range of opportunities and constraints individuals might have faced at the time of displacement. A focus on people and their livelihoods turns the focus to the resettler as the starting point for analysing resettlement policy formulation and implementation.

The framework also considers the impoverishment risks of PAPs during resettlement in a more comprehensive manner. Because it has a people-centred focus, it seeks to “reflect better the more complex reality of poor people’s concerns and aspirations” (Ashley 2000: 8). It relates to the conditions in which PAFs lived in prior to resettlement, including the multiple causes of poverty and vulnerability that PAFs experienced.

Figure 4.2: Sustainable Livelihoods and Involuntary Resettlement Framework



H=Human Capital; F=Financial Capital; N=Natural Capital; Ph=Physical Capital; Po=Political Capital; R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation; S=Social Capital.

\*Livelihood strategies pre-policy take into consideration the place of origin with relative to the dam site (i.e., original village)

°Livelihood strategies post-policy revisions take into consideration the year of resettlement (i.e., 1988-1991, 1992-1997, or 1998-2001)

Note: The assumption underlying this SL/IR approach is that local knowledge is the premises from which a situational analysis and informed decision making is possible.

Source: Batliwala (1994); DFID (2001); Farrington et al. (1999); Field research (2000-2001); Friedmann (1992); Ganesh (1999); Kapadia (1999); Pasteur (2001a); Patel (1988; 1997; 2001); Scoones (1998); Shankland (2000); Smulovitz et al., (2003).

The extent to which PAPs participate in the policy process is dependent on their asset base and livelihood strategies prior to displacement. PAFs make choices and strategise on how they will recover from the shocks of displacement. These choices might be different based on tribal group, household socio-economic status and gender. The SL/IR approach allows for a more holistic outlook and an emphasis on both the social and economic dimensions.

#### 4.3.1. *VULNERABILITY CONTEXT: INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT*

The vulnerability context begins at the onset of involuntary resettlement. It starts from the moment PAPs become aware and/or are informed about the need to move. According to Moser (1996: 24), “vulnerability” is defined as “the well being of individuals, households or communities in the face of a changing environment.” Vulnerability begins when PAPs begin to experience stresses, shocks, fears, uncertainty and anxiety.

*Vulnerability is related to insecurity, sensitivity of well-being in the face of a changing environment, and households' resilience and ability to respond to risks and negative changes (economic, environmental, social or political, including shocks, trends and seasonal cycles) and to opportunities (Rakodi 1999: 316).*

As part of the household questionnaire, I asked each household head and their available spouses how they initially felt about resettlement. I received a total of 514 responses, of which close to 56% disliked the idea of having to move whilst 8% felt that resettlement could be a good thing. I also asked these resettlers about their initial feelings towards displacement prior to policy revisions in early 1980s. About 33% felt nostalgic about leaving their homelands, whilst 11% were sad and 7% felt helpless. About 7% suffered from internal pain of a lost place, and 3% from anxiety of a new place. About 26% felt as if they had no choice in the move, of which close to 33% said that they were following government directives. Such responses revealed a level of vulnerability and insecurity upon displacement.

The risk of impoverishment materialises as reality dictates a grim scenario where people are forcefully removed from their original villages without assistance, and the risk of poverty threatens a household's livelihood. Chambers (1983) stresses that "vulnerability" may not be reduced by extra income, but may actually increase if there are no assets which can be realised to help cope with times of trouble. In this regard, the quantity of assets is unimportant but rather, the ability of individuals with assets to diversify the risks they face is more significant. These assets may include, but are not limited to, labour, human capital, productive assets, household relations and social capital (Moser 1996).

The manner in which resettlers respond to R&R will depend to a large extent on the key characteristics of resettlers (e.g., age, sex, income, exposure to the outside work and ability to engage in risk-taking ventures). For instance, Chambers (1997: xvi) characterises "vulnerability" in two ways—exposure and defencelessness. The external side of exposure relates to "shocks, stress and risk" and the internal side of defencelessness refers to "a lack of means to cope without damage loss." Women are often perceived as victims of R&R processes. They are viewed as defenceless individuals who are unable to cope with tangible or intangible losses. By considering the changes in roles, responsibilities, activities, decision-making ability and resource ownership, the individual effects of the policy on women and men can be determined.

The importance of considering the effect of policy implementation on women is twofold. First, women play key roles in family strategies to increase access to resources. Women at times manipulate social networks and kinship ties to increase access to resources, fulfil their duties and achieve their goals (Ganesh 1999: 238; Koenig 1995: 38). Women, at other times, become pawns in other

*As members of kinship groups, women link different social units (e.g., households and linkages) and generations. These kinship groups can be used to increase access to resources in certain situations (Koenig 1995: 37).*

people's strategies (Koenig 1995). Under GOI's Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), for instance, female landowners are entitled to agricultural subsidies. This provides an incentive for their fathers, husbands or brothers to transfer small amounts of land to the female member's name.

Second, it is believed that women play a crucial role if a household and its members are to regain and sustain their livelihood post-resettlement (Gopal 1992a, 1992b; Koenig 1995, not dated; Sequeira 1993). In other words, women might represent the adhesive "glue" that holds families and communities together during times of crisis and uncertainty. Because women are traditionally responsible for conducting productive and domestic tasks (e.g., water, fuel wood, fodder and minor forest produce), they might often seek the support and collaboration of other women in meeting daily needs.

Each PAP or PAF is not at equal risk, and so the livelihood strategy adopted will also be different. However, groups of PAPs or PAFs that select a similar coping or adaptive strategy have the potential of creating a favourable environment for developing further strategies.<sup>70</sup>

#### 4.3.2. *LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES: PRE-POLICY (PRIOR-DECEMBER 1987)*

By considering the livelihood strategies of resettlers before Gujarat's R&R policy in 1987, one gets an idea of the pre-policy living conditions of PAPs. For instance, living in an area that lacked resources might have heavily influenced the resettlers' decision to accept displacement and to move to new resettlement sites. Given these circumstances, it is possible that resettlement might have been a feasible livelihood strategy for individuals who agreed to migrate to new areas.

---

<sup>70</sup> UNDP emphasises that vulnerability and sustainability within the context of livelihoods are two ends of a continuum. The advantage of the vulnerability assessment is that it recognises that not everyone is equally at risk. The entry point for developing strategies lies with the coping and adaptive strategies of individuals (Hoon et al., 1997).



In other words, living conditions at the point of origin (i.e., original village) might influence a PAP's attitude towards displacement and resettlement. Resource availability depends on the location of the original village in relation to the dam site. For instance, a village located farther from the site (i.e., interior regions) would have greater access to CPRs but limited opportunities to interact with the market. Tribals from this area might also be more secluded and have limited access to infrastructure and social services. Similarly, a tribal coming from near the dam site might have limited access to CPRs but greater employment opportunities, which would allow for greater diversification. The interaction between these pre-policy livelihood strategies based on their point of origin and the portfolio of assets for PAPs would influence whether PAPs participated in the formation of Gujarat's R&R policy.

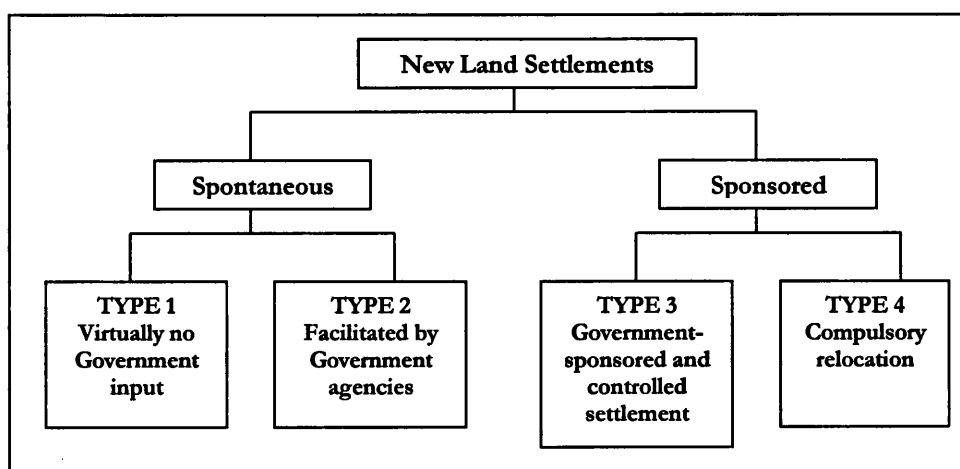
For almost all rural households, agriculture is a core livelihood activity and is often supplemented with other activities such as animal husbandry, migrant wage labour or tourism-related employment (Ashley 2000; Scoones 1998). This yields three broad livelihood strategies with the potential to contribute to household needs: (i) agricultural intensification/extensification, (ii) diversification and (iii) migration (Scoones 1998). Resettlers will make tradeoffs and selections based on their livelihood conditions and strategies prior to displacement. Considering the motivational force behind each strategy helps to explain the "choices" and "dilemmas" rural households face when selecting their strategies for a specified outcome.

Prior to resettlement, PAFs engaged in various livelihood activities. Agricultural work and wage labour were two of the most frequently quoted work categories. An average of two persons per household supplemented household income through wage labour immediately after relocation. However, resettlers also began engaging in agricultural farming since they had been given five acres of land in compensation. Agricultural outputs became the primary source of income, with a few still participating in wage labour.

Submergence village monographs by CSS indicate that migration to new lands might have been the only alternative for PAPs in maintaining their levels of rural productivity and livelihoods. This was confirmed during my field research in 2000-2001 for this thesis.

Within the context of involuntary resettlement, I will expand on the concept of migration as a possible livelihood strategy. Two predominant forces drive individuals to migrate to new land settlements. One arises spontaneously from the process of movement and the other from government-sponsored policy aims such as transmigration schemes (MacAndrews 1979; Scudder 1991; **Figure 4.3**). Individuals move spontaneously or voluntarily to areas that are largely uncultivated due to economic, social or environmental pressures. For example, rapid population growth can lead to out-migration due to socio-economic constraints and/or environmental limitations (i.e., decreasing food production). Families that spontaneously move are often young and generally maintain socio-economic support networks in their original villages. Such conditions make it easier for families to cope with being less risk-averse in new places (Asthana 1996; MacAndrews 1979; McCully 1996).

**Figure 4.3: New Land Settlements—Spontaneous versus Sponsored**



Source: MacAndrews (1979); Scudder (1991).

In contrast, families who move involuntarily due to development projects, governmental schemes (i.e., transmigration in Indonesia) or human/natural disasters<sup>71</sup> often vary in age and ethnicity. Such variations make it difficult for families to cope with increased levels of anxiety and insecurity (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993). Development-induced displacement is permanent, whilst that caused by political conflict or environmental disasters is believed to be temporary. Affected people are “pushed out” or ousted from their original habitats, without having the “choice” of *not moving* (McCully 1996).

Resettlers may move voluntarily if they are offered more promising opportunities at the new place. These new opportunities could be relatively more appealing than those at the current

*Involuntary' as 'done or happening without exercise or without co-operation of the will; not done willingly or by choice; independent of volition, unintentional' (Oxford English Dictionary 1989).*

location. In this case, “involuntary” resettlement might be a “window of opportunity.” For instance, low production levels from scarce resources may have encouraged households to diversify their portfolios or migrate to new lands. Without the opportunity to relocate, there is a high probability that PAPs might have eventually been “forced” to migrate in search of new and more productive land:

*The Chief Minister of Gujarat, Chiman Patel, predicts that if the Sardar Sarovar Project does not go forward, if water for drinking and for irrigation is not made available to the drought-prone areas in Kutchch, Saurashtra, and northern Gujarat, the result will be the involuntary resettlement of hundreds of thousands of Gujarati citizens who will be forced by drought to migrate from their homes (Morse and Berger 1992: 6).*

In these instances, the alternative might have been voluntary migration in search of a better livelihood. PAPs might have taken this into

---

<sup>71</sup> Populations affected by famines, wars or floods become refugees, requiring sustenance and support in the interim, before they return to their original villages or lands (Asthana 1996: 1468).

consideration and opted for resettlement as a viable livelihood strategy, as it was a development opportunity.

#### 4.3.3. *LIVELIHOOD ASSETS: DEFINITIONS AND ENDOWMENTS*

Participation by PAPs is a direct outcome of a desired combination of livelihood resources. These resources, also known as assets or capital, include

- Human capital (i.e., health and education facilities),
- Social capital (i.e., social organisations or networks),
- Financial capital (i.e., credit or loans),
- Physical capital (i.e., roads, electricity, sanitation or communication facilities),
- Natural capital (i.e., water, land, food and CPRs) and
- Political capital (i.e., local leadership or political representation).

In order to cope with changing times, the issue of endowments versus entitlements should be considered (Sen 1981). Endowments refer to the rights and resources that individuals own such as assets (i.e., land and a house) and labour power (i.e., labour and skills). When the R&R policy restores certain endowments for PAFs post-resettlement (i.e., land, house, labour and power), entitlements become less important. Command over alternative commodity bundles is less required, but entitlements of other kinds are still needed. For instance, land ownership has been gained but entitlement to grazing land has been restricted during the R&R process. Evidence of each of the capital at the resettlement sites will be presented in **Chapter 5**. Changes in capital from previous holdings will be discussed in **Chapters 8 and 9**.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the effect of Gujarat's R&R policy on the livelihoods of resettlers. This in principle involves investigating the effect of participation, which relies heavily on social capital,

on the ability of resettlers to achieve certain livelihood outcomes —the focus of **Chapter 7**. In addition, maintaining social capital (or social networks) helps to mitigate the adverse effect of vulnerability and insecurity on PAPs during R&R process. As such, I have selected to highlight those debates that merely surround social capital.

Social capital has often been understood in terms of its association with social networks and norms for cooperation and coordination (Putnam 1993, cited in Grootaert 1998: 2). However, such a definition might oversee two essential components: (i) the vertical notion of social capital which is “characterized by hierarchical relationships and an unequal power distribution among members” and (ii) the more formal institutional relationships and structures, which relate to “the social and political environment that enables norms to develop and shapes social structure” (Grootaert 1998: 3). The latter may be absorbed into “structures and processes” (Shankland 2000), but the former is often overlooked.

Social capital may also be considered in terms of “bridging,” “bonding” or “linking” social capital (Narayan 1999; Woolcock 2001). Bridging social capital refers to the ability of groups to establish links or networks with other groups or organisations in order to mobilise collectively to press their wider cause more effectively. Bonding social capital refers to the internal ties that unite or divide communities. Putnam (2000: 19) differentiates between these two forms of social capital by suggesting, “bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological super glue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD40.”<sup>72</sup> In other words, bridging social capital refers to relations with people who are different and bonding social capital refers to those relations with people of similar nature. Linking social capital refers to relations with people in a position of power (Woolcock 2001).

---

<sup>72</sup> WD stands for “water-displacer”. WD40 is a lubricant spray used by mechanics.

To understand the differences between these forms of social capital within the SL/IR framework is important, especially if the premise of livelihood improvement is based on a collective struggle for the right to participate. For instance, bridging social capital is significant when groups aim at achieving a collective action through relations with others. If groups are unable to establish links, either autonomously or with the help of NGOs, they will achieve little in terms of their collective struggle. Similarly, bonding capital is important within the group for maintaining social cohesion. A lack of bonding capital may reflect apathy or internal divisions (e.g., social, religious, ethnic or caste divisions), which undermine the potential for community-based action. Linking social capital helps in understanding how collective action was turned into an outcome. In order for views to be considered and integrated into a process, links with people in power are useful.

In applying the SL framework to involuntary resettlement, I have included a sixth asset to represent political capital. This capital reflects one of two components of

*Political capital is understood as 'awareness of rights, willingness to claim them and ability to mobilize in support of these claims' (Shankland 2000: 16)*

social capital —bridging social capital —which is necessary for political action. It differs from power relations between people or groups of similar characteristics within a community, which are necessary for social cohesion (Coleman 1988: S98; Grootaert 1998: 3; Shankland 2000: 14).

By extracting “political” capital from social capital, issues of power can be better understood in relation to the effects of Gujarat’s R&R policy on resettlers’ livelihoods. This additional asset helps to incorporate the level of awareness of an individual or community of their formal rights, and their ability to assert their claims to the government and/or authority group into the overall SL analysis (Shankland 2000: 16). Political capital helps to represent people’s ability to get involved in redefining policy provisions in 1987. Scoones (1998) touches the issue of power, “political capital.” As previously discussed in **Chapter 4 (Section 4.2.1)**, recent criticism about the

conventional SL framework focuses on the lack of attention given to power and politics in the SL framework. This critique and UNDP's usage of political capital to represent participation and empowerment issues influenced my decision to include political capital as a separate asset.

The shape of the hexagon (Figure 4.2) is likely to depend on the availability or level of possession of a particular asset/capital for an individual or a collective group of persons. Once a specific combination of assets is achieved, it is transformed into options, thereby resulting in choice. This choice then reflects the desired outcomes, which feeds back into changing structures. The long-term change could result in empowerment. Because asset endowments are constantly changing, the hexagon will shift in relation to a unit's access and control over a particular capital.<sup>73</sup> Change in asset endowments will be more visible in Chapters 7 and 8, where I consider change with respect to two different periods in time: (i) before resettlement (i.e., before policy revision in December 1987) and (ii) post-resettlement (i.e., the time after policy revision). These time periods are constructed based on the responses given by my sample during the research in 2000-2001.

#### 4.3.4. PARTICIPATION: NATURE AND DEGREE

Participation stems from having a portfolio of assets that enables involvement in an event or decision (as discussed in Chapter 3 and shown in Figure 4.2). It depends heavily on social and political capital. The optimum assets portfolio depends on the characteristics of those being affected by a project.

Pre-policy livelihoods of resettlers indicated contact with local market economies as traders and wage labourers. It placed them in an advantageous position to voice R&R needs based on market experience. By building on their pre-policy livelihood strategies and asset endowments, PAPs fought for

---

<sup>73</sup> Bebbington (1999) emphasises the importance of access to assets for building livelihood strategies.

the right to participate in policy revisions. They demanded three unique provisions, which they felt would help them rebuild their lives after resettlement—land ownership, choice and site development.

The process of participation can be broken down into enhanced awareness and information gathering, self-mobilisation or decision-making, grassroots action and acquisition of the right to implement choice. The nature of participation involves an investigation of the various meetings and/or events in which individuals participated. It was through these meetings, individuals gained information about the SSP and R&R provisions and process. For example, households who had members participating in the 1984 rally for land-for-land compensation to all PAPs irrespective of land use or ownership may have experienced greater choice in resettlement site or relocation unit selection. On the other hand, degree of participation is based on residential unit and gender. The effect of the degree of participation is measured by considering which combinations yield the highest impact on livelihood expectations and outcomes. For instance, the effect of participation on household improvement might be higher if only males from joint households participated in policy-related events. Conversely, the impact might be greater if both female and male members from a nuclear family partook in events and/or meetings. The degree of participation feeds into the decision-making process within the home of whether to support actions for a better R&R policy or those to stop the construction of the SSP. Inherent to this analysis is the relationship between the two dimensions of participation and the influence PAPs were able to exert in meeting R&R expectations and the sustainability of the outcomes (see **Chapter 6**).

#### *4.3.5. STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES: POSITIONING OF POLICY*

The nature and degree of participation will depend on the existing structures and processes of a given society. For instance, patriarchy helps to define gender roles and responsibilities, and also influences the extent to which women are able to participate in any process or event. Similarly, key



organisations and institutions that are involved in the process will help establish the parameters in which participation will occur. This will be clearer when considering the nature of participation (e.g., meetings or events).

Market forces or customary laws will also influence the type and level of participation in the policy process. For instance, tribal systems including tribal attributes of PAPs play an influential role in the SL/IR framework. The assets hexagon and tribal ways and/or characteristics mutually influence each other. For example, the level of education of the female child (i.e., human capital) might be influenced by beliefs of tribal groups and/or patriarchal beliefs. Moreover, too much education may lead to a “dislocation of traditional pattern of earning livelihood and of division of labour in tribal societies” (Pasayat 1997: 232). Similarly, tribal systems —legal and non-legal—change with increased influence from the different assets. For example, financial capital may increase the demand for cash, which may influence traditional tribal systems of barter. These influences not only affect the degree and level of participation but also determine the type of R&R policy and provisions that develop.

The process through which policy was developed could be included in the overarching heading “structures and processes.” However, I have decided to isolate Gujarat’s R&R policy and extract it from this category. This step is significant as it allows for (i) the effect of other influential structures and processes to be investigated, (ii) the importance of tribal systems and attributes to be considered and (iii) a gender analysis to be incorporated into the overall framework. In other words, it helps to highlight the complex interplay between political interests, competing discourses and the agency of multiple actors that structure the process of policy making (Keeley and Scoones (1999).

#### 4.3.6. TRIBAL ASPECTS

Tribal communities are homogeneous entities whose members are bound with one another through socio-cultural ties such as common history, language, practices and beliefs. Majumdar (1961) defines a tribe as a “collection of families or groups bearing a common name, the members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession, or occupation and have developed a well assured system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligations” (cited in George and Sreekumar 1993: 80). Krishnan (1985) describes tribe as a social group with common dialect, purpose, name and culture (cited in George and Sreekumar 1993: 80). Bardhan (1973: 16-17) concentrates on the ‘cultural and psychological make-up’ of a tribal: ‘...socio-cultural entity at a definite historical stage of development...a single, endogamous community, with a cultural and psychological make-up going back into a distant historical past’ (cited in George and Sreekumar 1993: 80).

Xaxa (1999b), on the other hand, categorises tribes as a “colonial construction” of different social organisations. In particular, two different groups of people include those that descend from a common ancestry and those that live in “primitive or barbarous conditions” (Xaxa 1999b: 1519). Pathy (1992: 8) asserts that tribals have suffered from “conquest and colonisation and hence share all the attributes of the colonised people such as ethnic identity, loss of control over customary territorial resources, cultural annihilation and powerlessness.” These meanings have since been transformed to represent two different forms of social organisations —caste and tribe (Xaxa 1999b: 1519). The former is more hierarchal where power comes by way of patriarchy and male dominance, whilst the latter is more egalitarian where division is characterised by age (Banu 2001: 23).

Monographs prepared by CSS assert that the tribal communities of the Narmada Valley have migrated

*If untouchability is the major problem of the scheduled castes, isolation has been the central problem of scheduled tribes (Banu 2001: 51).*

from other regions. For instance, the Tadvi tribal group is believed to have migrated from interior settlements to the banks of the Narmada River. Tadvi or “tatvi” entails the prefix “tat” which means “river banks” (Das 1982: 16-17). However, it is highly probable that Tadvi forefathers may have actually inhabited the remote interior forest regions, thereby linking the Tadvis to the Bhils. In an attempt to disassociate themselves from the Bhils, the Tadvis have thus changed their names to that of the present (Das 1982: 16-17).

Singh (1993) believes that the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 107 of 1957 puts forth three features, none of which applies to the *adivasis* of India. First, the issue of having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial society is not valid, since *adivasis* have been integrated into the political system of pre-colonial India (Singh 1993: 15). Second, tribals do not live in absolute isolation but their existence has been in terms of “distance, culture, physical and even genetical, and from the so-called mainstream of populations and the development process and not the all-pervasive almighty market” (Singh 1993: 15). Finally, *adivasis* do not make up non-dominant sectors of the society determined to preserve, develop and transmit culture and tradition to future generations (Singh 1993: 15). *Adivasis* have been dominant in some parts of India, whilst they have constituted the minority in other parts. Despite these differences, India was one of 27 countries that ratified ILO Convention 107 on 29 September 1958 (ILO 2000). Such ambiguous use of the terms has continued throughout the ILO Convention 169 of 1989 (ILO 2000).

#### 4.3.7. GENDER ASPECTS

Conventionally, gender analysis has been done using one or more of the following approaches: (i) the Harvard analytical framework, or the gender roles (or analysis) framework focuses on the more efficient allocation of resources in project implementation (Overholt et al., 1985), (ii) the Moser framework for project planning tends to focus on the concept of women’s “triple” roles (i.e., productive, reproductive and community management) and

on their needs (Moser 1993), (iii) the Longwe framework or women's empowerment framework for planning, M&E (Longwe 1991) and (iv) the social relations framework for project planning and policy formation (Kabeer 1994). The first three approaches tend to focus more on gendered-division of labour, and access to and control over resources and benefits. They tend not to address the underlying causes of why such inequalities exist. The fourth goes beyond the identification of roles and resource allocation issue; the social relations framework considers the relationships between people, which are constantly changing and re-negotiated. The SL/IR framework, shown in **Figure 4.2**, is gender-sensitive as it provides a context in which individual roles, resource allocations and social relations may be investigated. It includes social and economic processes that influence relations through which inequalities might be perpetuated and reproduced.

Whilst I considered extracting "patriarchy" and "socialisation of women" from the "structures and processes" category, I decided it was better to leave it in the category. Structures and processes should reflect the glue of a given society. Patriarchy and the socialisation of women help to define power relations and gender concerns between and within genders.

A woman's status is based on the power relations between and within genders. Women are different from men and other women within the household, in terms of social and economic power, prestige, access to and control over resources within and beyond the household (Adams and Castle 1994). Consequently, these factors may constrain a woman's decision-making abilities and actions. According to Agarwal (1994: 51), the relationships of power between men and women are "revealed in a range of practices, ideas, and representations, including the division of labor, roles, and resources between women and men, and the ascribing to them different abilities, attitudes, desires, personality traits, behavioral patterns." These considerations are also integrated into the SL/IR framework (**Figure 4.2**).

Patriarchy is considered an influential institution that affects society at large, as well as individual households. A gender analysis was conducted to investigate the affects of resettlement policy on the intra-household behaviours and relations, based on the assumption that male and female livelihoods are distinct. Field investigations were conducted amongst women who participated and those who did not participate in policy design and implementation. When faced with forced relocation, men and women have different coping and adaptive strategies. For instance, the levels of bonding and bridging social capital between men and women are different. Men tend to have more bridging social (or political) networks whilst women have more bonding social networks, especially when they rely on others to assist in the completion of domestic activities.

The extent to which involuntary resettlement might change access to and control over resources is important to consider when examining intra-household effects. Patriarchy and the socialisation of women are types of institutions that guide existing behaviours and relations within and beyond the household. Involuntary resettlement creates a vulnerability context that alters the assets portfolio of PAPs. Women's traditional roles and conventional constraints influence the context in which women are able to cope/adapt based on the resources that are made available during the resettlement process. The effects on ideological beliefs, cultural values and gender attitudes will depend on the R&R policy developed to mitigate the adverse effects. The provisions included in the policy have the potential of enhancing the effects in either a positive or negative way.

Using a sustainable livelihoods approach to involuntary resettlement helps to understand (i) the ways in which women cope with displacement, (ii) the combination of assets that are used for completing gender-specific activities and achieving livelihood outcomes and (iii) the ways in which women make trade-offs between their strategic and practical needs for daily survival. For instance, women may be aware of their strategic gender interests

but may sacrifice these interests for more practical needs that are crucial for the daily survival of their families.

These losses or assets have the potential of changing, or collapsing, the shape of the hexagon in the SL/IR framework as women lose different types of capital —natural, political, social, financial, human and physical capital. If their portfolio of capital deteriorates, women will be unable to derive livelihood strategies that will enable them to achieve desired outcomes. The ability to cope and adapt to new environments could be compromised.

For instance, women may suffer economic losses through a loss of access to CPRs. This could adversely affect a woman's ability to provide for her family and her status within the family. For instance, she might not be able to conduct her domestic duties —gathering fuel, food, water and fodder. She might not be able to care for her livestock without sufficient access to sources of fodder. This, in turn, might affect her income through the sale of animal products (e.g., buffaloes and cows), and prevent her from partaking in development schemes (i.e., dairy community schemes). CPRs, such as forests, may also be a source of nutritional supplements, marketable products and/or traditional medicines (e.g., herbs, plants and fruits). Women may also suffer economic losses in situations where agricultural families are relocated and rehabilitation provisions include non-agricultural activities. In such instances, women are disadvantaged since they often lack the necessary skills to take part in available opportunities. Moreover, women might also lose their usufructory rights to cultivation and control of land after resettlement (Mehta 1992: 164; Mehta and Srinivasan 2000; Srinivasan 1999).

Women may also suffer social losses. They are at a higher risk of becoming further marginalised post-resettlement due to their already disadvantaged position (i.e., women are more illiterate, lack formal training

and have limited access to and control over economic resources than men).<sup>74</sup> In India, both the patriarchal system and caste system, coupled with the socio-economic differentiations amongst individuals, undercut women's status. Within a patriarchal society, a woman marries and moves to the husband's household. Because her natal home is often nearby, she is able to visit occasionally. This provides an alternative safety social net, which is the "source of real support for women in traditional societies" (Gopal 1992b: 7). These social safety nets thus become more difficult for women to maintain after resettlement, especially when families are relocated to sites in far-off districts.

Women might also suffer from political tensions, especially when a resettlement community is mismatched with a host community. In India, tribal and caste composition of both communities is important, especially if a disproportionate number of lower caste families are resettled near an upper caste community. Potential conflicts could arise from gaining access to scarce resources (e.g., water wells, pumps and grazing land). Insensitivity towards the caste and socio-economic composition of populations could result in violence against women and/or further marginalisation of lower caste women. During my field research in 2000-2001, male or female resettlers did not cite any conflicts between resettlement sites and host villages.

Women and the elderly tend to suffer and grieve the most from the "lost home" syndrome. A female resettler remembered the first time she learned about the dam —it was in 1970, when land surveyors visited her village to conduct village surveys. It was the same year she was getting married. She told me how angry she was with her father for marrying her in a place that would soon have to be evacuated. She was concerned about her future, her family's livelihood and the distance to her natal home. Another

---

<sup>74</sup> For instance, the literacy rate remains low at 54.16% for females and 78.85% for males based on the based on the 2001 Census of India (Economic and Political Weekly Editorial 2002). However, literacy rates have significantly improved since 1951 when 9% of females and 27% of males were found literate (Singh and Ohri 1993: 66).

female resettler informed me about a local NGO that visited Kadada and told her and her village of possible relocation. At this time, there was no provision of getting replacement land for land lost, and settled agriculture was the only trade she knew. Such adverse psychological effects could be minimised if PAFs are given a choice to determine their own resettlement unit—to move collectively or individually.

In the examples mentioned above, women are susceptible to different types of social, economic, psychological and in some cases, political losses. These losses depend on (i) the extent to which women have access to and control over resources and (ii) level of institutional support by household members and the larger community (i.e., favourable regulations that remove barriers to access resources). Access to and control over resources will further determine the ability of women to successfully fulfil multiple roles and responsibilities within the family and beyond. These considerations need to be incorporated into the policy development stage of the R&R process. **Chapter 9** looks into these issues with respect to the SL/IR framework.

#### *4.3.8. LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES: POST-POLICY REVISIONS (POST-DECEMBER 1987)*

The impact of Gujarat's policy on structures and institutions influences the types of livelihoods strategies taken. Resettlers were faced with a decision—to relocate or to resist displacement. Those that relocated have “accepted” involuntary resettlement as an opportunity based on (i) revised R&R provisions, (ii) the fact that staying was not an option and/or (iii) indifference or trust to follow others. Those who resisted, did so based on (i) refusal to accept the revised R&R provisions, (ii) anger against the government for being uprooted from original residence and/or (iii) indifference or trust to follow others protesting.<sup>75</sup> These livelihood strategies will be considered by considering the year of resettlement, as per the periods

---

<sup>75</sup> Reasons for relocation and resistance are not limited to the ones cited.



that were previously defined in **Chapter 1**: 1988-1991, 1992-1997 and 1998-2001. In addition, affected populations relied on their own knowledge and interpretation of the situation before deciding whether to support or resist relocation (see **Appendix F** for details of the process).<sup>76</sup>

Involving PAPs in the design and implementation of R&R policies minimises the adverse consequences of forced relocation. Before resettlement, some had contact with local market economies as traders, whilst others worked as migrant wage labourers in the newly resettled areas. Building on their pre-policy livelihood strategies, PAPs seemed to fight for provisions that they felt were essential in rebuilding their lives. The most important is the provision of choice, which would enable resettlers to maintain, if not regain, control of their lives. The freedom to choose is also highlighted as one of three components essential for development by George and Sreekumar (1993) and Todaro (1977).<sup>77</sup> This influences the degree of “involuntary” or vulnerability associated with “forced” relocation, which will be explored in the forthcoming chapters.

#### *4.3.9. EXPECTED OUTCOMES: REHABILITATION, EMPOWERMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY*

As shown in **Figure 4.2**, expected livelihood outcomes include monetary, tangible and/or intangible results. For example, they include increased household income, improved well-being, reduced vulnerability, increased food security and/or more sustainable use of natural resource base. With respect to this study, expected outcomes include choice, compensation and improved household infrastructure and amenities.

---

<sup>76</sup> I assume that local knowledge is the premise from which PAPs are in the position to make informed decisions about resettlement. With respect to the SL framework, it is an overarching assumption for the SL/IR approach to be successful.

<sup>77</sup> George and Sreekumar (1993) and Todaro (1977) agree that three essential components to development are (i) a rise in living standards (e.g., change in income and consumption levels), (ii) the facilitation of self-esteem (e.g., active decision-making in issues that concern their lives) and (iii) the freedom to choose.

The approach will be sustainable as long as resettlers are able to cope with and adapt to their changing environment by making choices and trade-offs about their livelihoods. Three inherent livelihood relationships can be highlighted within a vulnerable context of involuntary resettlement. First, the interplay between participation and Gujarat's R&R policy has the potential of reaching a level of empowerment. According to Beall (1995: 435), social networks are able to effectively establish sustainable survival strategies based on a minimum degree of economic stability, social representation and organisational capacity (cited in Beall 2002).

Second, the synergy between the structures and processes and the policy could help in achieving future strategies and outcomes. For instance, some structures and processes were instrumental in supporting the development of Gujarat's R&R policy. This policy could in turn transform these or other structures and processes so that future livelihood strategies could achieve expected outcomes. These strategies and outcomes might be similar or different, depending on the unit of analysis of the SL/IR framework. For example, changes in these structures and processes (e.g., residential unit post-resettlement) could influence the vulnerability context for current and provisional resettlers.

Finally, livelihood outcomes influence the dimensions and levels of empowerment. Whilst empowerment could be an expected outcome, it has been extracted for the purposes of this thesis. Empowerment can be considered a means to achieving a desired outcome (i.e., a process) or an end in and of itself. This helps in differentiating practical livelihood outcomes that are based on need, and strategic livelihood outcomes that are based on improving status or position. These three relationships have the potential of

achieving empowerment, based on the following discussions on the process of empowerment.<sup>78</sup>

#### 4.3.9.1. The Process of Empowerment Within a Gender Context

The process of empowerment includes a combination of individual and collective empowerment (Pandey 1995: 6; Sandhan Shodh Kendra 1996: 65-66). Both types of empowerment must accompany each other in order for the process to be sustainable and balanced. However, collective power may also be restrictive for individual initiative. Collective empowerment is essential for attempting planned and visible social change, whilst individual empowerment is needed to ensure that the former does not become authoritative and oppressive. According to Pandey (1995: 6):

*Empowerment is a process of building capacities and confidence for taking decisions about one's own life at an individual and collective level and gaining control over productive resources. The empowerment process is facilitated by creating an awareness about one's rights and responsibilities and socioeconomic, educational and political opportunities. The development of skills for utilizing productive resources and involving one in collective activities and community life is an integral part of this process.*

Friedmann (1992) suggests that the starting point of an empowerment approach is the household—a hierarchy mediated by gender, age and kinship. The household is composed of individuals and based on contractual relations.<sup>79</sup> Within this residential group, individual members have obligations, compete and learn to work together, interact with one another according to moral codes and cultural ethics. Members within a household engage in several tasks that are divided according to custom, gender and age. They tend

---

<sup>78</sup> The model by Smulovitz et al. (2003) depicts interactions between empowerment, policy and conditions. It indicates that there are potentially significant feedback loops on both empowerment and other development factors. For example, outcomes may feedback into people's capacity to make choices or trigger resistance.

<sup>79</sup> Household is “a residential group of persons who live under the same roof and eat out of the pot [...] Each household forms a polity and economy in miniature; it is the elementary unit of civil society [...] Persons residing in a household may be blood-related or not” (Friedmann 1992: 32).

to focus on the following domains: domestic economy of the household, civil society, market economy, state services and political commitment, such as participation in social movements. These members have individual and collective wants, desires and needs; thus, they tend to display cooperative and conflicting behaviours simultaneously (Sen 1990: 129). Empowerment and livelihood security can be viewed as “two, mutually-reinforcing sides of the same coin” both of which are encompassed within the sustainable livelihoods approach (Ashley and Hussein 2000: 26).

The concept of empowerment within a gender context has been generated through several debates by the women’s movement worldwide, starting from “women in development” to “gender and development” (see **Appendix F** for details). Within the context of this thesis, “empowerment” appears to be the interaction between feminism and the concept of “popular education”—more specifically, rooted in Freire’s theory of “conscientisation” in the 1970s (Freire 1970). It is concerned with gender subordination and the social constitution of gender.

Within households, gender relations tend to discriminate against women whilst the structure of the households helps to keep them in a state of permanent subordination *vis-à-vis* males. Household structures and relations restrict the degree to which women are able to partake in policy discussion; their participation is also limited by resource constraints (i.e., time). An empowerment approach thus requires the transformation of structures of subordination through radical changes in law, property rights and other institutions that reinforce and perpetuate male domination (Batliwala 1994; Sen and Grown 1987). This is an empowerment process, which is not much different than the one that is presented by Smulovitz et al. (2003).

As such, the empowerment process may be divided into the following different components (Hopke 1992, cited in Pandey 1995; Kapadia 1999; Smulovitz et al., 2003):

- (i) It begins with economic independence, including access to and control over productive resources.
- (ii) It entails knowledge and awareness of one's self and society and personal needs.
- (iii) It includes self-image, which is a realisation of one's ability to take action in life and exercise choice and control.
- (iv) A combination of the first two where greater confidence in one's self helps to gain greater access to and control over resources.
- (v) Empowerment is defined within the context of gender relations as "an ongoing, dynamic process involving changes along the continuum of intra-personal, interpersonal and group levels as well as in the nested systems of family, community and the larger society" (Kapadia 1999: 258).
- (vi) Empowerment also means "empowerment at the level of society" (Hopke 1992, cited in Pandey 1995: 24).

The six components used above to describe women's "empowerment" may be reclassified into three main spheres to describe women's empowerment—social empowerment, psychological empowerment and political empowerment (Friedmann 1992: 115-16). These dimensions might be possible by attaining a certain level of synergy in the SL/IR framework:

- (i) *Social empowerment* refers to the social mobilisation of women around their major interests and concerns. For instance,

women may mobilise and protest against an external threat on the availability of the water resource.

- (ii) *Psychological empowerment* may refer to a change in women's state of mind, or their manner of being within households and society. It is about emotions, which are susceptible to external factors and the level of adaptation for tribal communities.
- (iii) *Political empowerment* may refer to gains in access to the bases of social power. All three types are relevant to women's struggles and each woman possesses the ability to express such power in each of these areas. However, all three types are able to create networks and collectively accomplish more in the following four livelihood areas: time saving strategies, improved health care including contraceptive choice, acquisition of knowledge and skills important to women's tasks and expanded income opportunities. Women are able to rely on these spheres of empowerment to help them determine their livelihood strategies.

Above all, women's empowerment is achieved and sustainable if women are able to strengthen and maintain their individual and collective assets portfolio (i.e., increasing women's access to health care, education, CPRs or increased political representation). Women who have been able to improve their political capital (e.g., level of participation in events) will have more influence on their daily activities. However, without a balanced assets portfolio (e.g., financial security, social networks, physical infrastructure, access to CPRs), an increase in political asset will be unsustainable.

This improvement in livelihood asset portfolio is further attainable by achieving expected livelihood outcomes, changes in structures and processes

and/or improved policy provisions. As shown in the SL/IR framework, livelihood outcomes feed back to alter women's asset portfolios and improve gender relations. An improvement in gender relations, however, is a long-term strategic interest (i.e., expected or desired livelihood outcome), which takes time, occurs over generations and varies according to social context.<sup>80</sup> Empowerment thus has to be felt intrinsically, whereby women and men have more power over their lives, and instrumentally, whereby empowerment has a direct (or indirect) effect on other aspects of development (Smulovitz et al., 2003).

#### 4.4. Cross-section of the SL/IR Framework

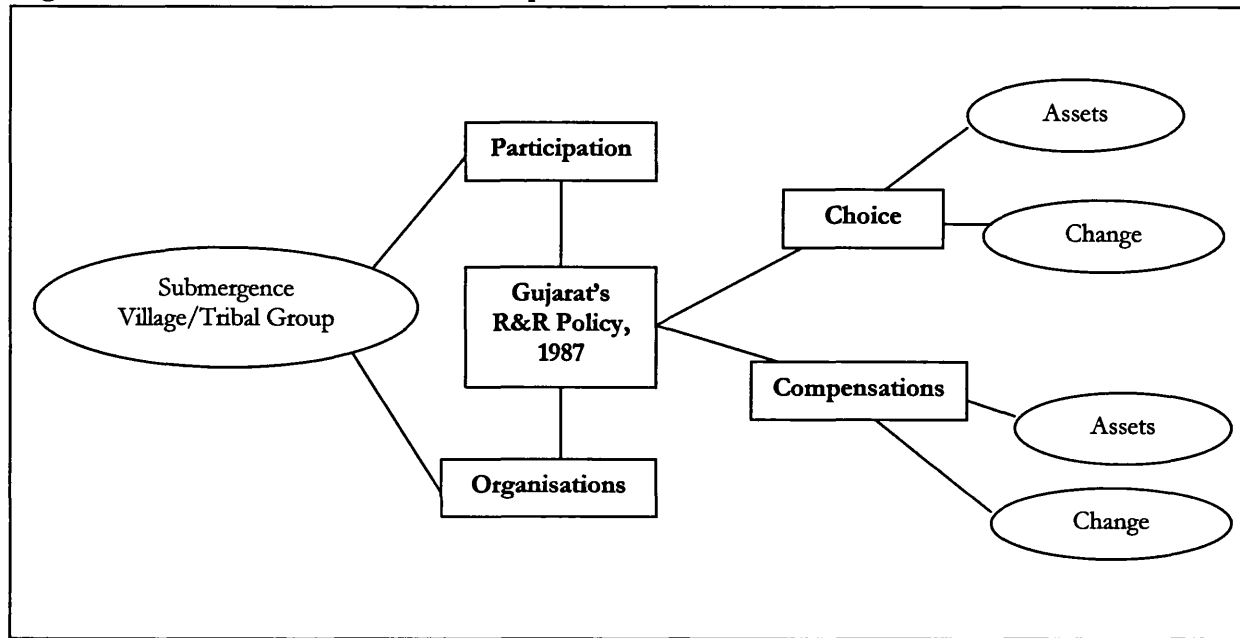
A cross-section of the SL/IR framework is taken to determine the effect of participation in policy-related events prior to resettlement on choice (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). These figures help to guide my 2000-2001 research by interpreting the proposed SL/IR framework in Figure 4.2. In summary, Figure 4.4 describes the effect and outcomes of participation. As shown, Gujarat's R&R policy was influenced by participation and organisations. This yielded choice and compensation. The extent to which these outcomes have been implemented will be examined in the following chapters. The effect of these outcomes on asset portfolios and on catalysing change will also be considered in upcoming chapters. Figure 4.5 shows this relation in a different way and in more detail.

Choice is assumed to be an expected livelihood outcome. This assumption is based on the three provisions that are included in Gujarat's R&R policy—land ownership, choice and resettlement site infrastructure and development. The provision of choice also has an influence on other

---

<sup>80</sup> This builds on women's strategic gender interests (Molyneux 1985) and women's practical gender needs (Moser 1993).

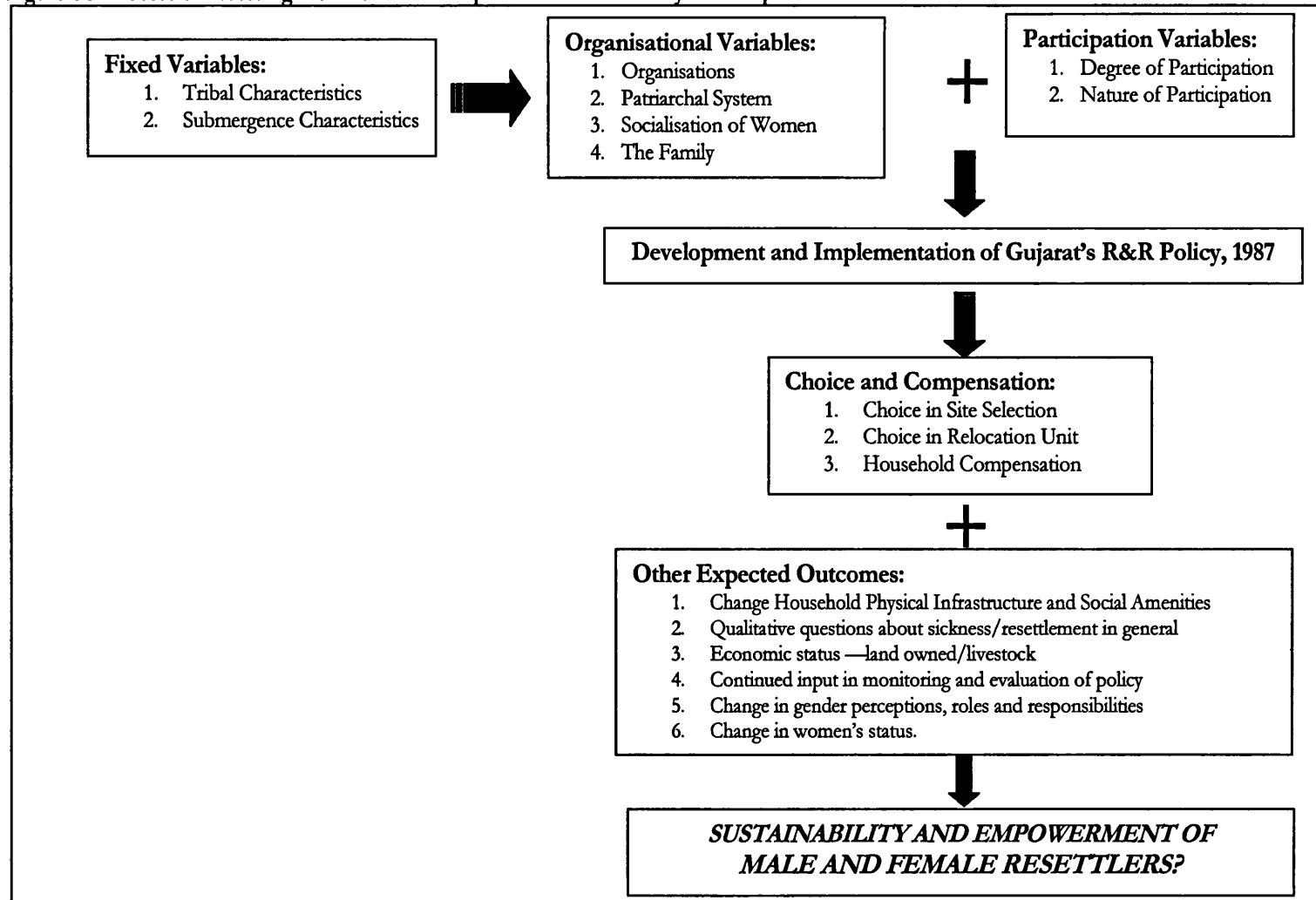
**Figure 4.4: Effect and Outcomes of Participation**



R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).



Figure 4.5: Process of Assessing the Effect of Participation on Sustainability and Empowerment



R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

livelihood outcomes (e.g., the remaining R&R provisions such as assets and physical infrastructure and social amenities).

Fixed variables refer to submergence and tribal group characteristics of resettlers that were surveyed at the six study sites. These have been identified as fixed variables because they cannot be changed (e.g., they describe the background from which the resettlers come). Other variables (e.g., resettlement site and year) are susceptible to change.

Organisations and institutions play a significant role in this cross-section (Figure 4.5) for they help to facilitate or prevent participation by PAPs. Organisations (i.e., NGOs and the government), institutions and ideological beliefs (i.e., patriarchal systems and the socialisation of women) play an influential role. The household, as an institution, is also important. The analysis for this thesis takes place at two levels —at the household and individual level. A total of 370 household respondents correspond to 2,306 people.

Fixed variables influence both organisations and the nature and degree of participation. Nature of participation considers the topics that were discussed at meetings and the types of events that were attended. Degree or level of participation considers members who participated from individual *chulhas*, from joint households or both. After crossing sex of the participating members with the unit, a scale to determine degree of participation is developed.

Choice is observed in resettlement site and relocation unit selection,<sup>81</sup> as per Gujarat's R&R policy. Implementation of choice is documented by analysing answers respondents gave on their ability to see more than one site and their desire to move with whom they wished. The extent of

---

<sup>81</sup> During the field research in 2000-2001, questions that aimed to address *choice of individual plots of land* did not yield sufficient information, as these questions were not correctly translated in Gujarati and interpreted during administration.

implementation also suggests whether participation was active or passive in policy-related events. The effects of participation on compensation and change in household physical infrastructure and social amenities will be considered in **Chapters 7 and 8**, respectively.

To determine whether the process is sustainable and/or has led to a level of empowerment, I developed three time periods for documenting change: (i) Period 1: From 1988 to 1991, (ii) Period 2: From 1992 to 1995 and (iii) Period 3: From 1996 to 2001.

Period 1 depicts the time immediately following the revised 1987 policy. Period 2 and Period 3 take into consideration the time during which the SSP was suspended (1994-2000). I have used the year of resettlement to compare the variations in policy implementation over 3 periods. This will help determine the level of sustainability of PAFs post-resettlement. Based on the key characteristics of resettlers, including the level of development at each resettlement site, I am able to document variations in policy implementation.

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

The impact of involuntary resettlement leads to a feeling of vulnerability, which leads to high levels of fear, uncertainty and anxiety. R&R provisions that include options and choice give resettlers a means through which they might be able to cope with displacement and adjust to resettlement. This would allow resettlers the ability to maintain control over their lives, which is often externally threatened during the R&R process. The development of an SL/IR framework helps in determining the effects of Gujarat's R&R policy on the livelihoods of resettlers, where participation and choice play major roles.

The SL/IR framework addresses some of the weaknesses that have been identified in past R&R frameworks. Gaps that have been identified in SL approaches employed by different agencies have also been incorporated. For

instance, issues of participation, empowerment and gender relations are possible in the form of quantifiable conclusions under the developed SL/IR approach.

The nature and degree of participation in R&R policy formation and implementation depend on different combinations of livelihood resources (i.e., assets or capital) and on institutional and organisational structures (i.e., informal and formal). Their ability to cope with or overcome stresses and shocks at new resettlement sites is thus based on these combinations, tradeoffs and structures.

Within the SL/IR framework, some contextual components are disaggregated as separate entities (i.e., participation, Gujarat's R&R policy and empowerment).<sup>82</sup> For instance, empowerment is separated from livelihood outcomes since it is more strategic in nature and is less necessary to daily survival. Some components in the SL/IR framework have also been left in to address issues in a more holistic fashion. For instance, patriarchal systems and socialisation of women could have been extracted from "institutions and processes." However, they were left in this category since they help define the power relations and gender concerns between and within genders in my sample.

Based on the SL/IR framework, I will address the research questions posed in **Chapter 1**. The next chapter will use the data collected during field research in 2000-2001 to illustrate the extent to which Gujarat's R&R policy has been implemented. This will provide an overview of the conditions at the resettlement sites almost 13 years after Gujarat's R&R policy was formed.

---

<sup>82</sup> The placement of these components is subject to personal judgment. For instance, Gujarat's R&R could be considered an outcome since it resulted from a process of participation.

## Chapter 5

### IMPLEMENTATION OF GUJARAT'S R&R POLICY, 2000-2001

*For far too long, the 'tribal question' in this country has been seen as one of 'isolation' versus 'assimilation' into some imagined 'mainstream'. But adivasis have never lived in solidarity splendour, beating their drums, dancing in colourful headgear or drawing their 'primitive art' [...] The 'tribal question' today, similarly, cannot be isolated from one that other people in the country face—how to change the political process so that it reflects long-standing needs and concerns rather than what party machines or industrial houses or the media think people should have..*

—Sundar (2001)

In this chapter, I will answer the first question posed for this research—to what extent has Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987 actually been implemented? For this purpose, I will consider the situation and conditions of resettlement sites in the present time and use the data from the household survey (2000-2001) to explain the extent to which the three unique provisions outlined in the policy have been implemented. The chapter presents the level of infrastructure development at the resettlement sites, and access to basic social amenities. It gives insight to the mix of assets that resettlers have post-resettlement. It examines the percentage of households that have received land compensation, including housing and land allotments. It also considers the ability of resettlers to choose resettlement site and relocation unit. The chapter ends by considering the effect tribal characteristics may have in explaining any variation in policy implementation.

#### 5.1. Site Infrastructure and Basic Amenities

One of three unique provisions in Gujarat's R&R policy is resettlement site development. This includes the development of site

infrastructure (e.g., roads, houses, water supply and sanitation provisions) and social amenities (e.g., education and health services). This section discusses the extent to which this provision has been implemented at the six study resettlement sites. **Table 5.1** provides an overview of the different types of infrastructure and basic amenities found at each site surveyed. It is based on SSPA resettlement site profiles and my field research in 2000-2001. **Sites A to D** were established around 1991 and **Sites E and F** around 1994. It shows that each site has electricity, water pumps, a school building and visits by health care providers. All sites are well connected and have access to market places. **Table 5.1** also shows that **Site C** is the largest site with 154 agricultural plots and 185 residential plots, as per government estimates. The following sub-sections discuss some of these types in more detail. A discussion on luxury items is not included in this section, as these consumer items are well hidden.<sup>83</sup>

#### 5.1.1. LOCATION OF RESETTLEMENT SITES

The resettlement sites are located near three major market places—Dabhoi, Bhadarpur or Bodeli. The average distance from the site to the nearest market place is about 5 km. For instance, **Site B** is 10 km from Dabhoi but only 1.5 km from Bhadarpur. They are about 40 to 45 km from Vadodora and about 50km from Kevadia Colony.

Each resettlement site is designed in a similar fashion. The houses are concentrated in one area—a “residential” area. *Kachcha* (or made of earth, mud or dirt) roads divide the residential area in a grid-like fashion and each home has access to a dirt road out of the *vasahat* (or resettlement site).

---

<sup>83</sup> There are a number of resettlers from each site who own luxury items (e.g., a television and/or a telephone). My survey did not record an inventory of such possessions.

**Table 5.1: Information for Each Resettlement Site by Particulars**

No.	Particulars	Site A	Site B	Site C	Site D	Site E	Site F
1	Year of Establishment	1991-92	1990-91	1990-91	1991	1993-94	1994
2	No. of agricultural plots allotted	77	96	154	46	14	41
3	Total area allotted (ha)	154	192	308	92	28	82
4	Khatavahi	70	—	130	44	14	—
5	Residential plots allotted	76	97	185	42	14	41
6	No. of core houses constructed	67	89	167	42	17	4
7	Length of internal road (km)	1.50	1.75	6.20	1.20	0.8	0.75
8	Length of approach road (km)	0.50	—	—	0.80	0.3	0.40
9	Street electrification	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
10	Homestead electrification	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	—
11	Primary school/ No. of rooms	Yes/3	Yes/3	Yes/5	Yes/2	Yes/1	Yes/2
12	MDM room/No. of rooms	Yes/1	Yes/1	—	No	Yes/1	No
13	Students/Teachers	63/2(fm)	2(ml)	—	—	—	—
14	Standards	—	—	5 <sup>th</sup>	—	—	—
15	Health care clinic	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	Health camps conducted	—	—	—	Yes	Yes	—
17	No. of PAFs participated in camp	—	—	—	3	—	—
18	Mobile Health Unit	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
19	FHW or MHW	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
20	Distance to nearest PHC (km)	—	1.5	—	—	9.0	—

No.	Particulars	Site A	Site B	Site C	Site D	Site E	Site F
21	Distance to nearest veterinary centre (km)	5	—	—	—	Yes	5.0
22	Cattle camps conducted	—	—	—	—	—	4
23	No. of cattle treated	—	—	—	—	—	—
24	Tree platform	3	2	4	1	1	1
25	No. of trees planted	415	—	—	—	2000	2300
26	No. of hand pumps	4	4	5	2	2	2
27	No. of bore well with electric motor	1	—	2	1	1	1
28	No. of well with or without trough	—	1	1	—	—	—
29	Distance to nearest small shop (km)	2	1	—	—	0.5	0.9
30	Ration cards issued	—	—	169	46	—	39
31	Distance to nearest flour mill (km)	2	—	—	—	0.5	0.9
32	Distance to nearest market (km)	3	1.5	4	1	4.5	4.5
33	<i>Panchayat Ghar</i> (km)	5	—	—	—	0.5	3.0
34	Children Park	Yes	—	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
35	Distance to nearest bus stop (km)	0.50	1.0	0.5	1	0.3	0.5
36	Distance to nearest post office (km)	5	—	—	1.5	0.5	3.0

FHW=female health worker; fm=female; ha=hectares; km=kilometre; MDM=mid-day meal; MHW=male health worker; ml=male; No.=number; PAFs=project-affected families; PHC=public health clinic.

Source: SSPA (1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d, not dated); Field research (2000-2001).



There are generally one or two main roads leading into each of the sites called “approach” or “access” roads. In cases where the sites are located along a major bus route, the roads are *pucca* (or paved or concrete) and maintained well, but those leading off the main road are generally *kachcha*.<sup>84</sup> The approach roads are also aligned with new tree saplings for forest regeneration.

The composition at each of the resettlement sites is based on tribal makeup and place of origin. **Sites A and D** are located about 4 km from each other and are predominantly inhabited by Rathwas at 83% and 66%, respectively. Similarly **Sites B and C** are located about 3 km from each other where the residents are predominantly Tadvis (99% and 97%, respectively). **Site E** is located about 1.5 km from **Site F**, which are both occupied by 100% Vasavas and Bhils.

A host village, or a pre-existing village, is located about 3 km from each resettlement site. In some sites, the host and resettlement communities share the same name. Adding the term “vasahat” after the proper name helps to distinguish between the two. This method is used in SSPA documents as well as in the recent Census of India 2001 (Census of India, not dated). The community composition of both the hosts and resettlement sites is similar with few non-tribals found in the host communities—a reflection of ongoing socio-economic dynamics.

### 5.1.2. TRANSPORT SERVICES

A majority of the sites are located immediately off of two major roadways. One roadway runs from Vadodara to Dabhoi to Ahmedabad and the other, from Vadodara to Dabhoi to Bodeli. Resettlers take advantage of

---

<sup>84</sup> The Commissioner of Rehabilitation, SSPA explained the importance of maintaining uniformity between new sites and neighboring villages. Allowing approach road and internal roads to be *kachcha* helps to minimise resentment by villagers who had been living in the area prior to the resettlers (Babbar 2001a, 2001b).

government bus services, which run at least twice a day from the sites to the local bus depots along these major roadways. The railway is also parallel to some resettlement sites. For example, a train station is located about 2 km from **Site F** in the host village nearby.

Resettlers are not confined to their sites, as other forms of transport are available. Vehicular ownership at the sites is significant. Based on field observations and survey results, all households surveyed from the six sites own either a bicycle or a motorbike. More than three-fourths of all households own a bicycle and close to half own a motorbike. Some tribals and non-tribals also prefer to hitch a ride in a truck or jeep. In 2001, the fare was about Rs.2 per person, depending on the distance travelled. Auto rickshaws are also willing to transport passengers to the sites for a fare of about Rs.30 to Rs.50. The transport fare depends both on vehicle size and road condition.

The variation in fare is a direct result of the road conditions and/or the unavailability of a return trip. For example, **Site F** is located about 3 km from the main road. Although the access road is paved, adverse weather conditions and lack of continued maintenance contribute to its poor surface conditions.

### 5.1.3. HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

Out of 370 respondents, 275 lived in physical housing structures (**Table 5.2**). A physical housing structure may consist of multiple households, which might consist of multiple *chulbas*. A single *chulba* household consists of those members who share the same cooking range. Multiple *chulba* households (or joint households) consist of family members and/or non-related individuals who cook separately. As previously discussed in **Chapter 1**, a household is defined as a single *chulba* family.

**Table 5.2: Number of Persons, House Structures and *Chulhas* by Resettlement Site**

Resettlement Site	No. of Persons	No. of House Structures	Total HHs		No. of <i>Chulhas</i> (%)			
			No.	%	One	Two	Three	Four
Site A	517	56	70	100.0	62.9	27.1	4.3	5.7
Site B	392	47	74	100.0	39.2	20.3	35.1	5.4
Site C	732	103	125	100.0	68.8	19.2	8.8	3.2
Site D	360	37	59	100.0	39.0	27.1	20.3	13.6
Site E	84	7	12	100.0	25.0	33.3	8.3	33.3
Site F	221	25	30	100.0	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2306</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>55.4</b>	<b>23.8</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>6.5</b>

HHs=households; No.=number; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Single *chulha* households appear to be more common amongst the resettlers (Table 5.2). About 55% live in single *chulha* families, whilst the remaining 45% live in two or more *chulha* households. There are more single *chulha* families at Site A than at Site D —63% and 39%, respectively. About 69% of resettlers live in single *chulha* families at Site C, whilst only 39% follow the same house structure at Site B. About 68% of single *chulha* households are found at Site F and only 25% at Site E.

The high percentages of single *chulha* household might be a result of households that have separated into individual *chulha* families recently or reflections of the degree to which families have multiplied. These percentages demonstrate the influence family dynamics have on resettlement. The year of resettlement thus becomes important. It is commonly expected that resettlers residing in single *chulha* households would originally move from closer to the dam site, whilst those living in interior forests would move in larger families. According to Das (1982: 19), it is important to keep a tribal family together as the land that is tilled prior to resettlement is not legally divided amongst sons or brothers. Families often stay together because they need to maintain collective assets for survival, or they prefer to jointly.

However, a cross-tabulation found that the year of resettlement had little influence on resettlement patterns of families as separate units or as

extended household units (Table 5.3). For instance, Sites B and C are comparable in terms of tribal composition with a substantial number of resettlers moving to Site C during 1992-1995. An equivalent number of resettlers moved to Site B but live in single *chulha* and triple *chulha* households. This pattern might possibly reflect a coping strategy undertaken by joint households. Although 84% of them moved during 1988-1991, the general pattern of settlement is the same over the three periods.

**Table 5.3: Percentage of *Chulhas* per Household by Resettlement Site and Year**

Year of Resettlement <sup>a</sup>	Resettlement Site	Total HHs			No. of <i>Chulhas</i> (%)		
		No.	%	One	Two	Three	Four
1988-1991	Site A	64	100.0	64.1	28.1	1.6	6.3
	Site B	62	100.0	35.5	21.0	37.1	6.5
	Site C	69	100.0	69.6	15.9	8.7	5.8
	Site D	45	100.0	33.3	24.4	24.4	17.8
	Site E	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Site F	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<b>Total</b>		240	100.0	52.5	22.1	17.1	8.3
1992-1995	Site A	5	100.0	40.0	20.0	40.0	0.0
	Site B	12	100.0	58.3	16.7	25.0	0.0
	Site C	44	100.0	59.1	29.5	11.4	0.0
	Site D	4	100.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0
	Site E	11	100.0	18.2	36.4	9.1	36.4
	Site F	28	100.0	67.9	32.1	0.0	0.0
<b>Total</b>		104	100.0	56.7	28.8	10.6	3.8
1996-2001	Site A	1	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Site B	0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Site C	11	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Site D	10	100.0	50.0	40.0	10.0	0.0
	Site E	1	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Site F	2	100.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
<b>Total</b>		25	100.0	76.0	20.0	4.0	0.0

HHs=households; No.=number; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

#### 5.1.4. HOUSING TYPE AND ELECTRICITY

As shown in Table 5.4, about 77% live in semi- or completely *pucca* homes, whilst 23% live in *kachcha* or government-provided tin sheds. A home

is considered *pucca* if the ceiling is flat and made of concrete. A semi-*pucca* home may have concrete walls or divisions but generally has a roof that is made from tin, bamboo and earth-based roof tiles. A number of resettlers prefer semi-*pucca* homes because of better ventilation and air circulation. On average, resettlers with semi- or fully *pucca* homes began constructing their homes within two to four years after relocation. Site F has a lower percentage of *pucca* homes, perhaps because it was recently established. However, all sites have electricity as shown in Table 5.4.

**Table 5.4: Percentage of Households with Basic Amenities by Resettlement Site**

Resettlement Site	Sample		% by Housing Type		% With Electricity	% by Water Source	
	No. of HHs	% of HHs	<i>Kachcha</i> or Tin	Semi- or Full- <i>Pucca</i>		External	Internal
Site A	70	100.0	42.9	57.1	95.7	12.9	87.1
Site B	74	100.0	2.7	97.3	98.6	—	100.0
Site C	125	100.0	8.8	91.2	94.4	0.8	99.2
Site D	59	100.0	28.8	71.2	79.7	—	100.0
Site E	12	100.0	—	100.0	91.7	—	100.0
Site F	30	100.0	83.3	16.7	93.3	—	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>23.0</b>	<b>77.0</b>	<b>93.0</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>97.3</b>

HHs=households; No.=number; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

### 5.1.5. WATER AND SANITATION

Investigation into the types of water and sanitation facilities at resettlement sites revealed both internal and external water resources (Table 5.4). About 97% rely on internal water sources as compared with 3% who rely on external sources. “External” refers to those sources that are found outside the periphery of the resettlement site (i.e., ravine, bore wells and tube wells). These water sources are generally found outside the resettlement sites, closer to the agricultural fields. In comparison, “internal” sources are those found within the home, near the home or within the resettlement site (i.e., hand pumps, taps or nulls and directly piped water). Almost all households rely on internal water sources, with the exception of 3% of all households that

rely on external sources. About 13% of households in **Site A** rely on external water sources, as some families have constructed their homes in their agricultural fields.

Resettlers at resettlement sites often bathe within the home after bringing water from common hand pumps and taps (**Table 5.5**). The washing area, which excludes the toilet, is sometimes located in the yard of the house. The separate structure is sometimes *kachcha*. Other times, the washing area is found in a corner of the house and is enclosed by *kachcha* walls usually adjacent to the kitchen or the livestock area. About 83% of respondents mentioned that bathing facilities are private in comparison with the 17% that said they were public at the water source. Some families share a common facility with other family members or neighbours. This facility is private and may be found in the common yard or in a family's home.

**Table 5.5: Percentage of Households with Sanitation Facilities by Resettlement Site**

Resettlement Site	Sample		% Bathing Place		% Toilet Place	
	No. of HHs	% of HHs	Public	Private	Public	Private
Site A	70	100.0	27.1	72.9	44.3	55.7
Site B	74	100.0	4.1	95.9	100.0	—
Site C	125	100.0	9.6	90.4	98.4	1.6
Site D	59	100.0	38.6	61.4	70.2	29.8
Site E	12	100.0	16.7	83.3	100.0	—
Site F	30	100.0	20.0	80.0	100.0	—
<b>Total</b>	370	100.0	17.4	82.6	84.1	15.8

HHs=households; No.=number; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Toilets, on the other hand, are found in public areas (**Table 5.5**). Open defecation is practiced and those with private facilities do not have connection to septic tanks. Private toilets are generally pit latrines that are surrounded by temporary or *kachcha* walls. A large percentage of resettlers from the interior regions have private toilet facilities at the new sites, in comparison with resettlers that came from near the dam site.

#### 5.1.6. COMMON PROPERTY RESOURCES

At the resettlement sites, CPRs include availability of grazing land and the supply of fuel from common land. In Gujarat's R&R policy, a provision for *goucher* (or grazing) land is made next to each resettlement site. However, the amount of fodder that it can generate for an exponentially growing community with livestock is insufficient. The effect of such an oversight is now being seen. Resettlers are unable to sustain their previous herds and are forced to alter their livestock portfolio to suit the limited amount of grazing land.

Resettlers use twigs, weeds, wood, crop residues or cow dung patties for fuel at the new sites (Table 5.6). The requirement is high as they continue to rely on the traditional method of cooking using the open *chulha*.<sup>85</sup> Twigs and pieces of wood are limited, and as such, take more time to collect and prepare (e.g., cutting into smaller wedges or clearing thorns off of twigs). Weeds and crop residue, on the other hand, are readily available from agricultural fields. Based on the field research, fuel type tends to depend on the purpose for which it is used. For example, cow dung patties are used to repel insects, and are sometimes used for heating water. Women prefer twigs and wood pieces for cooking meals, rather than crop residue. A majority of women claimed that when the food is cooked with twigs and wood, it not only tastes better but also has a higher nutritional value.<sup>86</sup> However, women use alternative sources of fuel for cooking given a lack of twigs and wood post-resettlement: about 77% use crop residue and weeds for cooking and an even higher percentage use it for heating purposes at resettlement sites.

---

<sup>85</sup> As previously explained, a *chulha* is a U-shaped structure with a hearth that is used for cooking or heating purposes. It is often made out of a mixture of mud, clay and cow dung.

<sup>86</sup> Female resettlers were unable to explain what they meant or how they defined "nutritional value."

**Table 5.6: Percentage of Households with Access to Fuel Resources by Resettlement Site**

Resettlement Site	Sample		% Type of Fuel Used for Cooking		% Type of Fuel Used for Heating	
	No. of HHs	% of HHs	Twigs/ Wood	Crops/ Weeds	Twigs/ Wood	Crops/ Weeds
Site A	70	100.0	42.9	57.1	18.6	81.4
Site B	74	100.0	2.7	97.3	1.4	98.6
Site C	125	100.0	8.8	91.2	—	100.0
Site D	59	100.0	28.8	71.2	8.5	91.5
Site E	12	100.0	—	100.0	66.7	33.3
Site F	30	100.0	83.3	16.7	36.7	63.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>23.0</b>	<b>77.0</b>	<b>10.3</b>	<b>89.7</b>

HHs=households; No.=number; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

#### 5.1.7. HEALTH AND SCHOOL FACILITIES

The resettlement colonies that were surveyed did not have a health facility at the site. However, an SSPA MHU visits each of the sites twice a week at scheduled times (SSPA 2000f). A doctor is part of the MHU team. On occasion, a female or male health worker (FHW or MHW) visits the resettlement sites independently to disburse malaria tablets, oral rehydration salt packets, et cetera (Table 5.1). Resettlers have increased access to affordable health care through MHUs post-resettlement. MHUs have reduced some of the costs associated with seeking health services (e.g., transportation costs). They have reduced the need for resettlers to travel to town nearby for attaining health services.

However, I found a possible gap between the reliability of mobile services and their actual use. During my visits to each of the six resettlement sites, I observed the frequency with which MHUs visited the sites. For instance, I visited **Site C** about 17 times, but found that the MHU came to the sites on only four days. Moreover, I did not notice any FHW or MHW at the site, which does not mean that one might have been present but out of sight. Similarly, during my 10 visits to **Site A**, I noted that an FHW visited the site twice, and the MHU showed up only once.



Observations revealed that MHUs do not follow the schedule that is given to the resettlers. For instance, sometimes a MHU might show up at a different site instead of going to a site where they are scheduled to visit. Other times, the MHU may not show up at all or it might stay for a short time at the site. However, resettlers were not bothered by these irregularities. They felt that MHUs are obvious vehicles that are recognised easily when they show up at a resettlement site. Moreover, they said that it was easy to seek services from a MHU that was visiting a neighbouring resettlement site since the distance between any two sites is not that great.

Availability of health services in the area was also investigated by asking resettlers to rank choices of health care providers. A majority of resettlers felt that the frequency of visits by the MHU and other service providers to the sites was satisfactory. They added that when a person fell sick, s/he was taken immediately to the nearest facility. They would not wait for the MHU or health worker. About 97% of the 370 respondents relied on private health services, whilst 69% sought government or public services. About 59% of resettlers preferred to seek services from a private provider first, whilst 33% went first to a government clinic (including MHUs). About 5% relied on home remedies before seeking any formal health service.

Whilst health facilities were not found at each resettlement site, school buildings were evident at each site. According to initial R&R policy documents, the size of the school buildings depended on the number of resettled families at a site. However, according to recent directives,<sup>87</sup> each resettlement site is ordered to be equipped with a school regardless of the number of PAFs resettled (Patwardhan 2000: 22; SSPA 2001d).

---

<sup>87</sup> As per the directives of the Supreme Court, the GRA Agency was set up in March 2000 to ensure that families affected by the SSP were being resettled and rehabilitated in compliance with the NWDI Award. The GRA is a monitoring body that is responsible to investigate and redress problems that may arise and/or are reported with R&R.

The school building is concrete, and consists of two or three rooms. Each school has a large courtyard in the front, and separate latrines for girls and boys<sup>88</sup> adjacent to the building (Table 5.1). At some resettlement sites, a separate room is used for preparing mid-day meals (or lunches) for school children. This programme was previously discussed in Chapter 3.

The school building and yard cater to students during the day. The building also serves as a town hall for a number of other purposes. For instance, the rooms have been used as assembly rooms for community meetings, function halls for weddings or festivals, and training rooms for income-generating activities.<sup>89</sup> The courtyard (or school yard) is also used to hold large meetings or for classes and when unused, is taken over by children. Some of the sites also have a concrete platform, which is generally located under trees either in front or near the school. This platform is generally used when large meetings are convened.

## 5.2. Award of Land and Other Livelihood Assets

Under Gujarat's R&R policy, PAPs are entitled to a number of R&R provisions that are aimed at helping rebuild, if not improve, their livelihoods post-resettlement. The second of the three unique provisions deals with land allotment to and ownership by every PAF, regardless of previous landholding and title. The allocation of replacement land, as a livelihood unit, is an essential part of the rehabilitation package amongst rural populations that depend on subsistence agriculture. According to Koenig (1995), social services, physical infrastructure, reimbursements and allowances only supplement the ability of households to earn a living and sustain their livelihoods. This section discusses the extent to which this provision has been implemented at the six study sites.

---

<sup>88</sup> Latrines facilities are preferred as they are more hygienic and less difficult to use.

<sup>89</sup> I used the school as a meeting place where my interpreters/translators regrouped for lunch and before leaving to sort out any issues that may have arisen during the day.

As previously mentioned, PAPs are defined as heads of households, sons over the age of 18 and widows. Irrespective of previous landholdings, key provisions were promised and include five acres of irrigable land of their choice, subsistence allowance, transportation costs, infrastructure development and social amenities.

However, Gujarat's R&R policy is gender-biased. Land ownership is awarded to the male. Joint ownership of the plot of land was not given. It does not recognise daughters and daughters-in-law over the age of 18, but does include widows who lost their spouses before 1 January 1987. This provision ensures security for elderly widowed women in a patriarchal society who are often neglected in their old age. Women without land titles are particularly vulnerable when divorced, deserted or widowed, whereas joint ownership helps to develop women's confidence (Pandey 1995: 26).

Some widows felt that the land awarded could be used as "collateral" in exchange for proper care and nutrition in their old age. It is interesting to note why PAPs did not demand land for their daughters. Some women felt that such a provision was not practical as girls often marry between the ages of 14 and 16. After marriage, girls no longer belong to their paternal homes. This would make it difficult to manage any compensation awards. Boys, on the other hand, are not disinherited as per patriarchal ideology. Even when they migrate, sons nevertheless remain part of the father's lineage.

For married women, it was more important that their husbands received land given the fact that not everyone was eligible for land compensation. The struggle preceding the 1987 policy was for every PAP to have the replacement land, irrespective of formal land tenure. The question of livelihood survival was more important for women than equal land ownership. Mehta (1992: 165-68) adds that there was also a concern that land fragmentation would occur if land were awarded jointly since divorce is common amongst the tribals. It was feared that women could be abused

and/or murdered by family members and/or their in-laws in wanting to gain full ownership.

### 5.2.1. LAND COMPENSATION

The amount of land that individual *chulhas* and joint households own with titles is relatively more now than it was prior to resettlement in their original villages (Table 5.7). In tribal communities, land titles are rare or non-existent. Agricultural land is recorded in the name of the eldest male family member, whilst other members cultivate the fields as co-sharers. As such, families opt to stay together after resettlement, as the land that was tilled prior is not legally divided amongst sons or brothers (Das 1982: 19).

**Table 5.7: Distribution of Landholdings (Total, Agricultural and Forest) per *Chulha* and Joint Household Prior to Resettlement**

Size of Land	Landholding per <i>Chulha</i>			Landholdings per Joint Household		
	%Total	%Legal Agri-cultural	%Encroached Forest or Degraded	%Total	%Legal Agri-cultural	%Encroached Forest or Degraded
None	70.8	85.7	75.1	46.2	59.5	55.9
1 – 3 acres	2.2	2.2	1.4	0.8	1.9	0.5
3 – 4 acres	1.1	2.4	2.2	1.1	5.1	2.7
5 – 9 acres	9.7	5.7	10.5	8.4	13.5	12.7
10 – 14 acres	6.2	3.0	4.9	8.4	11.1	6.2
15 – 19 acres	6.2	0.8	4.3	11.4	4.9	9.2
20 – 24 acres	1.6	0.3	0.5	8.1	3.0	4.9
25 – 29 acres	1.4	—	0.8	5.4	0.3	3.2
30 – 34 acres	0.5	—	0.3	4.3	0.3	1.6
35 + acres	0.3	—	—	5.9	0.5	3.0
<b>Total (N)</b>	100.0 (370)	100.0 (370)	100.0 (370)	100.0 (370)	100.0 (370)	100.0 (370)
<b>Mean (acres)</b>	3.3	1.0	2.3	2.9	1.5	2.1

N=total; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The type of land respondents mentioned having included either (i) agricultural land, with legal title ownership or (ii) encroached land, including government forest land or *karaabi* (or degraded) land. About 71% of respondents said that their individual *chulha* did not own land but on average, each owned a total of 3.3 acres, of which 1.0 was legal agricultural land and

2.3 was encroached forest land. Similarly, about 46% said that their joint households were landless. However, each owned an average of 2.9 acres. The figures are inclusive of one another since every *chulha* was asked about land ownership. For instance, one household may include two *chulhas* in which a father may own 10 acres of land. Land ownership is considered “individual” for the father, but for the son, these 10 acres are “jointly” owned.

Land compensation is measured by considering:

- (i) The number of *chulhas* that received compensation and
- (ii) The number of joint households that received land.

About 86% of all respondents said that they or someone in their *chulha* received some form of compensation. Of these, about 99% received land compensation and the remainder received other forms of compensation such as chickens for rearing<sup>90</sup> (Tables 5.8 and 5.9). This percentage does not include non-recipient respondents who are members of joint households where a member received compensation (i.e., fathers, fathers-in-law and widowed mothers).

**Table 5.8: Single *Chulhas* that Received Compensation (COMPA)**

Land	Other	N	%
No	Yes	2	0.5
Yes	N/A	318	85.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>320</b>	<b>86.4</b>

COMPA=single *chulhas* that received compensation; N=total;

N/A=not applicable; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

---

<sup>90</sup> I have absorbed that 1% into the calculations since the difference is negligible.

**Table 5.9: Single *Chulhas* that Did Not Receive Compensation**

Land	Other	N	%
No	No	48	13.0
No	N/A	1	0.3
No	DK	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>		50	13.6

DK=do not know; N=total; N/A=not applicable; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Further investigation results in a more accurate percentage of households who received compensation. Fifty respondents did not receive any compensation (Table 5.8). The reasons given by these 50 respondents are shown in Table 5.10. For instance, 12 respondents were too young but another family member could have received compensation. These 12 respondents are part of 14 cases where another member of the household received some compensation (Table 5.11). Inclusion of these respondents raises the percentage of households who received any compensation to about 90%. Of them, more than 99% received land whilst the remaining received some other form of compensation such as livelihood support (i.e., chickens).

**Table 5.10: Households that Did Not Receive Any Compensation**

COMPA	Why not	N	%
No	Too young	12	3.2
No	Case pending	1	0.3
No	None	6	1.6
No	Not PAP	5	1.4
No	Bought land	2	0.5
No	Missing	4	1.1
No	N/A	1	0.3
No	DK	5	1.4
<b>Total</b>		50	13.6

COMPA=single *chulhas* that received compensation; DK=do not know; N=total; N/A=not applicable; PAP=project-affected person; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

**Table 5.11: Households that Received Any Compensation (COMPB)**

COMPB	Why not	N	%
Yes	N/A	320	86.5
No	Others	5	1.4
No	Fathers	8	2.2
No	Father-in-Law	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>334</b>	<b>90.4</b>

COMPB=single *chulhas* that received compensation; COMPB=households that received any compensation; N=total; N/A=not applicable; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

### 5.2.2. LAND ALLOTMENT

The R&R package enabled resettlers, who engaged in settled cultivation before resettlement, to continue this pattern of agriculture after resettlement by awarding five acres of land per PAF. As such, landholdings per *chulha* after resettlement are found in increments of five. About 66% of all households have five acres of land, 17% have 10 acres and 0.3% has 20 acres (Table 5.12). Large landholdings are possible if a household is large and is comprised of males from one or more generations.

**Table 5.12: Amount of Landholdings Post-Resettlement by Tribal Groups**

Resettlement Site	No. of HHs	% Landholding per <i>Chulha</i> (acres)						
		Landless	< 5	5	6 - 9	10	15	20
Site A	70	21.4	0.0	58.6	0.0	18.6	0.0	1.4
Site B	74	9.5	1.4	67.6	0.0	18.9	2.7	0.0
Site C	125	7.2	1.6	69.6	1.6	18.4	1.6	0.0
Site D	59	30.5	0.0	59.3	0.0	10.2	0.0	0.0
Site E	12	8.3	0.0	75.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
Site F	30	3.3	0.0	80.5	0.0	13.3	3.3	0.0
<b>Total</b>		13.8	0.8	66.5	0.6	16.8	1.4	0.3
<b>N</b>	370	51	3	246	2	62	5	1

HHs=households; N=total; No.=number; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

In comparison to landholdings prior to resettlement, only 6% of single *chulhas* owned five to nine acres of agricultural land (Table 5.5), whilst post-resettlement, about 67% do so (Table 5.12). The percentage of landless households decreased from about 71% before resettlement (Table 5.5) to

14% post-resettlement (Table 5.12). This decrease might be a result of land compensation. However, the high percentage of landless households reported post-resettlement might be attributable to the increase in the number of new household units. In the past 10 years, new household units have emerged as sons have married and established their own residence. During the household survey, a son might have indicated his residence to be separate from his father's, but continued to engage in agricultural activities jointly or with other extended family members. In such cases, the son probably reported that he had no land. For instance, majority of households at Sites A and D resettled from 1988 to 1991 (Table 5.3); since then, a majority of them have separated and are found to be "landless" (Table 5.12). It can be inferred that Gujarat's R&R has been actually implemented because there has been a decrease in landlessness and an increase in average landholdings.

### 5.2.3. MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

Marginal farmers in rural areas diversify their livelihood strategies by engaging in wage labour or in rearing livestock to supplement their incomes. They may work as temporary or contract labourers for farmers with large landholdings. They may raise livestock for sale of the animal or its by-products. The household survey found 2,306 people, of which 59% engaged in one of the following forms of work post-resettlement (Table 5.13):

- Farm work: agriculture labour, wage labour or care of livestock;
- Domestic work: housework or child care;
- Self-employment: tailoring, shop owner or local birth attendant;
- Manual wage labour: masonry or carpentry and
- Office work requiring specialised skills: peon, driver, watchman, teacher or local mid-day meal cook.



Resettlers gave multiple answers to the type of work they do, indicating that they diversified their means of livelihood. About 88% of working resettlers engaged in agricultural work, livestock care and crop fertilisation. For example, resettlers possessed different livestock portfolios before and after resettlement including bullocks, cows, buffaloes, goats and chickens. The size and composition of livestock would depend on household need and on environmental factors. For instance, goats were reared for milk and food. Since resettlement, the number of goats has decreased, as insufficient grazing lands make it difficult to raise them.

Bullocks are used for ploughing fields, and adapt to environmental conditions. For example, those coming from the original villages are used to ploughing on rocky undulating slopes. This makes it difficult for bullocks to function in flat and fertile soils in Dabhoi. Recognising this difficulty, every PAF is also awarded two bullocks as per Gujarat's R&R policy. This has been implemented, as bullocks are selected from an open cattle market.

About 10% of respondents of working households also engage in housework. Observations revealed that this is an underestimation of the actual percentage of persons that are involved in domestic duties. Housework, like other forms of domestic duties, is not considered work that is done in exchange for cash or kind.

Tadvis seem to hold more office jobs, and engage in agricultural work less as compared with Rathwas and other tribal groups (Table 5.13). This could be a reflection of their lifestyles, and levels of education based on their place of origin. For instance, Tadvis lived closer to the dam site, and as such, were more exposed to commercial markets and closer to schools.

*If a resettlement area is located in an area with better employment opportunities, most of the displaced, including the landless, may settle there. (Parasuraman 1999: 59-60)*

**Table 5.13: Work Participation Rates by Tribal Group**

Tribal Group	No. of Persons	WPR		Type of Work (%) <sup>a</sup>							
		Freq	%	Farm	WL	House	Office	Manual	Skills	Driver	Other
Rathwa	692	395	57.1	90.9	46.1	8.1	0.5	2.5	0.8	0.3	0.3
Tadvi	1092	674	61.7	85.3	50.9	11.6	4.3	1.0	0.7	0.6	2.7
Vasava + Bhil	467	267	57.2	92.9	51.7	6.7	1.1	0.4	0.4	1.9	1.5
Other	55	37	67.3	78.4	64.9	10.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>2306</b>	<b>1373</b>	<b>58.5</b>	<b>88.2</b>	<b>50.0</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>17.5</b>

Freq.=frequency; No.=number; WL=wage labour; WPR=work participation rate; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>Type of work is based on multiple responses and total percentages do not equal 100% in any category.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

However, about 50% of the total working population engages in seasonal agricultural wage labour. This statistic probably captures the wage labour participation of those tribal or non-tribal families that moved to the sites because of relatives and/or better facilities.

When information is disaggregated by gender, approximately 63% of females participated in some type of work as compared with 56% of males (Table 5.14). The type of work, once segregated by sex, illustrates a clear division of labour along gender lines. Some jobs are more male-dominated. For example, females engage more in housework than in office work, manual work or as drivers. However, there is very little difference by gender in terms of farm work, wage labour and specialised skills (i.e., tailoring, birth attendant and midday meal cook). About 84% of women engage in agricultural activities, in comparison to about 93% of men. The difference may reflect women's perceptions about what they consider to be "work."

Respondents claim that households earn remittance in cash rather than kind or both. About 55% of those who said they work (1,373 individuals) said that they received cash in comparison with 0.4% and 1.2% who said they received just kind or both cash and kind, respectively. Of those who earned cash, about 2% were women who had regular work, whilst 8% were men. Similarly, about 20% of those who received payment in kind, were females with regular work in comparison with the 60% of men.

**Table 5.14: Gendered-Work Participation Rates by Tribal Group**

Tribal Group	WPR		Type of Work (%) <sup>a</sup>															
			Farm		WL		House		Office		Manual		Skills		Driver		Other	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Rathwa	62.4	52.1	86.1	96.3	47.4	44.6	14.8	0.5	0.0	1.1	0.0	5.4	0.5	1.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Tadvi	65.6	58.1	81.4	89.5	45.8	56.3	20.9	1.5	0.0	8.9	0.0	2.2	1.1	0.3	0.0	1.2	1.1	4.3
Vasava + Bhil	58.0	56.3	89.4	96.9	53.2	50.0	11.3	1.6	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.0	4.0	0.7	2.4
Other	67.7	66.7	71.4	87.6	61.9	68.8	19.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	—
<b>Total (%)</b>	63.0	56.1	84.0	92.8	48.2	52.1	17.2	1.2	0.0	5.2	0.0	2.8	0.7	0.6	0.0	1.5	0.8	2.8
<b>No. of Workers<sup>b</sup></b>	720	653	605	606	347	340	124	8	0	34	0	18	5	4	0	10	6	18

F=female; M=male; No.=number; WL=wage labour; WPR=work participation rate; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>Type of work is based on multiple responses and total percentages do not equal 100% in any category.

<sup>b</sup>The number of workers is taken from a total population of 2,306 people, of which 1,142 are females and 1,164 are males.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

### 5.3. Implementing Choice: Preservation of Social Networks

The last of the three unique provisions in Gujarat's R&R policy deals with the provision of choice in resettlement site, land plot and relocation unit. This section discusses the extent to which choice in resettlement site and relocation unit has been implemented. Choice of land plot is assumed as PAFs were awarded five acres of land, irrespective of land holdings.<sup>91</sup>

It is commonly believed that resettlers are not given a choice in selecting the resettlement site and/or the social unit according to the scattering or clustering methods (Mehta 1992; Morse and Berger 1992; Roy 1999a, 1999b). In the case of the SSP, it is believed that the scattering effect of communities is due to an insufficient supply of plots of land able to accommodate all resettlers (Mehta 1992: 143; Morse and Berger 1992: 349-51):

*...the inhabitants of these 19 villages [submergence villages in Gujarat] have been scattered to 175 separate rehabilitation sites. Social links have been smashed, communities broken up (Roy 1999b).*

However, ARCH explains this behavioural outcome as being a "cumulative effect...of many individual choices" (Morse and Berger 1992: 105-06).

The concept of choice in this thesis is measured by considering (i) choice of resettlement site and (ii) choice of relocation unit. These variables were derived by reclassifying answers to the following four questions:

- (i) Did you see any other sites before deciding on this one?
- (ii) How many sites did you see before deciding on this one?
- (iii) Did you move with whom you had wanted?

---

<sup>91</sup> See footnote 81, Chapter 4 for why it was not possible to document choice in land plot.

(iv) With whom did you move?

Choice in site selection and relocation unit may be viewed as possible livelihood strategies amongst PAFs, especially if they fought to incorporate such provisions into the revised R&R policy. Das (1982: 3) states that “amongst the ousted families, groupism would appear in terms of choice of site, choice of accompanying kins, etc. in relation to the fast changing market relations in the non-tribal areas.” The degree of vulnerability and insecurity associated with forced resettlement may have been reduced if PAFs were able to exercise choice in site selection and relocation unit. Choice thereby is generated when the components of the SL/IR framework are conducive to change and empowerment (e.g., strong capital portfolios, supportive institutions and processes, pre-resettlement livelihood conditions influencing current strategies and participation in policy development).

### 5.3.1. CHOICE OF RESETTLEMENT SITE

Respondents indicated that they had moved to the resettlement site of their choice. Out of those surveyed, about 65% of households said that they had visited more than one site before resettlement. Close to 16% said that they

*In fact, we [Independent Review] traveled with the land selection committee when villagers were trying to find land, and in the cases we observed the men (and there were only men) clearly felt free to choose or reject the alternatives offered to them' (Morse and Berger 1992: 105-106).*

had not seen any other resettlement sites, and the remaining 19% either did not know or found the question to be not applicable. However, resettlers who did not visit more than one site prior to resettlement may have also implemented choice in resettlement site. About 30% of these respondents had liked the first one they saw, whilst 67% said that another family member had seen alternative sites.

Implementation of choice in resettlement site includes resettlers that

- (i) Saw more than one site prior to relocation,
- (ii) Liked the first site they saw and decided to settle there,
- (iii) Had another family member see the site before relocation and
- (iv) Relied on another person's judgment (i.e., community leader or NGO representative).

Points (iii) and (iv) are considered a part of the above definition as they illustrate strong social capital (i.e., resettlers trust another person's judgment enough to select a resettlement site based on his/her assessment). About 81% of respondents said that they had implemented their right to choose in moving to a resettlement site, whilst 19% that they did not have a choice (Tables 5.15 and 5.16).

**Table 5.15: Choice Implemented in Site Selection**

Seen More than One Site	Why Not	N	%
No	Liked it	18	4.9
No	Other member	40	10.8
Yes	N/A	241	65.1
No	Followed others	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>		300	81.1

N=total; N/A=not applicable; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

**Table 5.16: Choice Not Implemented in Site Selection**

Seen More than One Site	Why not	N	%
No	Indifferent	1	0.3
N/A	N/A	9	2.4
DK	N/A	60	16.2
<b>Total</b>		70	18.9

DK=do not know; N=total; N/A=not applicable; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001)

On average, each household visited about 3.8 sites before selecting the current site. This average was derived by assuming that those who answered “not applicable” and “do not know” did not see any sites. By excluding these groups, the average increases to about 4.7 sites viewed prior to settling.

### 5.3.2. CHOICE OF RELOCATION UNIT

Choice of relocation unit is determined by considering whether respondents moved with whom they wanted. A relocation unit could include members from their immediate families, joint households or communities.

*Falias may be considered to be 'a microcosm of the village. For practical purposes, every hamlet is a separate social unit and has its own identity and peculiar pattern. Often people identify more with their hamlet than with the village' (Mehta 1992: 120).*

About 90% of respondents said that they had moved with the relocation unit of their choice. All but two respondents said that they did not have a choice in relocation unit. This was due to the fact that a member of their extended families still lived in their original villages and was awaiting relocation. About 36 respondents “did not know” or found the question “not applicable.” I assume they did not have a choice in selecting the relocation unit. Respondents on average had a choice of moving with less than one relocation unit of their choice. Amongst respondents who said they had a choice of relocation unit, about 1.7 units was mentioned.

The term “community” was used rather loosely amongst resettlers as it referred to their *falia* (or hamlet) and/or village. About 79% of respondents said that they had moved with their community (Table 5.17). After excluding the “not applicable” responses, about 88% of respondents indicated that they had relocated with their communities, 82% with family members and 0.3% with friends. About 1% had equated choice of relocation unit with a choice in land.



For women, being able to move with kin and/or family members is important so as to prevent social disruption (i.e., teenage daughters lose their friends) and further natal detachment (i.e., married women become farther away from their natal homes). Mehta (1992: 146) claims women suffer a greater sense of loss of security and subsequent social networks, especially if relocation takes place at a greater distance from original villages.

**Table 5.17: Percentage of Respondents that Relocated with the Unit of their Choice**

Relocation Unit <sup>a</sup>	I.	II.
<i>Falia</i>	75.4	83.5
Village	5.4	6.0
“Community”	79.2	87.7
Family	74.3	82.3
Friend	0.3	0.3
Land Choice	0.8	0.9
<b>Total (N)</b>	370	334

N=total; N/A=not applicable.

I. includes N/A responses and II. excludes N/A responses.

<sup>a</sup>Each household head mentioned one or more relocation unit of choice.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

For instance, one female resettler from Site B realised the SSP was being built in 1970 —the year she was married. She told me that she was angry with her father for marrying her in a place that would have to be evacuated. She worried about her livelihood and future (Anonymous 1993c).

Maintaining these social networks significantly helps in completing domestic and economic tasks (e.g., child care). During my field research in 2000-2001, the number of visits women made back to their natal homes in the Narmada Valley decreased due to distance and travel costs. Traditionally, pregnant women are expected to return to their natal home for delivery. However, since resettlement, fewer women are continuing the practice. Rather, I found that more mothers were visiting their expecting daughters at the resettlement sites. This type of livelihood strategy has helped generate a

market for local *dais* or traditional birth attendants at the resettlement sites (i.e., it increased the demand for local *dais* at resettlement sites).

Koenig (1995: 39) asserts, “women particularly benefit from resettlement programmes that attempt to keep self-selected groupings of people intact.” By moving with the relocation unit of choice, resettlers are able to maintain a level of continuity with pre- and post-resettlement situations.

### 5.3.3. MARRIAGE NETWORKS

Discussions from past sections illustrate that a majority of resettlers have relocated based on choice of resettlement site and relocation unit. This has helped to keep marriage networks intact, as *falia* and family members have moved to nearby sites. New marriage networks have also emerged, as resettlers marry their youth with others from nearby townships (i.e., Dabhoi). About 32% of respondents said that they have married their sons since resettlement. About 24% have also married their daughters since relocating to the new resettlement sites. Marriage networks appear to be similar for both sons and daughters, with some slight differences. Whilst sons tend to marry into their original villages, daughters marry into families from nearby towns (e.g., Dabhoi, Bodeli and Bhardarpur).

However, land compensation, on the other hand, has brought about changes in marital residence. Traditionally, a female will live with her husband’s family after marriage. However, there appears to be a slight increase in the number of *ghar-jawais* at the resettlement sites. A *ghar-jawai* is a term used to describe a man who lives with his wife’s parents or family. Amongst Tadvis and Vasavas, this practice is common when men are unable to pay a bride price (Parasuraman 1999: 184). At resettlement sites, land compensation for families with no sons is a type of wealth. At the time of marriage, grooms who have limited means of livelihood might consider living with their in-laws and cultivating the land as it provides them a secure means

of livelihood. The implications of this change in marital patterns might affect the status of women within the household in the future.

#### 5.4. Conclusion

This chapter presents information based on findings from the household survey (2000-2001) on the extent to which the three unique provisions outlined in the policy have been actually implemented.

It demonstrates the level of infrastructure development and access to basic social amenities at the resettlement sites. For instance, **Sites A to D** were established around 1991 and **Sites E and F** around 1994. Each site has electricity, water pumps, a school building and visits by health care providers. All sites are well connected and have access to market places.

The manner in which the resettlement sites were established has helped guide the implementation of Gujarat's R&R policy. Residential homes are clustered together at the new sites whilst in the old villages, homes were connected with their fields and scattered through the Valley. Physical infrastructure and social amenities, outlined in Gujarat's R&R policy (i.e., electricity, water pumps, schools and health services), have been provided to resettlers at the site.

The chapter also presents the percentage of households that have received land compensation, including housing and land allotments, as per Gujarat's R&R policy. PAFs, sons 18 years and older and widows, all have been awarded five acres of land. About 86% of single *chulhas* received land compensation, and in another 4% of cases, another member received land or some other form of compensation. Inclusion of these respondents raises the percentage of households who received any compensation to about 90%. Since resettlement, the percentage of landless households decreased from about 71% to 14% post-resettlement. The average size of landholdings also increased since resettlement. Only 6% of single *chulhas* owned five to nine

acres of agricultural land prior to resettlement, in comparison to 67% who owned the same amount of land post-resettlement.

The chapter shows the extent to which resettlers have implemented choice over resettlement site and relocation unit. About 65% of households said that they had visited more than one site before resettlement. Amongst the 16% who said that they had not seen any other sites, they, too, could have implemented choice in selecting the current site. Of these respondents, about 30% had liked the first one they saw, and 67% said that another family member had seen alternative sites. On average, each household visited about 3.8 sites before selecting the current site. Similarly, about 90% of respondents said that they had moved with the relocation unit of their choice. Amongst respondents who said they had a choice of relocation unit, about 1.7 units was mentioned, which commonly included *falia*, community and other family members. This has also helped to keep marriage networks intact, as *falia* and family members have moved to nearby sites.

The data presented in this chapter demonstrate that Gujarat's R&R has actually been implemented. Key characteristics of resettlers may lead to variations in policy implementation. Some examples of how tribal characteristics might influence R&R implementation have already been integrated into this chapter. For instance, Tadvi resettlers live in smaller residential units and partake more in office work. They resemble the hierarchal, male-dominated caste societies. Similarly, Rathwa resettlers share some of the same characteristics as Tadvi resettlers, but live in larger family units. Their main livelihood is agriculture. Vasava and Bhil resettlers, on the other hand, have retained more "tribal" characteristics, depicting an egalitarian community. Specific effects on each of the three unique provisions —land ownership, choice and site development —will be included in forthcoming chapters, respectively.

The next chapter will define and measure the two dimensions of participation —nature and degree. Participation is defined in terms of one’s involvement in policy-related events. These dimensions are pivotal to the SL/IR framework presented in **Chapter 4**. The ability to make choices is possible based on the extent and nature of participation during policy development. Choice thereby is generated when the components of the SL/IR framework are conducive to change and empowerment (e.g., strong capital portfolios, supportive institutions and processes, pre-resettlement livelihood conditions influencing current strategies and participation in policy development).

## Chapter 6

### PARTICIPATION: NATURE AND DEGREE

*Between 1985 and 1993, the government of Gujarat implemented important improvements in the R&R provisions made available to displaced people. These changes were the result of determined and prolonged resistance from affected people and activists.*

—Parasuraman (1999: 182)

In this chapter, I will focus on defining participation in terms of nature and degree. The right to make choices in implementing the R&R policy depends on the nature and degree of participation by resettlers during policy development. The SL/IR reflects the link between vulnerability and the survival strategies households seek during displacement and relocation. The right to participate in policy development and implementation also helps strengthen this relationship, as vulnerability is felt when there is no choice in resettlement provisions.

The effect of participation on policy implementation (i.e., choice and compensation) will be discussed in the following chapter. The following sub-questions will be addressed in this chapter:

- What is the nature or type of participation in policy development and articulation?
- What is the degree or level of participation in policy development and articulation?

The five stages of participation and its significance in the evolution of Gujarat's R&R policy has already been discussed in **Chapter 3**. Project-affected people began to participate as soon as they became aware of a development project. They engaged in conversations with project officials, surveyors and construction workers. Depending on what they heard, PAPs assessed what the development project meant to them and how they, too, could benefit. In the case of the SSP, a majority of project-affected tribals in Gujarat opposed the Project. They were dissatisfied with the R&R provisions in the NWDT Award. In particular, they felt that all PAPs should be given five acres of irrigable land for livelihood survival, irrespective of previous landholdings.

The 1984 rally was a milestone for these demands. Government and NGO meetings were forums where resettlers voiced their concerns, shared information and received updates on various R&R topics (e.g., improvements in infrastructure and amenities). The roles of these organisations have also been discussed in **Chapter 3**. The five stages of participation for households can thereby be seen in terms of an empowering process that started from awareness and information gathering (e.g., meetings and events), progressed to internal decision-making (i.e., support events leading to policy revision or oppose the construction of the dam) and finally ended with grassroots action (i.e., 1984 rally) and acquiring the right to implement choice (**Section 3.2**). The right to implement choice provides the basis for this doctoral research, whilst the earlier stages help to construct my nature and degree participation variables.

Whilst participation is defined as one's involvement in policy-related events, it may be active or passive and entail different actions depending on its location along the continuum. During my field research in 2000-2001, I asked questions that focused on defining and measuring the different dimensions of participation. Two major dimensions of participation emerged—nature and degree. The nature of participation describes the type of

activities in which PAPs engaged (i.e., presence of organisations, types of meetings and events and different discussion topics). Resettlers became more aware as a result of these activities, which also provided them access to information so that they could make an informed decision about what actions they would take (i.e., fight against the SSP or for a better R&R policy).<sup>92</sup>

The **degree** of participation is defined by the extent to which a residential unit (i.e., single *chulha* and/or joint household), or individual person (man, woman or both) partook in these various activities. Examining who participated in policy-related events gives some indication to the number and status of people involved in gathering and processing information and decision-making within the household for future action. In households where more than one person participated, I assume that the decision to take action was not made by only one person (i.e., head of the household). This is especially important in households where both men and women were involved.

The ranking system that I created to measure degree of participation also incorporates gender aspects. For instance, I assume that the degree of participation is higher if both men and women participated than only if one of them participated from the single *chulha*. A separate section illustrates the nature of women's participation in the policy process. It examines the degree of participation amongst those women who did not participate at all in events, who changed their participation status after resettlement and who continued their participation even after resettlement. Findings in this section are based on interviews of women that followed the gender assessment questionnaire.

The association between the two dimensions of participation provides some indication to whether participation was active or passive, which is also

---

<sup>92</sup> Barrow (2000: 46) cites six different degrees of participation or public involvement, with regard to social impact assessment (SIA): (i) extract information of use to SIA from people; (ii) influence or educate people; (iii) control people; (iv) keep people informed, within limits; (v) consult and heed people and (vi) ensure that the public plays an active role in the SIA process.



influenced by key characteristics of resettlers. This association is introduced in this chapter but the interplay between these dimensions will become clearer in forthcoming chapters. In **Chapters 7 to 9**, I consider the effect of these dimensions of participation on certain livelihood outcomes, namely the three unique provisions that PAPs fought to include in the revised R&R policy of 1987.

These dimensions of participation are pivotal to the SL/IR framework presented in **Chapter 4**. Livelihood strategies imply that an individual or household has the ability to make choices based on available options. Options are possible through people's participation during policy development. Based on pre-displacement livelihood strategies, asset-portfolios, institutional structures and processes, PAPs make demands for sufficient provisions that will enable them to restore their livelihoods post-resettlement. A sustainable livelihoods approach to involuntary resettlement helps practitioners translate participation at the policy development stage into choice at the implementation stage.

## **6.1. Nature of Participation**

*Nature* of participation describes the type of participation in which resettlers engage. All 370 respondents were asked the following three questions:

- (i) Which organisations came to discuss resettlement in the original villages prior to resettlement?
- (ii) In what types of events and meetings did resettlers participate?
- (iii) What topics were discussed at meetings?

About 78% of respondents said that an organisation had visited their village prior to resettlement to discuss R&R issues (Table 6.1). Of these respondents, about 93% mentioned that ARCH-Vahini had visited their villages. About 46% had mentioned government agencies<sup>93</sup> and 15% had indicated the visits by the NBA. About 27% found the question to be not applicable. These respondents were either too young prior to time of resettlement, are not PAPs or have married into a PAF post-resettlement.

**Table 6.1: Percentage<sup>a</sup> of Respondents that Mentioned an Organisation's Presence Prior to Resettlement**

Name of Organisation		I.	II.
<b>NGOs</b>	ARCH	73.2	93.4
	NBA	11.4	14.5
	RSSS	0.8	1.0
	ANA	0.5	0.7
<b>Research</b>	CSS	0.5	0.7
<b>Government</b>	Nigam	36.2	46.2
<b>Other</b>	Own Village	0.3	0.3
<b>Total</b>		370	290

ANA=Anand Niketan Ashram; ARCH=ARCH-Vahini; CSS=Centre for Social Studies; N/A=not applicable; NBA=Narmada Bachao Andolan; NGOs=non-governmental organisations; Nigam=Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited or Government; RSSS=Rajpipla Social Service Society.

I. includes N/A responses and II. excludes N/A responses.

<sup>a</sup>These percentages reflect multiple answers.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The information from Tables 6.1 suggests an overlap in the organisations that visited villages prior to resettlement. A cross-tabulation of three institutional variables —ARCH Vahini, NBA and Nigam (or the government) —reveals varying degrees of overlap (Table 6.2). About 25% of

<sup>93</sup> "Government agencies" refer to GOG and its subsidiaries (i.e., project authorities and implementation agencies such as the SSNNL and the SSPA). I found that resettlers used "government" synonymously with SSNNL officials; as such, I use "Nigam" or "Government" interchangeably in my analysis.

respondents said that both the government and ARCH had visited them in their original villages. In comparison, about 5% of respondents said that ARCH and NBA had visited them, and less than 1% said that the government and NBA had visited them. Only 6% mentioned the presence of all three groups prior to resettlement. ARCH was the most active, as about 37% of respondents said that only the group had visited them.

**Table 6.2: Overlap Between NBA, ARCH-Vahini and the Government**

Govt	ARCH	NBA	Groups Visited		Meetings Attended	
			Freq.	%	Freq.	%
No	No	No	1	0.3	20	5.4
		Yes	0	0.0	2	0.5
	Yes	No	136	36.8	116	31.4
		Yes	19	5.1	19	5.1
Yes	No	No	17	4.6	9	2.4
		Yes	1	0.3	0	—
	Yes	No	94	25.4	71	19.2
		Yes	22	5.9	40	10.8
N/A	N/A	N/A	80	21.6	93	25.1
<b>Total</b>			<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>99.9</b>

ARCH=ARCH-Vahini; Freq.=frequency; Govt=government or Nigam; N/A=not applicable; NBA=Narmada Bachao Andolan; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

During interviews, I had also probed the respondent about the involvement of other organisations and institutions (i.e., ANA, RSSS and the World Bank). Resettlers were able to recall few details, but not enough to give me an idea about the roles some of these groups played in the process.<sup>94</sup> As such, I relied on secondary sources and interviews with key informants to include a discussion about these influential organisations (**Appendix H**).

The nature of participation also reveals the types of meetings and events that organisations and institutions held for PAPs prior to and after resettlement. The question was not applicable for about 25% of my respondents due to the reasons previously mentioned. The remainder recalled

<sup>94</sup> Few resettlers remembered visits by World Bank officials during the 1980s and early 1990s. They were unable to recall names, but were able to describe their interactions. For instance, they described the visits of (i) Professor Scudder in 1983 and 1989 and (ii) the Independent Review in 1991-92.

meetings and events that were sponsored and/or held by NGOs or the government (Table 6.3).

**Table 6.3: Percentage<sup>a</sup> of Respondents that Participated in Meetings and Events Prior to Resettlement**

Event or Meeting	I.	II.
<b>NGO-sponsored</b>		
ARCH	66.5	88.8
NBA	16.5	22.0
RSSS	—	—
ANA	1.6	2.2
<b>Government</b>		
Nigam	32.4	43.3
<b>Events</b>		
Vadgam to Kevadia Rally in 1984	50.0	66.8
<b>Other Meetings</b>		
Mukhiya Mantri	5.9	7.9
Ahmedabad	1.9	2.5
Gandhinagar	0.5	0.7
Bombay	0.3	0.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>277</b>

ANA=Anand Niketan Ashram; ARCH=ARCH-Vahini; N/A=not applicable;  
 NBA=Narmada Bachao Andolan; NGO=non-governmental organisation; Nigam=Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited/Government; RSSS=Rajpipla Social Service Society.

I. includes N/A responses and II. excludes N/A responses.

<sup>a</sup>These percentages reflect multiple answers.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

About 89% of respondents recalled attending ARCH meetings and/events, whilst 22% mentioned NBA meetings and 43% mentioned government meetings. The rally from Vadgam to Kevadia Colony was the most prominent event remembered —about 67% of respondents remembered that day as being significant. On this day, PAPs in Gujarat rallied for land ownership irrespective of previous landholdings (see Appendix B for details). In contrast, meetings that took place in distant towns were mostly targeted at the leaders of their *falia* or village. As a result, few respondents could say that they had attended these meetings. Few resettlers could claim

that they had attended significant gatherings such as the Mukhiya Mantri meeting in Kevadia Colony (8%) and government meetings in Ahmedabad (2%). Less than 1% of respondents said that they attended government meetings in Gandhinagar and Mumbai. Resettlers attended multiple meetings sponsored by more than one group. This mirrors the presence of these organisations prior to resettlement (Table. 6.2).

Topics discussed at meetings revealed the extent to which resettlers were informed about R&R provisions prior to relocation and to future conditions at sites (Table 6.4).<sup>95</sup>

A number of topics discussed included livelihood issues (i.e., source of fodder, water and fuel) and social services (i.e., schools and healthcare facilities). About 261 respondents found this question applicable and recalled the different topics discussed. More than half of them mentioned all the topics that were listed in the questionnaire, which related to the areas of livelihood, land and agriculture, social amenities, R&R provisions and choice (topics are listed in Table 6.4).<sup>96</sup> This question was not applicable for about 30% of the respondents. This was because they were too young in the 1980s, had another family member attend meetings, were newlyweds or were not PAPs.

Both men and women reminisced about their discussions pertaining to choice (Table 6.4). About 96% of all respondents had discussions that focused on land ownership, and 94% also recalled land quality. Some meetings concentrated on different choice issues such as choice in agricultural land (92%), in tin-shed design (78%) and in relocation unit (72%). About 38% mentioned that the choice to design their residential layout was also discussed.

---

<sup>95</sup> PAPs who were affected by the construction of the reservoir had more access to information earlier in the R&R process than those who were displaced for the development of Kevadia colony—the township that was created near the construction site to host project authorities.

<sup>96</sup> Respondents also recalled other discussion topics as well: taps in homes (15%), toilets (13%), electricity (9.6%), roads (9.0%) and job opportunities post-resettlement (1.5%). These responses have not been incorporated into my analysis as these have been classified as additional comments.

The percentage is low because this task was entrusted to the leaders of the *falias* and communities. One leader explained that whilst the leaders reviewed the overall layout of the sites, relatives were permitted to select residential plots next to one another.

**Table 6.4: Percentage<sup>a</sup> of Respondents that Recalled Discussion Topics of Meetings Prior to Resettlement**

Discussion Topics	I.	II.
<b>Livelihood</b>		
Water	67.6	95.8
Fuel	47.8	67.8
Fodder	37.8	53.6
<b>Social Amenities</b>		
Schools/Education	64.1	90.8
Healthcare	54.3	77.0
Child Care	35.4	50.2
<b>R&amp;R Provision</b>		
Transportation Expenses	57.3	81.2
Cash Allowance	52.7	74.7
<b>Land/Agriculture</b>		
Ownership	67.8	96.2
Quality	64.6	91.6
Crops/Fertiliser	51.4	72.8
<b>Choice</b>		
Agricultural Plot	64.3	91.2
Tin-shed Design	54.9	77.8
Relocation Unit	50.5	71.6
Residential Design	26.8	37.9
<b>Total</b>	370	261

N/A=not applicable; R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation.

I. includes N/A responses and II. excludes N/A responses.

<sup>a</sup>These percentages reflect multiple answers.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Aside from the discussions that related to R&R, other topics remembered correlated highly with the sex of the respondent. For example, males recalled discussions that dealt with replacement land and resettlement policy. Females, on the other hand, remembered topics that related directly to their daily needs and to their children's future. Social services are more

important to parents, especially mothers who tend to spend what little money they have on attaining these services for their children (Koenig 1995: 35). As a source of surplus labour, children contribute to household incomes by working at home or in the fields and so their well-being is important.<sup>97</sup> About 91% of household respondents mentioned that topics discussed included access issues to schools, whilst 77% mentioned access issues to health care facilities (Table 6.4).

Koenig (1995) describes a synergistic effect of social services on children and household status. Through better education and good health, children gain better access and utilise more efficiently limited economic resources. This helps to facilitate inter-generational upward mobility and, in turn, leads to increased access to economic and social resources (Koenig 1995: 35). An improvement in human capital (e.g., education and health care services) helps break the vicious circle of poverty, as populations such as those involuntarily resettled become less vulnerable (Bhushan et al., 2001). This synergistic effect is also illustrated in the livelihood assets hexagon in the SL/IR framework, Chapter 4).

The topics that were discussed at the meeting prior to resettlement pertained to a number of livelihood-related issues. However, the extent to which these topics matched the concerns expressed by resettlers is also important to consider.

Findings from the gender assessment questionnaire revealed that about 85% of 89 female respondents said that they were concerned about issues pertaining to R&R. About 7% of respondents found this question not applicable, as they married at the resettlement sites. About 58% of female respondents said they were worried about R&R in general. More specifically,

---

<sup>97</sup> In patriarchal subsistence farming societies, sons and daughters are highly desired and valued for household survival: sons are preferred for purposes of property inheritance and old-age security, whilst daughters are needed to help with the domestic work (Agarwal 1994; Boserup 1970; Kabeer 1994).

concerns focused on livelihood issues and social networks. For example, close to 79% were concerned about the new water source, whilst 58% were worried about the new fuel source. Exactly half wanted to receive replacement land as compensation, but only 6% were concerned about land choice. See **Section 6.4** for more details on the nature of women's participation.

## 6.2. Degree of Participation

The *degree* or level of participation investigates the question “who participated.” Degree of participation is measured by determining the extent of involvement in policy-related events before resettlement by residential unit and gender. In measuring the degree of participation, I relied on three questions from the household questionnaire:

- (i) Did any members of your *chulha* (or family) participate in policy-related events prior to resettlement?
- (ii) Did any members of your joint family participate?
- (iii) Who participated (i.e., man, woman or both)?

About 74% of respondents said that a member from their *chulha* had participated, whilst 56% said that a member from their joint household partook in meetings and events. About 61% of respondents said that only men had participated and about 24% said that both men and women had attended.

In order to understand the degree of participation, I created a ranking system that reflects the various degrees of participation by residential unit and gender. This system was derived by cross-classifying three variables that correspond to the above three questions.



First, the valid percent of those members who participated from either a single *chulha* or a joint household in policy-related events was calculated (Tables 6.5). About 56 respondents said that no member in their household participated, did not know if someone participated and/or found the question not applicable. These respondents were re-categorised as one group —those who did not participate in policy-related events.

**Table 6.5: Cross-tabulation of Members from Single *Chulha* and Joint Households that Participated in Policy-Related Events**

No. Row %		Single <i>Chulha</i> HH Members				Total
		No	Yes	N/A	DK	
Joint HH Members	No	21	103	—	—	124
	Yes	39	166	—	1	206
	N/A	—	1	1	—	2
	DK	3	4	—	31	38
	<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>274</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>370</b>

DK=Do not know; HH=household; N/A=not applicable; No.=number; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

About 85% of respondents said that at least one member participated from either the single *chulha* or joint household (Table 6.6 and Figure 6.1). When the percentage is broken down, patterns of participation are seen. About 11% of respondents said that members from only their joint households participated. Close to 28% of respondents said that members participated only from their *chulha*. About 45% said that members from both residential units had participated. In ranking these categories, I assume that participation from only the single *chulha* reflects a greater degree of participation than from only a joint household.

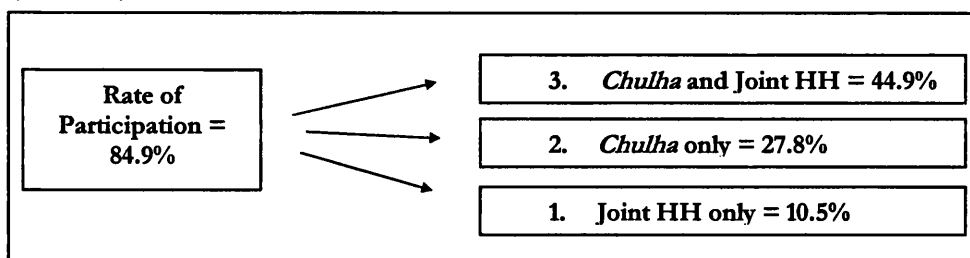
**Table 6.6: Rate of Participation by Resettlers in Policy-Related Events**

<i>Chulha</i>	Joint	N	%
Yes	Yes	166	44.9
Yes	No	103	27.8
No	Yes	39	10.5
Yes	N/A	1	0.3
Yes	DK	4	1.1
DK	Yes	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>		314	84.9

DK=do not know; N=total; N/A=not applicable; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

**Figure 6.1: Range of Participation Amongst *Chulha* and Joint Households (PARTD)**



HH=household; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Second, I used the third question to create a variable whereby I could determine the degree of participation by gender. According to **Table 6.7**, about 61% of respondents said that men only participated in policy-related events prior to resettlement. About 24% of respondents claimed that both men and women partook in events prior to relocation.

**Table 6.7: Rate of Participation Based on Gender and Residential Unit**

Code	Participation by Residential Unit	Sex of Members who Participated	N	%
2	JT	M	30	8.1
3	CH	M	89	24.1
4	BothR	M	105	28.4
3	JT	BothG	10	2.7
4	CH	BothG	19	5.1
5	BothR	BothG	61	16.5
<b>Total</b>			314	84.9

BothG=both gender; BothR=both residential units; CH=single *chulha*; JT=joint household; M=men; N=total; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Third, by assigning a number to each residential unit (from 3 to 0) and gender unit (from 1 to 2), I created a ranking system by cross-classifying these variables (Table 6.8). The result ranged from 5 to 0, where “5” represents the highest degree and “0” represents the lowest degree of participation.

**Table 6.8: Degree of Participation Based on Residential Unit and Gender**

PARTD	Gender of Participants	
	1 – Men Only	2 –Men and Women
3 – <i>Chulha</i> and Joint HH	4	5
2 – <i>Chulha</i> only	3	4
1 – Joint HH only	2	3
0 – None	0	0

HH=household; PARTD=range of participation amongst *chulha* and joint households.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

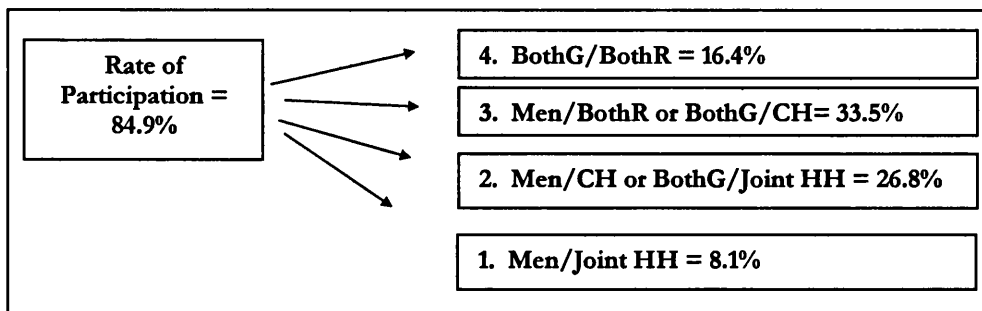
I assume that the degree of participation within the same residential unit is one point higher if both women and men participated, than if only the man participated. The assumption is based on (i) two people attending an event are better than one person and (ii) women’s involvement will have a more positive impact on the family’s welfare. The highest degree of 5 is reached when both men and women from both the *chulha* and the joint household participate (Degree 5), and the lowest degree of 2 (excluding 0) is found when only men from joint households participate (Degree 2).

This cross-classification also resulted in two different sets of combinations for Degree 3 and Degree 4. Degree 3 refers to (i) men only from the *chulha* that participated or (ii) both men and women from only the joint household that participated. Degree 4 refers to (i) men only from the *chulha* and joint household that participated or (ii) both men and women from only the *chulha* that participated.

I thereby revised the ranking scale: instead of using the range from 5 to 2, excluding 0 for no participation, it now ranges from 4 to 1, excluding 0 for no participation (Figure 6.2). About 16% of respondents said that both men and women participated from both residential units —representing the

highest degree of participation at Degree 4). About 34% fall in Degree 3, 27% fall in Degree 2 and 8% in Degree 1. A higher point is given to participants from single *chulba* households than joint households because I expected the effects of participation to be stronger when a member of the former unit participates, as relations to other family members are more direct and less spread out. Similarly, a higher point was given to cases where both men and women participated. As mentioned previously, this is based on the assumption that women's involvement will bear greater positive impacts on the welfare of the family than if women were not involved.

**Figure 6.2: Degree of Participation by Residential Unit and Gender (PARTDG)**



BothG=both gender; BothR=both residential units; CH=single *chulba*, HH= household; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

For instance, if a father and son participated from a single *chulba* (or nuclear family) then other members will benefit directly from the updates, assuming a typical nuclear family includes a father, mother, children and/or grandparents. However, if a father participates from a joint family comprising four sons and their families, the information that is shared with members will be less accurate and will have less impact. In a patriarchal system, the eldest daughter-in-law will have more bargaining power in a joint household. She will also have greater access to the information discussed within the family than the youngest daughter-in-law. Based on these assumptions, responses are given a greater value if they are given from respondents where members from only the *chulba* participated. In this case, the effect of patriarchy (as one of

many structures and processes in the SL/IR framework) on participation is significant.

This analysis illustrates two trends. First, the highest rates of participation amongst men who only participated in policy-related events come from both the single *chulha* and the joint households. Second, rates of participation are higher in those instances where both men and women from the single *chulha* and the joint household participated in policy-related events. For instance, the participation rate is about 37% if both men and women are from both residential units. In comparison, rate of participation is about 25% if both men and women come from only the joint household and 18% if they come from only the single *chulha*.

### **6.3. Relationship Between Nature and Degree of Participation**

The relationship between nature and degree of participation provides some indication to the extent to which resettlers were actively or passively involved in events prior to resettlement. On average, respondents said that about 1.6 organisations had visited their villages in the Narmada Valley, about 2.3 meetings and/or events were attended and close to 12 topics were discussed (Table 6.9).

I found the degree of participation was consistent with an average number of organisations present, meetings attended and topics discussed (Table 6.9). As the degree of participation increased, the nature of participation increased. On average, respondents that participated at the highest degree (Degree 4: men and women both participated from the *chulha* and joint household) attended about 2.4 events and remembered 12.5 discussion topics. The mean number of organisations recalled remained the same within this group at Degree 4. I also found that women's participation positively influenced the average number of organisations and discussion topics remembered.

**Table 6.9: Mean Number of Organisations, Meetings and/or Topics Discussed by Degree of Participation**

	N	No. of Organisations	No. of Meetings /Events	No. of Discussion Topics
<b>Degree of Participation</b>				
0 – None	56	1.5	1.3 <sup>a</sup>	8.7 <sup>a</sup>
1 – Men/JT	30	1.3	1.7	9.3
2 – Men/CH or BothG/JT	99	1.5	2.4	11.3
3 – Men/BothR or BothG/CH	124	1.6	2.4	12.3
4 – BothG/BothR	61	1.6	2.4	12.5
<b>Total</b>	370	1.6	2.3	11.8

BothG=both gender; BothR=both residential units; CH=single *chulha*, JT=joint household; N=total; No.=number

<sup>a</sup>These averages should equal to zero, but the total answers I received from 370 respondents were inconsistent. About 314 said they participated in policy-related events, 290 said that groups were present in villages, 277 said they attended events and 261 remembered the topics discussed. In conducting cross-tabulations, I found that out of 56 respondents who said that they had not participated, about 11 claimed that they knew of organisations that were present, 6 said that they had attended meetings and 7 recalled topics that had been discussed.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The relationship between the two major dimensions of participation illustrates the nature of interactions resettlers had with organisations. The type of interactions invariably depends on the ability of organisations to influence ongoing processes. It also depends on the resettlers' ability to influence the R&R process for a variety of expected outcomes based on a mix of livelihood assets. These assets are also influenced by gender and other key characteristics of resettlers, such as tribal traits. Forthcoming chapters will further illustrate this association as the effect of participation is seen on expected livelihood outcomes.

#### **6.4. Participation of Women During the R&R Process**

Documenting women's participation during the R&R process is based on both the household questionnaire and the gender assessment questionnaire. The degree of women's participation is described in Section 6.4. Based on the household questionnaire, about 24% of respondents said

that both men and women had participated before resettlement. However, the nature of women's participation requires a separate discussion as the household questionnaire was administered to mainly male heads of the households.

According to the gender assessment questionnaire, women's participation in different meetings and events indicates the extent they were involved at the various stages of the R&R process. About 44% of women had participated in policy-related events prior to relocation, whilst 37% participated in events post-resettlement. The high rate of women's participation before resettlement is due to sampling of the women for the gender assessment questionnaire. As a result, the observed decline reflects the way the sample was selected from a pool where about half the women participated in policy-related events before resettlement (see **Chapter 1**).

However, a large proportion of women continued to participate after resettlement (**Table 6.10**). Of those women that participated before, about 62% continued their involvement in meetings and events after resettlement. Out of those who did not partake in any meetings before moving, only 18% indicated that they started to participate in events after resettlement. Amongst those women that participated before resettlement, about 38% ceased their involvement in resettlement-related meetings. Of these, about 61% ceased their involvement post-resettlement and gave one of the following multiple reasons:

- (i) Lack of time for women due to daily domestic responsibilities (50%),
- (ii) Lack of information about the occurrence of meetings (19%),
- (iii) Closed meetings to only men (18%) and

- (iv) Lesser need to fight for a common cause post-resettlement (7%).

**Table 6.10: Women's Participation Status Before and After Resettlement**

		Participation Before Resettlement					
		Yes		No		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Participation After Resettlement	Yes	24	61.5	9	18.0	33	37.1
	No	15	38.5	41	82.0	56	62.9
	Total %	39	43.8	50	56.2	89	100.0

Freq.=frequency; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Based on the gender assessment questionnaire, only 21% of the respondents claimed that they attended all the meetings that they had wanted. The reasons some women gave for not attending meetings included distance (38%), child care (31%), domestic activities (52%) and/or agricultural work (14%). About 10% noted that they did not feel comfortable attending, as meeting participants included both men and women.

Out of 42 female respondents who had participated prior to relocation, a majority said that they had attended local meetings (88%), whilst a small fraction went to those that were farther away (19%). Women's attendance at policy-related meetings is an indication that women had enough curiosity to listen and understand the consequences of the events that were about to unfold in the Valley. About 91% of these women remembered attending ARCH-Vahini meetings (97%), government and affiliated agencies gatherings (26%) and NBA events (8%). More than half had mentioned that the meetings were held in either their *falia* (69%), in their village (51%) or in nearby towns (54%). A number of other townships were mentioned that varied in distance, ranging from a nearby village in the Narmada Valley to Kevadia Colony and to New Delhi.



For some women, participation in meetings and/or events was active and for others, it was passive. For instance, I asked respondents if they had spoken at any of the meetings that they attended. This would help separate those women who passively attended meetings and those who actively voiced concerns. This difference in participation would be from a woman's perspective. I discovered that about 32% said that they had spoken in the meetings.

Female respondents that participated in meetings before resettlement explained the ways in which organisations took steps to make them feel comfortable in an unusual environment. For instance, about 66% of women said that they felt more inclined to attend meetings that were segregated by sex. About 16% said it was easier when meetings took place in the evenings, after they had completed their daily activities. About 13% said that a financial incentive (e.g., travel costs were paid) was useful.

Women also mentioned other incentives, such as efforts by organisations to involve women in decision-making regarding R&R issues. Organisations not only provided information (84%) and updates (34%), but they also sought views and suggestions (34%). Women also enjoyed the refreshments that were provided after meetings (37%).

Out of those women who participated in meetings prior to resettlement, about 70% said that water issues were discussed, whilst 91% stated that land issues was talked about. Interestingly, only 33% and 6% of respondents said that issues pertaining to land choice and relocation unit were discussed at meetings. Other discussion topics included education (39%), health (21%) and fuel (30%).

Interestingly, about 26% of women had voiced concern about fodder issues. This implies that fodder was not a concern expressed by either the resettlers themselves, or the organisers of the meetings before resettlement. Whilst the provision of *goucher* land is mentioned in Gujarat's R&R policy, the

amount of fodder has been insufficient for an exponentially growing community and its livestock. The impact of such an oversight is now being experienced, as resettlers are unable to sustain their previous herds and are forced to alter their livestock portfolio to suit the limited amount of grazing land.

Concerns are different from promises. The former is a type of anxiety felt from within, whilst the latter are assurances made by governments to help neutralise these fears. Roughly 88% of all females completing the gender assessment questionnaire believed that some or all of their concerns had been addressed prior to resettlement. About 36% were fully satisfied whilst 52% felt that their concerns were partly fulfilled before relocating. Out of the total respondents, about 60% felt that they had received everything that had been promised to them after resettlement. Although a greater percentage of respondents remained concerned before resettlement, they were nevertheless content with receiving what had been promised to them previously. About one-third of respondents felt that the government had not provided provisions that were previously promised. These included certain facilities (i.e., medical dispensaries at the sites) and additional water sources.

There was also some indication that women's participation did not cease after the struggle for a revised R&R policy but rather, it continued into the implementation stage and beyond. About 74% of the women mentioned participating in the 1984 rally to Kevadia Colony, and demanding five acres of irrigable land for every PAP. About 21% of the total female sample also indicated that they were involved in the site selection process.

A variable was therefore developed to illustrate women's participation before and after resettlement —DGPART (Table 6.11). By creating this variable, three categories of women have been developed: (i) those who did not participate at all in meetings, (ii) those who participated before but do not

do so now or vice versa and (iii) those who continued to participate after resettlement.

**Table 6.11: Women's Participation in R&R Process**

Women's Participation	No. of HHs	%
<b>BFPART</b>		
No	50	56.2
Yes	39	43.8
<b>DGPART</b>		
No	41	46.1
No-Yes-No	24	27.0
Yes	24	27.0
<b>Total</b>	89	100%

BFPART=women's participation before resettlement; DGPART=degree of women's participation during the R&R process; HHs=households; No.=number; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

This gradation helps to provide a structure for women's involvement in the R&R process. In **Chapter 7**, this DGPART variable will be used for determining the effect of women's participation on selected output variables (see **Chapter 9**).

### 6.5. Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Participation

A tribal village is often perceived as a homogeneous social unit that relies on common property resources for survival. This is often the situation where tribals or other PAPs are not consulted or their responses are not disaggregated according to individual tribal groups. In policy development, it is then perceived that tribals will respond to development in the same way. It supports a more passive form of participation by those affected by development projects.

However, tribal villages contain members with different interests thus, each member's response to development will be different with respect to their needs. The effect of key characteristics of resettlers on the nature and degree

of participation reveals common trends and differences amongst different tribal groups (Table 6.12).

**Table 6.12: Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Participation**

	No. of HHs	Mean Rate of Participation			% Women Amongst Participants	Average Degree of Participation
		<i>Chulha</i>	Joint HH	Either <i>Chulha</i> or Joint HH		
<b>Tribal Group</b>						
Rathwa	98	67.4	68.4	87.8	40.7	2.4
Tadvi	194	77.8	51.6	84.0	25.8	2.3
Vasava+Bhil	66	71.2	47.0	80.3	17.0	2.0
Other	12	83.3	66.7	100.0	33.3	2.7
<b>Place of Origin</b>						
Close	195	78.5	51.3	84.6	25.5	2.3
Midway	44	79.6	40.9	81.8	16.7	2.1
Interior	112	72.3	73.2	94.6	38.7	2.5
Other	19	26.3	31.6	36.8	14.3	0.9
<b>Resettlement Sites</b>						
Site A	70	84.3	72.9	95.7	42.3	2.8
Site B	74	79.7	54.1	86.5	21.9	2.3
Site C	125	77.6	48.8	83.2	26.9	2.3
Site D	59	45.8	62.7	78.0	29.3	1.8
Site E	12	58.3	33.3	66.7	37.5	1.8
Site F	30	83.3	43.3	83.3	12.0	2.2
<b>Year of Resettlement*</b>						
1988-1991	240	75.8	63.3	89.2	29.9	2.4
1992-1995	104	75.0	38.5	78.9	28.1	2.1
1996-2001	25	52.0	52.0	68.0	17.7	1.7
<b>Total</b>	370	74.0	55.7	84.9	28.7	2.3

*chulha*=single household; HH=household; N=total; No.=number; %=percent

\*Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

About 85% of all respondents said that at least one person from either the individual *chulha* or joint household participated in policy-related events (Table 6.12). About 88% of Rathwas participated in events in comparison with 84% of Tadvis and 80% of Vasavas. This is confirmed by responses given by the 95% of respondents that came from interior villages. Fewer Rathwas from single *chulha* households were found to participate in

comparison with other tribals that came from the same residential unit. More Rathwas were likely to participate if they came from joint households. Faraway meeting locations and larger household structures may account for this difference in participation. However, about 41% of Rathwa women partook in policy-related events. Only 26% of Tadvi women and 17% of Vasava women participated. Such a variation implies that perhaps women from interior regions were more concerned and thus, felt more inclined to participate than women who lived closer to the dam site.

As shown in **Table 6.12**, the average rate of participation also declined over time from 89% (1988-1991), to 79% (1992-1995) and 68% (1996-2001). This relationship was significant ( $F=14.1$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The mean degree of participation also fell, as the number of years at resettlement sites increased.

The observed decline in participation over time might be attributable to an adjustment and/or enhancement in the livelihood assets portfolio of resettlers moving later in time (**Figure 4.2**). There was a greater need for resettlers moving early in the process to participate in policy implementation. This would demonstrate an increase in political capital or change in social capital. However, the need to actively participate lessened with time, as some resettlers had already moved to some designated resettlement sites. Resettlers in this situation would find an increase in all assets, as communities and site infrastructure have been established at sites and there is less need to exert influence. Resettlers that assist in monitoring resettlement provisions and ensure quality and sustainability would experience an increase in political or financial capital, or a decrease in physical or natural capital.

In considering the effect of key characteristics of resettlers on the nature of participation, I found very little difference in the average number of organisations mentioned (**Table 6.13**). However, there appears to be a distinct difference in the average number of events and/or meetings attended

by those who participated when considering the means between groups. Tadvīs that participated in policy-related events attended an average of three gatherings and recalled about 12.3 different discussion topics. Whilst a higher proportion of individuals from the Rathwa group participated, each participating Rathwa attended on average, fewer meetings and recalled fewer discussion topics in comparison to the Tadvīs.

**Table 6.13: Mean Number of Organisations, Events and Meetings and Topics Discussed**

	No. of Organisations		No. of Meetings/Events		No. of Discussion Topics	
	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N
<b>Tribal Group</b>						
Rathwa	1.5	84	2.0	78	11.4	77
Tadvī	1.6	145	2.7	138	12.3	132
Vasava + Bhil	1.5	51	2.1	50	11.0	43
Others	1.7	10	2.2	11	12.2	9
<b>Place of Origin</b>						
Close	1.6	147	2.6	141	12.3	135
Midway	1.5	35	2.4	34	11.9	30
Interior	1.5	102	1.9	97	11.1	92
Other	1.7	6	2.2	5	10.5	4
<b>Resettlement Site</b>						
Site A	1.6	60	2.2	60	12.2	59
Site B	1.8	54	3.0	51	13.4	53
Site C	1.6	95	2.4	91	11.7	83
Site D	1.4	48	1.5	43	9.4	38
Site E	1.3	6	2.8	5	12.3	3
Site F	1.5	27	2.3	27	11.7	25
<b>Year of Resettlement*</b>						
1988-1991	1.6	198	2.3	187	11.6	179
1992-1995	1.5	75	2.6	73	12.6	67
1996-2001	1.5	17	2.0	17	10.9	15
<b>Total</b>	1.6	290	2.3	277	11.8	261

N=total; No.=number

\*Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Over the years, the average number of meetings and/or events attended remained relatively consistent, with a slight increase noted during 1991-1992 (Table 6.13). On average, participants remembered more discussion topics in 1991-1992 (12%), than in 1988-1991 (13%) and 1996-

2001 (11%). One explanation is that respondents who resettled later had learned about the different issues from fellow resettlers who moved earlier. This, too, would indicate a possible shift in the livelihood asset portfolios of resettlers. It is possible that the decline is under-estimated as the resettlers who moved during the early years were unable to recall complete information.

## 6.6. Conclusion

The right to make choices in implementing the R&R policy depends on the nature and degree of participation by resettlers during policy development. The SL/IR reflects the link between vulnerability and the survival strategies households seek during displacement and relocation.

Participation is defined as those who attended policy-related meetings. Instead of measuring participation based on a simple yes-no question, I created two dimensions of participation to reflect the participatory process embedded in the five stages of participation leading to a revised R&R policy in 1987. These two major dimensions of participation are nature and degree of participation. The fifth stage —the right to implement choice —is considered an outcome of this process, which lays down the groundwork for this thesis.

Nature of participation refers to the descriptive type of participation in which resettlers engaged —visiting organisations in original villages, meetings/events and topics discussed. PAPs gained information about the R&R process through the presence of organisations and their involvement in policy-related events.

Degree of participation is based on who participated from the residential unit (i.e., single *chulha* and/or joint household) and the gender of participants (i.e., men only and both men and women participants). Examining who participated in policy-related events gives some indication to the number and status of people involved in gathering and processing

information and decision-making within the household for future action. I have assumed that the decision to take action was made by more than one person in cases where more than one person participated.

Participation in policy-related events prior to resettlement was high in my sample of resettlers. About 85% of respondents said that at least one member participated from either the single *chulha* or joint household. More specifically, close to 28% of respondents said that a member from only the single *chulha* had participated in meetings and events, whilst 11% said that only a member from their joint household participated and 45% from both the single *chulha* and joint household. About 61% of respondents said that only men had participated and about 24% said that both men and women had attended.

In ranking the degrees of participation by residential unit and gender, a five-point scale developed ranging from 0 to 4, where 0 represents no participation. About 16% of respondents said that both men and women participated from both residential units —representing the highest degree of participation at Degree 4. About 34% fall in Degree 3, 27% fall in Degree 2 and 8% in Degree 1 reflecting the participation of only men from joint households.

The relationship between nature and degree of participation helps in determining the extent to which participation was passive or active prior to resettlement. On average, respondents said that about 1.6 organisations had visited their villages in the Narmada Valley, about 2.3 meetings and/or events were attended and close to 12 topics were discussed. I found the degree of participation was consistent with an average number of organisations present, meetings attended and topics discussed. As the degree of participation increased, the nature of participation increased. This association was introduced in this chapter. Forthcoming chapters will further illustrate this



association as the effect of participation is seen on expected livelihood outcomes.

Participation did not cease after resettlement, as a large proportion of women continued their involvement in meetings and events after resettlement. About 62% of women who participated before resettlement continued their participation afterwards. Out of those who did not partake in any meetings before moving, only 18% indicated that they started to participate in events after resettlement. Amongst those women that participated before resettlement, about 38% ceased their involvement in resettlement-related meetings.

The effect of key characteristics of resettlers on the nature and degree of participation reveals common trends and differences amongst different tribal groups. About 88% of Rathwas participated in events in comparison with 84% of Tadvīs and 80% of Vasavas. Tadvīs that participated in policy-related events attended an average of three gatherings and recalled about 12.3 different discussion topics. Whilst a higher proportion of individuals from the Rathwa group participated, each participating Rathwa attended on average, fewer meetings and recalled fewer discussion topics in comparison to the Tadvīs.

The average rate of participation declined over time from 89% (1988-1991), to 79% (1992-1995) to 68% (1996-2001). The mean degree of participation also fell, as the number of years at resettlement sites increased. Resettlers who moved during later years had already learned about the different issues concerning R&R from fellow resettlers that had moved earlier.

Involving local PAPs in the design and implementation of R&R policies can minimise the adverse consequences of forced relocation. For resettlers, the ability to participate in policy development and implementation is the link between (i) the feeling of vulnerability that is associated with not having a choice during resettlement and (ii) the favourable provisions in an

R&R policy that help resettlers restore their livelihoods based on expected outcomes. To be able to maintain control of their lives helps to reduce the feeling of being “involuntarily” resettled. PAPs who were considering migration as a possible livelihood strategy, may have “voluntarily” accepted resettlement as a development opportunity. This would have helped to create more favourable conditions within which households would have gathered information, made decisions and taken actions.

The effect of participation on policy implementation for households is the subject of **Chapters 7 and 8**. **Chapter 7** considers the effect of participation on choice and land compensation. **Chapter 8** considers the effect of participation on household improvement in terms of infrastructure and amenities. **Chapter 9** considers the effect of policy implementation on individuals.

## Chapter 7

### EFFECT OF PARTICIPATION ON GUJARAT'S R&R POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

*The displaced should be resettled as a social unit —village or hamlet as a whole —in an area that is comparable to their original social, cultural and ecological settings.*

—Parasuraman (1999: 265)

In this chapter, I will discuss the effect of both nature and degree of participation on policy implementation. This chapter will focus on answering the following question:

- How has the degree and nature of participation during the policy process influenced the extent to which the policy has been implemented?

The chapter will begin by considering the effect of participation on land compensation and choice —both of which are also classified as potential livelihood outcomes for resettlers. The definitions and ranking systems for nature and degree of participation have been developed in **Chapter 6**. The effect of both dimensions of participation on compensation and choice will be presented in this chapter. Included in the analysis is the effect of women's participation from either a single *chulha* and/or joint household on policy outcomes. These gender-specific findings are woven into the findings presented in this chapter.<sup>98</sup> The influence key characteristics of resettlers have

---

<sup>98</sup> A separate section on the gendered-effect of participation based on the gender assessment questionnaire is found in **Chapter 9**.

on compensation and choice helps to explain variations in policy implementation amongst resettlers.

## **7.1. Degree of Participation: Effect on Policy Implementation**

### *7.1.1. EFFECT OF DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION ON CHOICE*

Choice is one of the livelihood outcomes for resettlers. It is one of the three unique provisions in Gujarat's R&R policy. Resettlers fought to include choice of resettlement site and of relocation unit in Gujarat's R&R policy. As mentioned in **Chapter 5**, choice is measured by four indicators: (i) percentage of respondents who saw more than one site before relocation, (ii) average number of sites seen before relocation, (iii) percentage of respondents who implemented their choice in site selection and (iv) percentage of respondents who implemented their choice in relocation unit.

The effect of participation on choice variables is shown in **Table 7.1**. Approximately 65% of respondents had seen more than one site before relocation. About 81% had implemented their choice in site selection by viewing on average, four sites per household. Roughly 90% had implemented their choice in relocation unit.

Participation in policy-related events increases choice. A Chi-square test was used to determine the statistical significant between two percentages. This relationship between participation and choice was found to be statistically significant (**Table 7.1**). About 71% of those resettlers, who said at least one member participated from either a single *chulha* and/or a joint household, had seen more than one resettlement site before relocation in comparison to 34% of those who did not participate. The difference between these two percentages is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=28.3$ ,  $p\leq 0.001$ ). Similar relationships are also observed for the other three choice variables.

**Table 7.1: Effect of Participation on Choice of Resettlement Site and Relocation Unit**

	No. of HHs	Choice in Site Selection			Choice in Relocation Unit	
		% Seen Before (Site > 1)	% Choice	Average Sites <sup>a</sup>	% Choice	
<b>Participation from Chulha</b>	No	96	39.6	52.1	1.8	67.7
	Yes	274	74.1	91.2	4.5	98.2
<b>Participation from Joint HH</b>	No	164	59.2	74.4	3.9	84.8
	Yes	206	69.9	86.4	3.8	94.7
<b>Participation from Either Chulha or Joint HH</b>	No	56	33.9	42.9	1.1	58.9
	Yes	314	70.7	87.9	4.3	95.9
			$\chi^2=28.3$ $p \leq 0.001$	$\chi^2=62.9$ $p \leq 0.001$		$\chi^2=73.8$ $p \leq 0.001$
<b>Participation of Women</b>						
No	56	33.9	42.9	1.1	58.9	
Male only	224	70.5	86.6	3.8	95.1	
Male and Female	90	71.1	91.1	5.5	97.8	
<b>Degree of Participation</b>						
0 – None	56	33.9	42.9	1.1	58.9	
1 – Men/JT	30	50.0	66.7	2.6	76.7	
2 – Men/CH or BothG/JT	99	68.7	85.9	3.7	97.0	
3 – Men/BothR or BothG/CH	124	75.0	91.9	5.5	98.4	
4 – BothG/BothR	61	75.4	93.4	3.6	98.4	
<b>Total</b>	370	65.1	81.1	3.8	90.3	

BothG=both gender; BothR=both residential units; CH=single chulha; HH=household; JT=joint household; %=percent;  $\chi^2$ =Chi-square.

<sup>a</sup>This average number of sites is based on 299 respondents (or 81% of respondents) who had a choice in site selection. This does not include those respondents who followed the judgment of others.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

From Table 7.1, it is seen that participants from single *chulha* households were able to exert more choice than those from joint households. About 74% of those from the single *chulha* implemented choice in site selection as compared with the 70% from joint households. Similarly, about

98% of participants from single *chulha* households exercised choice in relocation unit as compared with 95% from joint households.

A higher degree of participation yielded more choice in implementation of both resettlement site and relocation unit selection. Households who had not participated saw only 1.1 sites prior to resettlement. However, those households where both men and women participated saw an average of 5.5 sites prior to resettlement. Interestingly, those who participated at the highest degree (4) viewed only 3.6 sites. This, however, did not influence resettlers' ability to exercise choice in either site or unit. Those who participated at the lowest degree (Degree 1: only men from joint households) witnessed lower rates of choice implementation.

#### 7.1.2. EFFECT OF DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION ON COMPENSATION

Compensation is one of the livelihood outcomes for resettlers. Resettlers fought to include compensation —especially five acres of replacement land—in Gujarat's R&R policy. This, too, is one of the three unique provisions. As mentioned in **Chapter 5**, compensation is measured using two indicators: (i) at least one member from a single *chulha* received compensation and (ii) at least one member from the joint household received compensation. About 86% of all respondents said that they or someone in their *chulha* received some form of compensation. Of these, about 99% received land and the remainder received other forms of compensation such as chickens for rearing. About 90% of respondents said that at least one member received compensation from either their single *chulha* and/or joint household. Of them, more than 99% received land.

The effect of degree of participation on compensation has the potential of influencing other livelihood outcomes (e.g., monetary, tangible or intangible outcomes). Participation in policy-related events increases the likelihood of receiving compensation (**Table 7.2**). This relationship between

participation and compensation was found to be statistically significant ( $\chi^2=26.7$ ,  $p \leq 0.001$ ). About 94% of those resettlers, who said that at least one member participated from either a single *chulha* and/or a joint household, had received compensation in comparison to 71% of those who did not participate. The difference between these two percentages is statistically significant. A similar relationship is also observed for the other compensation variable where at least one person from the single *chulha* received compensation.

**Table 7.2: Effect of Participation on Compensation**

	No. of HHs	Compensation Received per Chulha	Compensation Received in Total <sup>a</sup>
<b>Participation from Chulha</b>			
No	96	69.8	78.1
Yes	274	92.3	94.5
<b>Participation from Joint HH</b>			
No	164	89.0	90.2
Yes	206	84.5	90.3
<b>Participation from Either Chulha or Joint HH</b>			
No	56	67.9	71.4
Yes	314	89.9	93.6
		$\chi^2=19.6$ $p \leq 0.001$	$\chi^2=26.7$ $p \leq 0.001$
<b>Participation of Women</b>			
No	56	67.9	71.4
Male only	224	91.5	95.1
Male and Female	90	85.6	90.0
<b>Degree of Participation</b>			
0 – None	56	67.9	71.4
1 – Men/JT	30	73.3	90.0
2 – Men/CH or BothG/JT	99	97.0	98.0
3 – Men/BothR or BothG/CH	124	91.0	93.6
4 – BothG/BothR	61	83.6	88.5
<b>Total</b>	370	86.5	90.3

BothG=both gender; BothR=both residential units; CH=single chulha; HH=household; JT=joint household; No.=number; %=percent;  $\chi^2$ =Chi-square.

<sup>a</sup>Compensation in total includes respondents and other extended family members that received compensation.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

**Table 7.2** shows the effect of participation on compensation to be greater when the person comes from the single *chulha* (92%) than from joint households (85%). Amongst joint household participants, the difference between those who participated and those who did not had little effect on compensation rates.

I found that women's participation had a negative effect on land compensation (**Table 7.2**). About 86% received compensation per *chulha* in instances where both men and women participated. In comparison, close to 92% received compensation in cases where only men participated. The comparable percentages are 90% and 95%, respectively when compensation is aggregated to include compensation received by members from the joint household. This trend continues when considering the degree effect of participation. For instance, participation at Degrees 3 and 4 yields lower compensation rates than at Degrees 1 and 2. The optimum effect appears to occur when only men participate from only the *chulha* and/or when both men and women participate from joint households where the effect of women's participation is negligible.

Such an effect may be explained by the lack of knowledge and/or information women might have had about land quality relative to the land at their original villages. Because men commonly partook in agricultural wage labour in the Dabhoi taluka, they may have been more knowledgeable about the quality of the soil available in the area.

## **7.2. Nature of Participation: Effect on Policy Implementation**

### *7.2.1. EFFECT OF NATURE OF PARTICIPATION ON CHOICE*

#### *7.2.1.1. Effect of Organisations on Choice*

Visits made by organisations to affected villages prior to resettlement sites are one criterion that can be used to describe the nature of participation.



The individual and combined effects of organisations on choice are presented in **Table 7.3**. Respondents mentioned mainly three organisations, which came to villages to discuss R&R topics prior to resettlement —ARCH-Vahini, the NBA and the government. A description of these organisations and their key roles as key stakeholders in the R&R process had been previously described in **Chapter 3**.

**Table 7.3: Effect of Organisations on Choice**

Organisations	No. of HHs		Site Seen Before (Site > 1)	Choice in Site Selection	Average Sites Seen	Choice in Relocation Unit
	N	%				
No	80	21.6	27.5	38.8	1.1	62.5
Yes	290	78.4	75.5	92.8	4.6	97.9
			$\chi^2=63.7$ $p \leq 0.001$	$\chi^2=119.2$ $p \leq 0.001$		$\chi^2=89.6$ $p \leq 0.001$
Govt only	17	4.6	88.2	100.0	6.5	100.0
ARCH only	136	36.8	67.7	89.7	2.7	96.3
NBA only	0	0.0	—	—	—	—
Govt + ARCH	94	25.4	79.8	96.8	7.1	100.0
Govt + NBA	1	0.3	100.0	100.0	2.0	100.0
ARCH + NBA	19	5.1	94.7	100.0	3.7	94.7
All Three	22	5.9	81.8	81.8	5.4	100.0
All others	1	0.3	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>65.1</b>	<b>81.1</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>90.3</b>

ARCH=ARCH-Vahini; Govt=Government; HHs=households; N=total; NBA=Narmada Bachao Andolan; No.=Number; %=percent;  $\chi^2$ =Chi-square.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The presence of organisations prior to resettlement increases the likelihood that resettlers exercised choice (**Table 7.3**). For instance, about 93% of those resettlers, who had recalled the presence of at least one organisation, had moved to the resettlement site of their choice. In comparison, about 39% of resettlers who did not mention an organisation still relocated to a site of their choice. The difference between these two percentages is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=119.2$ ,  $p \leq 0.001$ ). Similar relationships are also observed for the other choice variables in **Table 7.3**.

The effect of having the government visit submergence villages prior to resettlement yielded a 100% choice in implementation for both

resettlement site and relocation unit selection (**Table 7.3**). The effect of only ARCH's involvement at the villages yielded a 90% choice in resettlement site, and a 96% choice in relocation unit. There were no households that mentioned the sole presence of the NBA. This is not surprising, as the sites that were selected for this study had limited NBA presence and activity.

The process through which land was identified and selected by PAPs relied heavily on the collaborative efforts between the government and the NGOs. After Gujarat's policy was developed in 1987, the government set up a land purchasing committee that was responsible for showing PAPs plots of land. It seemed to be common practice for a group of men from individual *falias* take part in the initial search for adequate land. PAPs visited potential sites and land plots in the company of government and planning officials. An ARCH member accompanied the group to oversee the transactions. The government would provide transportation to and from the potential sites. A male resettler from **Site D** explained:

*...government vehicles would come to take us to the different sites. Once we [the informant and fellow PAPs] had decided on a site, we told a member of ARCH Vahini who then notified the government... (Anonymous 1993a).*

Once an area was selected, the remaining members of the *falia* would visit and evaluate the site for themselves. I was told that women also accompanied the men during land selection. Sometimes they would visit the sites at the initial time, and sometimes when others from the *falias* would visit. The women would then report back to other women in the village about the site condition and potential. A male resettler from **Site A** mentioned that his wife had accompanied him to see different sites, although she moved only after things were finalised and the tin-sheds constructed (Anonymous 1993l).

After the area was decided upon, individual residential and agricultural plots were chosen and allotted. In cases where PAPs did not care to choose,

allotments were made randomly.<sup>99</sup> But other times, allotments corresponded with more political or economic agendas of more vocal members of a *falia*. Land titles were finalised only after the resettlers had viewed the plots of agricultural lands and signatures (or thumb prints) of both the PAP and a government official were obtained. This is how the process of purchasing a chosen plot of private land was initiated and acquired for the future displacee.<sup>100</sup>

Morse and Berger (1992) noted in the Independent Review that in 1991, the freedom to choose was evident, but it was limited by the need to focus on the agricultural potential of the land.<sup>101</sup> They argued that social and cultural preferences were given a lower priority in the selection criteria of a piece of land (Morse and Berger 1992: 106). However, a male resettler in 1993 described the site selection criteria he used before he resettled to **Site B**:

*...the land was flat and had good soil...the canal was nearby...major towns were within close distance...the nearby village had the same caste...and the site was about half a kilometre from a main road... (Anonymous 1993d).*

The combination effect on choice indicates that the involvement of all three organisations was critical for implementing choice in site selection and land plot (Table 7.3). However, the impact was greater when these organisations worked in different combinations with one another. About 82% of respondents exercised their choice in site selection in comparison with the 97% and 100% who had in any other paired combination. The average

---

<sup>99</sup> Individual effect of choice on individual residential and agricultural lands was difficult to measure, as resettlers considered residential and agricultural lands as part of the overall resettlement site.

<sup>100</sup> This paragraph is based on information gathered during interviews with resettlers, with members from ARCH and government officials. The Independent Review (Morse and Berger 1992: 129) and Mehta (1992: 59-67) also confirm parts of this process.

<sup>101</sup> In the Independent Review, Morse and Berger (1992: 115-16) report an instance where ARCH took the team to a resettlement site where resettlers had not used contractors, but had designed the tin-sheds themselves. They constructed the tin-shed to meet their needs (i.e., creating lofts for storage, constructing plinths to protect the house from water-logging and building sheds on actual house plots rather than in a barrack-like rows. I observed these barrack-like rows set-up at a site in Maharashtra in 1993 (Resettlement Site Visit 1993).

number of sites viewed also varied. A higher average was seen when the Government was mentioned alone or with ARCH. This might be attributable to the quality of land that the Government showed PAPs for resettlement.

It is difficult to determine the effect of the NBA on choice, as only 42 respondents mentioned its presence in combination with others (Table 4.3). Only one respondent mentioned the collaboration between the government and the NBA. For this reason, the effects of this combination may be the same as those effects in the case if only the government was mentioned. Regardless, a high level of cooperation between the government and ARCH can be assumed, as the effects of both organisations individually and collectively indicate full, or close to full, implementation of choice. The Independent Review also recognised this level of cooperation in land selection in their report:

*Identification of land, its purchase and selection by oustees, and many other aspects of the relocation process were greatly assisted by the collaboration between non-governmental organizations and Nigam officials. In particular, the resettlement process came to rely heavily upon the work of ARCH Vahini and another non-governmental organization, the Anand Niketan Ashram (Morse and Berger 1992: 129).*

#### 7.2.1.2. Effect of Meetings and Events on Choice

The effect of meetings and events on choice of resettlement site and relocation unit can be determined by examining: (i) gatherings organised by government agencies or NGOs and (ii) rallies, such as the one that took place from Vadgam to Kevadia Colony in 1984.

The effects of such participation (or attendance) had a significant effect on choice (Table 7.4). For instance, about 94% of those resettlers, who had attended at least one event, had moved to the resettlement site of their choice. In comparison, about 43% of resettlers who did not attend any meetings still relocated to a site of their choice. The difference between these

two percentages is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=117.4$ ,  $p\leq 0.001$ ). Similar relationships are also observed for the other choice variables. Out of 277 respondents who participated, about 78% had seen more than one site before resettlement. About 99% had moved with other groups of people of their choice.

**Table 7.4: Effect of Meetings and Events on Choice**

Meetings and Events	No. of HHs		Site Seen Before (Site > 1)	Choice in Site Selection	Average Sites Seen	Choice in Re-location Unit
	N	%				
No	93	25.1	28.0	43.0	1.2	65.6
Yes	277	74.9	77.6	93.9	4.7	98.6
Govt only	1	0.3	100.0	100.0	5.0	100.0
ARCH only	40	10.8	75.0	92.5	2.8	95.0
NBA only	0	0.0	—	—	—	—
1984 rally only	20	5.4	55.0	95.0	2.5	100.0
Govt + ARCH	21	5.7	71.4	95.2	2.5	100.0
Govt + NBA	0	0.0	—	—	—	—
Govt + 1984 rally	8	2.2	62.5	100.0	4.8	100.0
ARCH + NBA	9	2.4	88.9	100.0	2.7	100.0
ARCH + 1984 rally	76	20.5	80.3	96.1	5.3	100.0
NBA + 1984 rally	2	0.5	100.0	100.0	3.5	50.0
Govt + ARCH + NBA	21	5.7	90.5	90.5	3.1	100.0
Govt + ARCH + 1984 rally	50	13.5	78.0	92.0	7.9	98.0
ARCH + NBA + 1984 rally	10	2.7	80.0	90.0	3.3	100.0
All four events	19	5.1	84.2	89.5	6.3	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>65.1</b>	<b>81.1</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>90.3</b>

ARCH=ARCH-Vahini; Govt=Government; HHs=households; N=total; NBA=Narmada Bachao Andolan; No.=number; %=percent  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

As previously noted, a household's failure to directly participate in meetings did not prejudice their right to choose (Table 7.4). Respondents who had not attended any meetings and/or rallies still had a choice in site and unit selection. For instance, out of 93 respondents that did not participate, about 43% still had a choice in site selection. The difference was in the average number of sites these respondents viewed prior to relocation.

According to Table 7.4, about 22% of participating respondents partook in only one meeting and/or event, whilst the remainder were

involved in multiple meetings and events. About 93% of those that attended only ARCH meetings and 95% who attended only the 1984 rally had exercised choice in site selection, whilst choice in unit selection was 95% and 100%, respectively. There was also a 100% implementation rate of choice in both unit and site selection when considering participation in a combination of events, such as in government meetings and the 1984 rally. The rally was an event where resettlers had voiced their demands, and in government meetings these demands were met.

Respondents also indicated that NBA meetings were attended in combination with other meetings and/or events and never alone. This low representation may be due to a bias in the selection process of study sites, or simply due to the absence of the NBA in this region prior to resettlement. Participation in NBA meetings did not affect the average percentage of households who exercised choice, except when participants partook in NBA meetings and the rally (50% was seen in choice of relocation unit). The slight fluctuations that arise when NGOs are introduced reflect the differences in interests of these organisations and in the information that may be relayed to resettlers which impacts the choices they make.

A relationship seems to exist between the numbers of sites viewed and the meeting/event attended (Table 7.4). Respondents that attended only ARCH meetings saw an average of 2.8 sites, whilst those who attended government meetings and the 1984 rally saw an average of 4.8 sites. A maximum number of sites was seen when respondents attended government and ARCH meetings and the 1984 rally. This effect may be explained by the following three factors:

- (i) ARCH was committed to showing only fertile plots based on individual need and site requirements.

- (ii) The Government was eager to complete resettlement and hence, showed resettlers any piece of land in hopes of resettling individuals quickly.
- (iii) Resettlers that attended government meetings preferred to visit more sites, as they wanted to take advantage of their newly empowered position, which they gained through these events.

#### 7.2.1.3. Effect of Discussion Topics on Choice

The topics that were discussed at meetings prior to relocation had a significant effect on resettlers' abilities to exercise choice (Table 7.5). About 95% of those resettlers, who had recalled at least one discussion topic, had moved to the resettlement site of their choice. In comparison, about 47% of those who could not recall any topic had still implemented choice of resettlement site. The difference between these two percentages is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=118.5$ ,  $p\leq 0.001$ ). Similar relationships are also observed for the other choice variables. About 99% of respondents who had mentioned a discussion topic said they moved with whom they wanted, in comparison with the 68% of those who did not mention any topic but implemented their choice in relocation unit. The topics that were discussed indicate the type of information that was shared and exchanged during meetings and events, and possibly a more active form of participation than mere attendance.

Topics that pertain to resettlement sites and units have been compared with the derived choice variables (Table 7.5). Access and control issues, including physical infrastructure and amenities, were expected to influence the criteria with which displacees would select resettlement sites. Those that focus on site design and layout were assumed to be important considerations in the choice of relocation unit. However, there was little difference on the implementation of choice between resettlers who had

mentioned and those who had not mentioned topics regarding physical infrastructure and livelihood sources. For example, about 96% of those who reported that fuel issues were discussed had implemented choice in site selection, whilst 94% of those who did not mention this topic did as well.

**Table 7.5: Effect of Discussion Topics on Choice**

		No. of HHs		Choice Variables				
		N	%	Site Seen Before (Site > 1)	Choice in Site Selection	Average Sites Seen	Choice in Relocation Unit	
<b>Any Topic</b>		No	109	29.5	36.7	46.8	1.3	68.8
		Yes	261	70.5	77.0	95.4	4.9	99.2
		<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>65.1</b>	<b>81.1</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>90.3</b>
<b>Livelihoods</b>	<b>Water</b>	No	11	3.0	72.7	90.9	3.1	100.0
		Yes	250	67.5	77.2	95.6	5.0	99.2
	<b>Fuel</b>	No	84	22.7	78.6	94.1	4.6	100.0
		Yes	177	47.8	76.3	96.1	5.0	98.9
	<b>Fodder</b>	No	121	32.7	79.3	95.9	5.1	98.4
		Yes	140	37.8	75.0	95.0	4.7	100.0
<b>Social Amenities</b>	<b>Schools/ Education</b>	No	24	6.5	79.2	95.8	2.8	100.0
		Yes	237	64.0	76.8	95.4	5.1	99.2
	<b>Health Care</b>	No	60	16.2	83.3	95.0	4.6	96.7
		Yes	201	54.3	75.1	95.5	5.0	100.0
	<b>Child Care</b>	No	130	35.1	72.3	92.3	5.0	98.5
		Yes	131	35.4	81.7	98.5	4.8	100.0
<b>R&amp;R Provisions</b>	<b>Transportation Expenses</b>	No	49	13.2	61.2	87.7	2.8	100.0
		Yes	212	57.3	80.7	97.2	5.4	99.1
	<b>Cash Allowance</b>	No	66	17.8	71.2	90.9	4.5	97.0
		Yes	195	52.7	79.0	96.9	5.0	100.0
<b>Land/Agri-culture</b>	<b>Ownership</b>	No	10	2.7	60.0	80.0	4.4	100.0
		Yes	251	67.8	77.7	96.0	4.9	99.2
	<b>Quality</b>	No	22	5.9	59.1	86.4	2.3	100.0
		Yes	239	64.6	78.7	96.2	5.1	99.2



		No. of HHs		Choice Variables				
		N	%	Site Seen Before (Site > 1)	Choice in Site Selection	Average Sites Seen	Choice in Relocation Unit	
<b>Any Topic</b>		No	109	29.5	36.7	46.8	1.3	68.8
		Yes	261	70.5	77.0	95.4	4.9	99.2
<b>Total</b>			370	100.0	65.1	81.1	3.8	90.3
<b>Crops/ Fertilisers</b>		No	71	19.2	64.8	90.1	3.2	98.6
		Yes	190	51.3	81.6	97.4	5.5	99.5
<b>Choice</b>	<b>Agricultural Plot</b>	No	23	6.2	69.6	82.6	3.7	100.0
		Yes	238	64.3	77.7	96.6	5.0	99.2
	<b>Tin-shed Design</b>	No	58	15.7	81.0	91.4	4.1	95.3
		Yes	203	54.9	75.9	96.6	5.1	99.5
	<b>Relocation Unit</b>	No	74	20.0	79.7	91.9	3.9	97.3
		Yes	187	50.5	75.9	96.8	5.3	100.0
	<b>Residential Design</b>	No	162	43.8	72.2	93.8	4.7	98.8
		Yes	99	26.7	84.9	98.0	5.2	100.0
<b>Site Infrastructure</b>	<b>Electricity</b>	No	236	63.8	76.3	95.3	4.6	99.6
		Yes	25	6.7	84.0	96.0	7.6	96.0
	<b>Roads</b>	No	238	64.3	76.9	95.4	4.8	99.2
		Yes	23	6.2	78.3	95.7	5.8	100.0
<b>Personal Amenities</b>	<b>Taps in Home</b>	No	222	60.0	77.5	94.6	4.6	99.1
		Yes	39	10.5	74.4	100.0	6.4	100.0
	<b>Toilets</b>	No	227	61.3	77.5	94.7	4.6	99.1
		Yes	34	9.2	73.5	100.0	6.8	94.0
	<b>Jobs</b>	No	257	69.4	77.0	95.7	4.9	99.2
		Yes	4	1.1	75.0	75.0	3.5	100.0

HHs=households; N=total; No.=number; %=percent

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Discussions that dealt with unpredictable issues had a greater impact on choice implementation in site selection. These topics included R&R provisions (e.g., transportation expenses and cash allowance), land/agriculture

characteristics (e.g., land ownership, quality and crops/fertilisers) and matters pertaining to choice (e.g., agricultural plot, tin-shed and residential area design and relocation unit).

As shown in **Table 7.5**, about 97% of those respondents, who reported that topics pertaining to agricultural plot choice had been discussed, had exercised choice in land. In comparison, about 83% of those who had not mentioned these topics had exercised land choice. However, there was little difference in impact of discussions pertaining to choice of relocation unit on actual implementation. All of the respondents that mentioned choice of relocation unit as a discussion topic also implemented it. In comparison, about 97% of those who did not mention it still implemented choice in relocation unit.

A significant difference, however, was observed in the average number of sites resettlers had seen before choosing their current location (4.9 sites in comparison with 1.3 sites). The negligible difference in effects between those who mentioned a topic and those who did not indicates that the R&R policy was widely implemented amongst those who participated, irrespective of whether a particular topic had been discussed.

## 7.2.2. *EFFECT OF NATURE OF PARTICIPATION ON COMPENSATION*

### 7.2.2.1. Effect of Organisation on Compensation

The effect of organisations on compensation reveals which organisations were instrumental in actual compensation awards. The presence of organisations prior to resettlement increases the likelihood that resettlers received compensation (**Table 7.6**). About 94% of those resettlers, who recalled the presence of at least one organisation, said that someone from their single *chulba* and/or joint household had received compensation. In comparison, about 76% of those who could not recall the presence of any group still received compensation. The difference between these two

percentages is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=22.8$ ,  $p\leq 0.001$ ). A similar relationship is also observed for the other compensation variable where at least one person from the single *chulha* received compensation.

The presence of ARCH and the government yielded a positive effect on compensation per single *chulha* and on compensation in total. Each organisation alone had an average effect of 91% and 94%, respectively, on compensation awards (Table 7.6).

**Table 7.6: Effect of Organisation on Compensation**

Organisation	No. of HHs		Compensation Received per <i>Chulha</i>	Compensation Received in Total <sup>a</sup>
	N	%		
No	80	21.6	71.3	76.3
Yes	290	78.4	90.7	94.1
Govt only	17	4.6	94.1	94.1
ARCH only	136	36.8	90.4	90.4
NBA only	0	0.0	—	—
Govt + ARCH	94	25.4	92.6	94.7
Govt + NBA	1	0.3	100.0	100.0
ARCH + NBA	19	5.1	89.5	100.0
All Three	22	5.9	81.8	90.9
All others	1	0.3	100.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>86.5</b>	<b>90.3</b>

ARCH=ARCH-Vahini; Govt=Government; HHs=households; N=total; NBA=Narmada Bachao Andolan; No.=number; %=percent

<sup>a</sup>Compensation in total includes respondents and other extended family members that received compensation.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

NBA's presence, however small, shows a lesser effect especially when all three organisations were reported to have discussed issues pertaining to the R&R process in original villages. About 82% of respondents, who recalled the presence of all three organisations, received compensation per *chulha*, whilst 91% of respondents received compensation in total.

### 7.2.2.2. Effect of Meetings and Events on Compensation

Participation in meetings and/or events has a significant effect on compensation (Table 7.7). About 91% of those respondents who participated in at least one meeting, mentioned that someone had compensation in their single *chulha*. In comparison, about 72% of those who did not attend any meetings still received compensation. The difference between these two percentages is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=22.2$ ,  $p\leq 0.001$ ). A similar relationship is also observed for the other compensation variable.

**Table 7.7: Effect of Meetings and Events on Compensation**

Meetings and Events	No. of HHs		Compensation Received per <i>Chulha</i>	Compensation Received in Total <sup>a</sup>
	N	%		
No	93	25.1	72.0	77.4
Yes	277	74.9	91.3	94.6
Govt only	1	0.3	—	—
ARCH only	40	10.8	92.5	95.0
NBA only	0	0.0	—	—
1984 rally only	20	5.4	95.0	100.0
Govt + ARCH	21	5.7	90.5	90.5
Govt + NBA	0	0.0	—	—
Govt + 1984 rally	8	2.2	100.0	100.0
ARCH + NBA	9	2.4	88.9	100.0
ARCH + 1984 rally	76	20.5	93.4	96.1
NBA + 1984 rally	2	0.5	100.0	100.0
Govt + ARCH + NBA	21	5.7	90.5	100.0
Govt + ARCH + 1984 rally	50	13.5	92.0	94.0
ARCH + NBA + 1984 rally	10	2.7	70.0	70.0
All four events	19	5.1	89.5	94.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>86.5</b>	<b>90.3</b>

ARCH=ARCH-Vahini; Govt=Government; HHs=households; N=total; NBA=Narmada Bachao Andolan; No.=number; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>Compensation in total includes respondents and other extended family members that received compensation.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

A relationship seems to exist between compensation received and the meeting/event attended (Table 7.7). About 93% of respondents who attended only ARCH meetings said that someone in their single *chulha* received compensation in comparison to 95% amongst those who attended

the 1984 rally. Only 70% of respondents who attend NBA and ARCH meetings and the 1984 rally received compensation. This effect may be explained by the following three factors:

- (i) The 1984 rally was an event where PAPs expressed their dissatisfaction with the NWDT provisions that awarded land to only PAPs with legal land titles.
- (ii) Different information was presented at NBA and ARCH meetings.
- (iii) ARCH was instrumental in uniting the PAPs in their fight for five acres of replacement for every PAP, irrespective of previous landholdings.

As shown in **Table 7.7**, the effect of government meetings contributes to almost 100% compensation. This is expected as the government includes the governing body that awards land compensation (i.e., in the case of those who attended government meetings and partook in the rally). This finding is strengthened by the lower compensation rates found amongst those who partook in only NBA and ARCH meetings and the rally.

#### 7.2.2.3. Effect of Discussion Topics on Compensation

The effect of topics discussed on compensation includes an investigation of which topics had a greater impact on receiving land compensation per single *chulha* and in total (**Table 7.8**). About 92% of those resettlers, who had recalled at least one discussion topic, had received compensation per single *chulha* in comparison to the 73% of those who could not recall any discussion topics. The difference between these two percentages is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=25.9$ ,  $p\leq 0.001$ ). A similar relationship is also observed for the other compensation variable. There was little difference in the impact of individual subject matter on compensation.

However, topics that concerned land quality, ownership and choice had a greater impact on compensation. I found that every head of the household, including widows and sons aged 18 or older, received five acres of land as per Gujarat's R&R directives.

**Table 7.8: Effect of Topics Discussed on Compensation Variables**

		No. of HHs		Compensation		
		N	%	COMPA	COMPB	
<b>Any Topic</b>		No	109	29.5	72.5	78.0
		Yes	261	70.5	92.3	95.4
		<b>Total</b>	370	100.0	86.5	90.3
<b>Livelihoods</b>	<b>Water</b>	No	11	3.0	100.0	100.0
		Yes	250	67.5	92.0	95.2
	<b>Fuel</b>	No	84	22.7	92.9	95.2
		Yes	177	47.8	92.1	95.5
	<b>Fodder</b>	No	121	32.7	91.7	95.8
		Yes	140	37.8	92.9	95.0
<b>Social Amenities</b>	<b>Schools/ Education</b>	No	24	6.5	95.8	95.8
		Yes	237	64.0	92.0	95.4
	<b>Health Care</b>	No	60	16.2	91.7	95.0
		Yes	201	54.3	92.5	95.5
	<b>Child Care</b>	No	130	35.1	92.3	94.6
		Yes	131	35.4	92.4	96.2
<b>R&amp;R Provisions</b>	<b>Transportation Expenses</b>	No	49	13.2	93.9	95.9
		Yes	212	57.3	92.0	95.3
	<b>Cash Allowance</b>	No	66	17.8	90.9	93.9
		Yes	195	52.7	92.8	95.9
<b>Land/Agriculture</b>	<b>Ownership</b>	No	10	2.7	90.0	90.0
		Yes	251	67.8	92.4	95.6
	<b>Quality</b>	No	22	5.9	95.5	95.5
		Yes	239	64.6	92.1	95.4
	<b>Crops/Fertilisers</b>	No	71	19.2	88.7	91.6
		Yes	190	51.3	93.7	96.8

		No. of HHs		Compensation	
		N	%	COMPA	COMPB
<b>Any Topic</b>					
	No	109	29.5	72.5	78.0
	Yes	261	70.5	92.3	95.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>86.5</b>	<b>90.3</b>
<b>Choice</b>	<b>Agricultural Plot</b>				
	No	23	6.2	95.7	95.7
	Yes	238	64.3	92.0	95.4
	<b>Tin-shed Design</b>				
	No	58	15.7	91.4	94.8
	Yes	203	54.9	92.6	95.6
	<b>Relocation Unit</b>				
	No	74	20.0	90.0	96.0
	Yes	187	50.5	93.1	95.2
	<b>Residential Design</b>				
No	162	43.8	91.4	95.1	
Yes	99	26.7	93.9	96.0	
<b>Site Infrastructure</b>	<b>Electricity</b>				
	No	236	63.8	91.5	94.9
	Yes	25	6.7	100.0	100.0
	<b>Roads</b>				
No	238	64.3	92.0	95.0	
Yes	23	6.2	95.7	100.0	
<b>Personal Amenities</b>	<b>Taps in Home</b>				
	No	222	60.0	91.4	95.1
	Yes	39	10.5	97.4	97.4
	<b>Toilets</b>				
	No	227	61.3	92.1	95.6
	Yes	34	9.2	94.1	94.1
	<b>Jobs</b>				
No	257	69.4	92.6	95.7	
Yes	4	1.1	75.0	75.0	

COMPA=single *chulhas* that received compensation; COMPB=households that received any compensation; HHs=households; N=total; No.=number; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

### 7.3. Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Choice and Compensation

#### 7.3.1. EFFECT OF KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF RESETTLERS ON CHOICE

In general, all tribal groups were able to implement choice in both resettlement site and relocation unit, irrespective of the number of sites they saw. For instance, Tadviss saw an average of 5.6 sites, whilst other groups

visited around four sites or less (**Table 7.9**). About 62% of respondents from the interior regions viewed more than one site in comparison to 80% that came from midway regions.<sup>102</sup> However, implementation rates for both groups were similar at about 85% and 86%, respectively. Viewing sites before resettlement probably had little effect on the ability of resettlers to exercise choice in site selection.

**Table 7.9: Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Choice**

	No. of HHs	Choice in Site Selection			Choice in Relocation Unit	
		% Seen Before (Site > 1)	% Choice	Average Sites <sup>a</sup>	% Choice	Average Units <sup>b</sup>
<b>Tribal Group</b>						
Rathwa	98	65.3	80.6	3.9	86.7	1.7
Tadvi	194	66.5	81.4	5.6	91.8	1.8
Vasava + Bhil	66	66.7	80.3	4.2	90.9	1.7
Others	12	33.3	83.3	1.8	91.7	1.6
<b>Place of Origin</b>						
Close	195	67.2	82.1	5.5	92.3	1.7
Midway	44	79.6	86.4	4.7	100.0	1.8
Interior	112	61.6	84.8	3.5	92.9	1.6
Other	19	31.6	36.8	3.0	31.6	1.7
<b>Resettlement Site</b>						
Site A	70	65.7	88.6	3.6	94.3	1.5
Site B	74	56.8	73.0	9.9	89.2	1.8
Site C	125	72.0	87.2	3.2	93.6	1.7
Site D	59	49.2	66.1	3.5	72.9	1.8
Site E	12	75.0	83.3	4.1	100.0	1.6
Site F	30	83.3	86.7	5.0	100.0	2.0
<b>Year of Resettlement<sup>c</sup></b>						
1988-1991	240	66.2	83.8	4.7	90.8	1.7
1992-1995	104	63.4	77.9	5.1	93.3	1.8
1996-2001	25	60.0	68.0	3.5	72.0	1.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>65.1</b>	<b>81.1</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>90.3</b>	<b>1.7</b>

HHs=households; N=total; No.=number; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>This average number of sites seen is based on 299 respondents who had a choice in site selection. (This does not include respondents who followed others.)

<sup>b</sup>This average number of units is based on 334 respondents who had a choice in relocation unit.

<sup>c</sup>Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

<sup>102</sup> Mehta (1992: 129-30) notes that initially both Tadvis and Vasavas used to inspect the land together but later went their separate ways due to factors such as kinship ties.



In contrast, the year of resettlement seems to have a negative effect on the choice variables (Table 7.9). For example, respondents who relocated later saw fewer sites and implemented less choice in site selection. About 66% of those who moved later, during 1988-1991, saw more than one site prior to resettlement, in comparison with 60% of those who moved during 1996-2001. Similarly, about 84% of those respondents who moved during 1988-1991 implemented choice in site selection in comparison with the 68% of those who moved during 1996-2001. A similar relationship is also observed between the year of resettlement and the implementation of choice in relocation unit.

This inverse relationship between site selection and year of resettlement might be attributable to the lesser need to search for an appropriate resettlement in later years, as friends or acquaintances had already moved to a particular area and were residing at certain resettlement sites. Therefore, resettlers probably moved to areas or sites where their friends and/or family members had already moved. Perhaps, this could then help explain the increase amongst those who had a choice in relocation unit. The decline that was noticed during 1996-2001 may be attributable to the fact that individuals who moved during this time were not PAFs but relatives of those who had previously resettled.

### *7.3.2. EFFECT OF KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF RESETTLERS ON COMPENSATION*

The effect of key characteristics of resettlers on compensation received is shown in Table 7.10. About 92% of Tadvis received land compensation, irrespective of whether respondent was the beneficiary or an extended family member. Conversely, there is a significant effect on compensation amongst Rathwas —about 78% of Rathwas received land compensation, whilst 89% received some kind of compensation. These findings support the previous inference that more Rathwas lived in extended

families prior to resettlement, in comparison to Tadvi households who lived in nuclear units (see Chapter 5).

**Table 7.10: Effects of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Compensation**

	No. of HHs	Compensation Received per Chulha	Compensation Received in Total <sup>a</sup>
<b>Tribal Group</b>			
Rathwa	98	77.6	88.8
Tadvi	194	91.8	91.8
Vasava + Bhil	66	87.9	89.4
Others	12	66.7	83.3
<b>Place of Origin</b>			
Close	195	92.8	92.8
Midway	44	95.5	95.5
Interior	112	83.9	92.9
Other	19	15.8	36.8
<b>Resettlement Site</b>			
Site A	70	78.6	92.9
Site B	74	90.5	90.5
Site C	125	92.8	92.8
Site D	59	71.2	78.0
Site E	12	91.7	91.7
Site F	30	96.7	96.7
<b>Year of Resettlement<sup>b</sup></b>			
1988-1991	240	87.5	93.3
1992-1995	104	89.4	89.4
1996-2001	25	68.0	68.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>86.5</b>	<b>90.4</b>

HHs=households; N=total; No.=number; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>Compensation in total includes respondents and other extended family members that received compensation.

<sup>b</sup>Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Also shown in Table 7.10, total compensation per household decreased from 93% (1988-1991) to 89% (1992-1995) to 68% (1996-2001). Over the years, total compensation fell. This may also be a reflection of a delay in receiving compensation.

## 7.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated the effect of nature and degree of participation on policy implementation (i.e., the choice and compensation). The degree of participation by residential unit and gender is based on the ranking system created in **Chapter 6**. The nature of participation was also defined in **Chapter 6**.

Participation in policy-related events increases choice. About 71% of those resettlers, who said at least one member participated from either a single *chulha* and/or a joint household, had seen more than one resettlement site before relocation in comparison to 34% of those who did not participate. Participants from single *chulha* households were able to exert more choice in resettlement site and relocation unit than those from joint households.

Participation also had a positive effect on compensation. About 94% of those resettlers, who said that at least one member participated from either a single *chulha* and/or a joint household, had received compensation in comparison to 71% of those who did not participate. The effect of participation on compensation was greater when the person comes from the single *chulha* (92%) than from joint households (85%). Women's participation, however, had a negative effect on land compensation. This could be due to the possibility that perhaps women had limited knowledge and/or information about land quality in their villages.

The presence of organisations, attendance in meetings and events, and topics discussed prior to resettlement increased the likelihood that resettlers exercised choice and received compensation. For instance, about 93% of those resettlers, who had recalled the presence of at least one organisation, had moved to the resettlement site of their choice. In comparison, about 39% of those who did not mention an organisation still relocated to a site of their choice. Similarly, about 94% of those resettlers, who recalled the presence of at least one organisation, said that someone from their single *chulha* and/or

joint household had received compensation. In comparison, about 76% of those resettlers who could not recall the presence of any group still received compensation.

The effect of key characteristics of resettlers on these three provisions helps to explain any variation in policy implementation. In general, all tribal groups were able to implement choice in both resettlement site and relocation unit, irrespective of the number of sites they saw. However, the year of resettlement seems to have a negative effect on the choice variables. For example, respondents who relocated later saw fewer sites and implemented less choice in site selection. Total compensation per household also decreased over the years, perhaps due to a delay in receiving compensation for recent resettlers.

Based on the analysis in this chapter, a spill over effect of participation on choice and compensation is evident. Both are livelihood outcomes, which PAPs rallied to include as two of the three unique provisions outlined in Gujarat's R&R policy. The process that was undertaken to include these provisions in the policy, and the ability to implement these provisions (i.e., choice and compensation award) indicates an empowering process for participating resettlers. The spill over effect that is observed in each individual analysis shows that even those resettlers who did not participate, also received compensation and had some choice in resettlement site and relocation unit selections. It can be inferred that the policy was implemented uniformly even amongst those PAPs who were unable to participate.

The next chapter will discuss the overall effects of policy implementation on the ability of resettlers to regain and improve their living conditions prior to resettlement and/or compared to other resettlers who did not participate. These effects will be considered by investigating the influence participation had on changes in household and site infrastructure and

amenities —Gujarat policy's third unique provision. **Chapter 5** described the general implementation of the R&R policy. The next chapter will build on **Chapters 5, 6 and 7** by considering the extent to which Gujarat's R&R policy has improved or further deteriorated resettlers' living conditions post-resettlement. **Chapter 9** describes the effect of women's participation on different outcomes, specific to women's needs.

## Chapter 8

### EFFECT OF GUJARAT'S R&R POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ON THE LIVELIHOODS OF RESETTLED HOUSEHOLDS

*The concept of tribal development means uplift of the tribal communities which are at different stages of socio-economic and cultural realms of growth. The formulation of policy, programming and executing programmes at the operational level for the uplift of these downtrodden communities on par with the general mass of the country is the process of tribal development.*

—George and Sreekumar (1993: 82)

In this chapter, I will consider the effect of Gujarat's R&R policy implementation on the ability of resettlers to regain and improve their livelihoods. I will focus on addressing my third main research question:

- What has been the effect of policy implementation on the ability of resettlers to regain and improve their livelihoods, relative to their conditions and status prior to resettlement, and to others in the same villages that had not participated?

In addition, I will consider the following sub-questions:

- What combination of assets do resettlers use for livelihood strategies and activities for generating particular outcomes?
- How do organisational structures (e.g., government and non-governmental organisations) and institutional processes influence combinations of assets?

- What do resettlers expect to achieve in terms of outcomes when selecting a livelihood strategy?
- How does choice influence the degree of vulnerability associated with “involuntary” resettlement?

This chapter builds on the information provided in **Chapters 5 and 6** in making an evaluation about resettlers’ livelihoods post-resettlement. It uses the SL/IR framework to link discussion about participation, compensation and choice. In **Chapter 5**, I showed the extent to which resettlement sites in this study have been equipped with site infrastructure and amenities. In this chapter, I will examine the effects of participation, site infrastructure and development on individual households by considering the changes in households’ current conditions in comparison to their conditions before resettlement. This would require developing a number of change variables based on the before and after resettlement situation (i.e., what was the source of water before and after resettlement). Such an analysis would provide information on the extent to which households have been able to regain, or improve, their livelihoods post-resettlement. This would help address the questions posed in this chapter.

By constructing a number of change variables, I will be able to illustrate improvement or impoverishment of resettlers post-resettlement. Findings based on these change variables have, nevertheless, some limitations. First, the change variables are based on resettlers’ recall of the conditions prior to resettlement. Ideally, information about resettlers’ livelihoods prior to resettlement should be collected before the R&R process starts. In this case, I have relied on resettlers’ memories and have filled the gaps with secondary sources and informant interviews. Such an approach has a certain level of bias and/or might overstate the changes in its analysis.

Secondly, to determine the effect of Gujarat's R&R policy would require that I have some control group (e.g., resettlement sites) where the policy was not more implemented. For instance, a control group might include those PAPs who refused to move and have continued to stay in their original villages within the submergence area. Logistically, this was not possible, as most of the PAPs had already been resettled at the time of my research. Moreover, the government is unlikely to invest in areas that have been earmarked for submergence. A comparison of infrastructure and amenities between the original village and resettlement site would have yielded skewed information. Another control could have been resettlement sites in Gujarat where the NBA group was more active. However, these sites were inaccessible. As such, I created a control group within the sample and study sites —those PAPs who did not participate in Gujarat's R&R policy. Such a control would shed light on the extent to which Gujarat's R&R policy has had a spill over effect on changes in household conditions before and after resettlement.

This chapter will also consider the effects of compensation and choice on certain change variables. As two distinct outcomes of the policy, these effects will help illustrate whether resettlers have been able to reduce the degree of vulnerability associated with “involuntary” resettlement whilst promoting community development (as per the SL/IR framework in **Figure 4.2**). As with previous chapters, the effect of key characteristics of resettlers (e.g., tribal group, place of origin and year of resettlement) will also be considered as it could help document variations found in the level of change experienced.

As part of the discussion on tribals, the chapter will consider a possible rate of change amongst Gujarati *adivasis* within the context of ongoing tribal debates (i.e., to integrate or assimilate tribals into mainstream society). The discussion includes the manner in which tribal development is perceived, improvements and/or challenges faced by resettlers during R&R



policy implementation, rates of change predicted by Joshi in the early 1980s and resettlers' views and expectations on R&R. The ability of PAPs to restore their livelihoods post-resettlement is influenced by these discussions.

### **8.1. Developing Change Variables for Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

Changes in household infrastructure and amenities are measured by calculating the difference in physical facilities and amenities before and after resettlement. Change variables were calculated for 10 categories of household infrastructure and amenities. These 10 categories represented different assets in the SL/IR framework.<sup>103</sup> Change in these categories helps to determine whether there was a decrease or increase in a household's financial, natural, physical and human capital. **Chapters 6 and 7** on compensation and choice provided information about the social, political and financial capital of resettlers post-resettlement.

To measure change at the household level, I created a change variable for each category based on situational questions before and after resettlement. A variable was also included that summed total change to indicate overall situational improvement or worsening. These categories include

- (i) Source of daily water supply (natural capital),
- (ii) Source of fuel collection for cooking purposes (natural capital),
- (iii) Source of fuel collection for heating purposes (natural capital),
- (iv) Location of the household toilet (physical capital),

- (v) Location of the household bathing area (physical capital),
- (vi) Type of housing structure (physical capital),
- (vii) Supply of electricity (physical capital),
- (viii) A surplus of agricultural output (financial capital),
- (ix) Access to private health care (human capital) and
- (x) Access to government health care (human capital).

The first step in creating change variables includes the re-classification of responses into Code-0 and Code-1. For example, I asked respondents about the major source of water before and after resettlement. The answers they gave were re-classified so that only two categories of answers were possible (0, 1). These two categories for the household water source were created based on the physical distance of the residential home from the source —external and internal sources. These categories are subjective, as water source could have also been re-classified based on water quality or reliability. Nevertheless, Code-0 was assigned to external water sources that included the Narmada River, streams and ravines, canal, tube well, tank and bore well. Code-1 was assigned to internal water sources that included hand pumps, taps/nulls and piped water in the homes.<sup>104</sup> A small number of respondents answered, “do not know” or “not applicable.” These responses

---

<sup>103</sup> Each of the 10 categories represents an asset. However, this is a simplification, as each category is an accumulation of a number of assets. For instance, housing structure represents a physical asset, which is also influenced by a household’s income (financial asset), its members (social asset) and others.

<sup>104</sup> It should be noted that in a few instances the external water source was closer to the residential home. The number of these cases is negligible but do require mentioning.

were coded “0.” The assumption was that this would give a lower estimate of households who used an internal source of water at the resettlement sites.

A similar process was followed for each household infrastructure and amenity category, with the exception of health care services. Health care was divided into two variables —private and government. During the household questionnaire, respondents were asked to rank their top three sources for health care. The variable “Health Care (Private)” and “Health Care (Govt)” incorporates these multiple responses.

Responses for situations before- and after-resettlement were recorded based on a re-classification of 0 and 1 codes (Table 8.1).

**Table 8.1: Household Infrastructure and Amenities Before and After Resettlement**

Variable	Code	Definition	Responses (%)	
			Before	After
<b>Water Source</b>				
External	0	Narmada, Stream, Ravine, Canal, Tube Well, Tank and Bore Well	99.5	2.7
Internal	1	Hand Pump, Piped Water into Home, Tap/Null	0.5	97.3
<b>Fuel Source (Cooking)</b>				
Far	0	Twigs, Wood and Other	97.3	10.6
Near	1	Crop Residue and Gas	2.7	89.4
<b>Fuel Source (Heating)</b>				
Far	0	Twigs, Wood and Other	98.1	13.5
Near	1	Crop Residue	1.9	86.5
<b>Toilet Location</b>				
External	0	Bush and Field	99.7	84.2
Internal	1	Home and Shared	0.3	15.8
<b>Bathing Location</b>				
External	0	Public and Other	92.6	17.4
Internal	1	Private and Shared	7.4	82.6
<b>Housing Structure</b>				
Temporary	0	<i>Kachacha</i> and Tin	99.5	22.4
Permanent	1	Semi- and Fully- <i>Pucca</i>	0.5	75.0
<b>Electricity</b>				
No	0	None	99.5	7.0
Yes	1	Has/Had Electricity	0.5	93.0
<b>Agricultural Surplus</b>				
No	0	None	33.1	9.5
Yes	1	Has/Had Surplus	66.9	90.5

Variable	Code	Definition	Responses (%)		
			Before	After	
Health Care (Private) <sup>a</sup>	Other	0	Government Health care, Mobile Health Unit, NGO Facilities, Home Remedies and Traditional Care	5.2	2.7
	Private	1	Private Health care	94.8	97.3
Health Care (Govt) <sup>a</sup>	Other	0	Private Health care, NGO Facilities, Home Remedies and Traditional Care	49.4	30.6
	Government	1	Government Health care, Mobile Health Unit and Female/Male Health Worker	50.6	69.4
Sum of Changes	Sum	Sum	Calculated by adding all 10-variables.		

Govt=government; NGO=non-governmental organisation; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>Health care is based on multiple responses.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

As shown in **Table 8.1**, less than 1% of households had an internal source of water before resettlement in comparison to 97% of households that have internal source of water post-resettlement. Similarly, agricultural production increased after resettlement whereby more households indicated that they had some surplus after relocation. About 67% of households had agricultural surplus before resettlement, which increased to 91% post-resettlement. The use of private health care services increased from 95% to 97% and the use of government services increased from 51% to 69%. Most of the resettlers relied on multiple sources of health care.

The next step required conducting a cross-tabulation between the after and before resettlement situation. For example, a cross-tabulation was done between the recoded after-water (AFWATER) and before-water (BFWATER) variables to measure change in the source of water (**Table 8.2**). For 12 households, there was no change in the source of water. However, for 355 households, the source of water changed from an external to an internal source, which implied a positive or an improvement post-resettlement. By

subtracting the before-water source from the after-water source, a change variable for water source (CHWATER) was created.

Each change variable was given a value. For instance, the change variable created for water (CHWATER) takes the value of -1 when there is a negative change from an internal to external source, 0 when there is no change and +1 when the change is positive from an external to internal source. This was calculated for each household. A mean value indicates the average change per household. A mean value of zero indicates no change; a mean value with a minus sign indicates a negative change or deteriorating conditions; and a mean value with a positive sign indicates a positive change or improving conditions. A similar process was followed for each of the asset variables.

**Table 8.2: Cross-Tabulation of Water Source After Resettlement by Water Source Before Resettlement**

BFWATER	AFWATER		Total
	0 – External	1 – Internal	
0 – External	10	355	365
1 – Internal	—	2	2
<b>Total</b>	10	357	367

→ CHWATER =  
AFWATER – BFWATER

AFWATER=water source after resettlement;  
BFWATER=water source before resettlement;  
CHWATER=change in water source.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The total sum of changes is then calculated by adding the 10-change variables.<sup>105</sup> The average change for households is based on a 370 household sample and is found in Table 8.3 (see last row labelled “Total”).

<sup>105</sup> I excluded change in “toilet type” as the question may have not been translated properly. The assumption is that “toilet type” is synonymous with “location” and vice versa.

**Table 8.3: Effect of Participation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

	No. of HHs		Ch Water	Ch Fuel Source		Ch Toilet and Bathing		Ch Housing		Ch Surplus	Ch Health Care		SUM	
	N	%		Cook	Heat	Toilet	Bathe	Structure	Electricity		Private	Govt		
<b>Participation from <i>Chulha</i></b>	No	96	25.9	97.9	80.9	78.7	12.0	67.4	72.9	86.2	18.1	2.2	8.6	5.1
	Yes	274	74.1	96.4	89.0	86.9	16.8	77.7	77.4	94.5	25.2	2.6	22.3	5.9
<b>Participation from Joint HH</b>	No	164	44.3	98.8	87.7	87.0	8.6	77.8	79.3	89.5	27.2	1.9	18.8	5.7
	Yes	206	55.7	95.2	86.3	83.0	21.1	73.0	73.8	94.7	20.8	3.0	18.8	5.7
<b>Participation from either <i>Chulha</i> or Joint HH</b>	No	56	15.1	98.1	81.5	79.6	3.7	68.5	71.4	81.5	22.7	3.8	9.4	4.9
	Yes	314	84.9	96.5	87.9	85.7	17.6	76.3	77.1	94.3	23.6	2.3	20.4	5.8
<b>Participation of Women</b>	No	56	15.1	98.1	81.5	79.6	3.7	68.5	71.4	81.5	22.7	3.8	9.4	4.9
	Male only	224	60.6	97.3	87.9	86.2	16.7	76.1	78.6	93.8	24.6	3.2	17.8	5.8
	Male and Female	90	24.3	94.4	87.8	84.4	20.0	76.7	73.3	95.6	21.1	0.0	26.7	5.8
<b>Degree of Participation</b>	0 – None	56	15.1	98.1	81.5	79.6	3.7	68.5	71.4	81.5	22.7	3.8	9.4	4.9
	1 – Men/JT	30	8.1	100.0	83.3	80.0	25.0	60.7	80.0	90.0	13.8	0.0	5.6	5.3
	2 – Men/CH or BothG/JT	99	26.8	98.0	88.9	88.9	11.1	80.8	81.8	92.9	26.5	2.0	21.4	5.9
	3 – Men/BothR or BothG/CH	124	33.5	96.0	87.0	84.7	19.4	78.2	74.2	96.8	25.4	3.3	23.3	5.3
	4 – BothG/BothR	61	16.5	93.4	90.2	82.3	21.3	72.1	73.8	93.4	20.0	1.6	23.0	5.8
<b>Total</b>		370	0	96.7 (367)	86.9 (367)	84.8 (368)	15.6 (366)	75.1 (366)	76.2 (367)	92.4 (368)	23.5 (353)	2.5 (362)	18.8 (362)	5.7 (346)

BothG=both gender; BothR=both residential units; CH=single *chulha* or household; Ch Fuel=change in fuel source; Ch Health Care=change in health care utilisation; Ch Housing=change in housing structure; Ch Surplus=change in surplus; Ch Toilet and Bathing=change in toilet and bathing locations; Ch Water=change in water source; Govt=government; HHs=households; JT=joint household; N=total; No.=number; SUM=total sum of changes; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

On average, resettlers experienced improvements in 5.7 categories of household infrastructure and amenities. About 97% of households experienced net change in their source of water from external to internal water sources. About 92% of households now have electricity whereas before they did not. For about 87% and 85% of households, the source of fuel for cooking and heating, respectively was closer to their homes. Housing structure is more permanent for about 76% of households since resettlement. About 75% and 16% of households have private bathing and toilet facilities in terms of internal or shared accommodations. About 24% of households say that since resettlement, they have produced surplus agricultural output. And finally, about 19% and 3% of households use government and private health care facilities, respectively. The changes derived imply an improvement in the physical location of household infrastructure and amenities. It can be assumed that such conditions contribute favourably to overall household welfare.

## **8.2. Effect of Degree of Participation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

Participation is based on the mix of assets, especially social and political capital. The effect of participation on household infrastructure and amenities is based on the derived dimensions of participation (Chapter 6). Findings suggest that participation in policy-related events yields better conditions and improvements. As shown in Table 8.3, those who did not participate from either the single *chulha* or joint household experienced improvements in 4.9 asset categories. In comparison, those who participated from either the single *chulha* or joint household had experienced improvements in 5.8 asset categories. The effect of participation on household improvement is slightly higher when resettlers from the *chulha* participated, in comparison with those from the joint household (5.9 versus 5.7, respectively).

Resettlers who participated from either a single *chulha* or a joint household experienced improvements in about 5.8 categories, irrespective of

whether men only or both men and women participated (Table 8.3). However, the effect of gender on individual infrastructure categories reveals a difference in effect of female and male participation. For instance, change in housing structure is higher when only men participated than when both men and women participated (79% compared with 73%). This is irrespective of residential unit. Similarly, the degree of participation of both men and women from the *chulha* (Degree 4) was less on a variable than if only men had participated from either the *chulha* or joint household (Degree 3). The effect was greater only in terms of cooking fuel and location of the toilet. These categories represent areas where women have greater control in terms of their family's welfare (i.e., nutrition, health and hygiene).

The effect of participation is even greater with respect to natural resources, with the exception of the location of toilet facilities, electricity and utilisation of government health care facilities (Table 8.3). The greatest effect of participation was found when both men and women come from the joint household or men only from the *chulha* (Degree 2). However, the effects were less when both men and women participate from the *chulha*, especially at Degree 3. This finding was surprising, as I expected the reverse to have greater effect on overall change. As indicated in Section 6.2, I assume that the degree of participation within the same residential unit is one point higher if both women and men participated, than if only the man participated. This was based on the assumptions that two participants are better than one, and women's involvement would yield a more positive impact on the family's welfare.

In considering the effects in Table 8.3 more closely, it appears that the lesser effects of participation on change might be explained by between and within gender power struggles. For instance, when only men from the *chulha* and joint household participated, there was a lesser effect than if only men participated from the *chulha* (a total change of 5.3 versus 5.9, respectively). Similarly, when women and men from the *chulha* participated,



the effects on change were less than if men and women participated from both residential units (a total change of 5.3 versus 5.9 or 5.8, respectively). This might be indicative of the power struggles between men and women within a single *chulha*. In joint households, power struggles between genders might be less, whilst within genders power struggles are greater (i.e., based on age, marriage seniority and other patriarchal practices).

As previously noted with the implementation of other provisions, the data in **Table 8.3** also suggest a spill over effect. Resettlers who did not participate in Gujarat's R&R policy process have also experienced positive change, although to a lesser extent. Provisions included in Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987 affects the lives of those affected by the SSP. Uniform implementation of a policy is not possible, as there are some factors that will influence implementation. For instance, variations in implementation might be due to key characteristics of resettlers, political interests and community status of PAPs. In the case of Gujarat's R&R policy, variations are also based on the degree of participation and freedom to choose between options.

### **8.3. Effect of the Nature of Participation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

#### *8.3.1. EFFECT OF ORGANISATIONS ON HOUSEHOLD INFRASTRUCTURE AND AMENITIES*

The presence of organisations prior to resettlement improved household conditions post-resettlement. Resettlers who recalled visits by organisations in their original villages experienced a greater impact on household improvement than those who did not. Analysis in **Table 8.4** shows that these resettlers underwent positive change in 5.7 out of 10 categories, whilst the remaining respondents encountered improvement in only 5.4 categories.

**Table 8.4: Effect of Organisation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

	No. of HHs		Ch Water	Ch Fuel Source		Ch Toilet and Bathing		Ch Housing		Ch Surplus	Ch Health Care		SUM
	N	%		Cook	Heat	Toilet	Bathe	Structure	Electricity		Private	Govt	
<b>No</b>	80	21.6	97.4	87.2	84.6	3.9	80.5	73.8	84.6	32.8	2.6	14.5	5.4
<b>Yes</b>	290	78.4	96.6	86.9	84.8	18.7	73.7	76.9	94.5	21.3	2.4	19.9	5.7
Govt only	17	4.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	82.4	94.1	100.0	41.2	5.9	5.9	6.3
ARCH only	136	36.8	97.1	84.4	84.6	21.5	74.8	75.7	93.4	20.2	2.3	22.6	5.7
NBA only	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Govt + ARCH	94	25.4	98.9	88.3	86.2	20.2	78.7	74.5	92.6	21.3	3.2	28.7	5.9
Govt + NBA	1	0.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	7.0
ARCH + NBA	19	5.1	94.7	94.7	89.5	26.3	57.9	89.5	100.0	33.3	5.6	-22.2	5.6
All Three	22	5.9	81.8	77.3	63.6	4.5	50.0	68.2	100.0	-1.3	0.0	13.6	4.6
All others	1	0.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	-100.0	0.0	5.0
<b>Total (N)</b>	370	100.0	96.7 (367)	86.9 (367)	84.8 (368)	15.6 (366)	75.1 (366)	76.2 (367)	92.4 (368)	23.5 (353)	2.5 (362)	18.8 (362)	5.7 (346)

ARCH=ARCH-Vahini; Ch Fuel=change in fuel source; Ch Health Care=change in health care utilisation; Ch Housing=change in housing structure; Ch Surplus=change in surplus; Ch Toilet and Bathing=change in toilet and bathing locations; Ch Water=change in water source; Govt=Government; HHs=households; N=total; NBA=Narmada Bachao Andolan; No.=number; SUM=total sum of changes; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

However, there is little effect of organisations on specific asset variables. About 77% of respondents who had remembered a group's presence said they had also experienced a positive change in their housing structure (Table 8.4). In comparison, about 74% did not remember a group's presence but still experienced positive change in their household structure.

In some change categories, resettlers that mentioned an organisation's presence experienced a lesser effect than those who did not. For instance, about 33% of those who had not mentioned an organisation were now generating a surplus, as compared with the 21% who had acknowledged a group's presence. These differences could be attributable to the amount of information and knowledge both organisations and PAPs had about a specific category. The variable itself may have also been time-dependent, as the variable depicting surplus captures change over an extended amount of time.

The effect of any organisation on the total sum of change is positive. According to Table 8.4, it is about 0.3 points higher than if a group had not been present. The presence of the government during the policy-process improves household infrastructure and amenities. This is expected given that the government is responsible for dictating rehabilitation provisions and initiating cooperation amongst groups during policy implementation. By including the presence of NGOs, a greater effect is witnessed on the total sum of change. For instance, a greater effect was seen amongst those households who mentioned ARCH than amongst those who mentioned the NBA.

In addition, the effect of an organisation on the utilisation of government-sponsored health care services is more significant than if no organisation was mentioned (20% versus about 15%). The effects fall well below the 20% average when only the government is mentioned at about 6%. The involvement of ARCH significantly increased the utilisation of government health services, as a shift was noted from traditional medicines

and/or private services to government facilities, including the SSPA MHU. This utilisation fell to -22 in cases where both ARCH and the NBA were mentioned. When the effect of all three organisations on utilisation was considered, the percentage fell below the average at 14%.

These variations in the use of private and government health services could be explained by three factors: (i) a decline in the level of sickness, (ii) an increase in access to facilities and/or improvement in quality of services and/or (iii) a reflection of an organisation's negative relationship with the government.

Organisations active in R&R could be considered agents of change by considering the impact they had on improvements in household infrastructure and amenities. Agents of change refer to those groups of people that are able to facilitate collaboration and deliver programmes supported by agencies and governments (Sengupta 1999). Based on **Table 8.4**, it appears that such an NGO might be ARCH as the collaboration between ARCH and the government yields the greatest total sum change in 7.0 out of 10.0 categories.

### *8.3.2. EFFECT OF MEETINGS ON HOUSEHOLD INFRASTRUCTURE AND AMENITIES*

The topics that were discussed at meetings prior to relocation slightly improved household conditions post-resettlement. Resettlers who attended meetings prior to resettlement experienced a greater impact on household improvement than those who did not. Analysis in **Table 8.5** shows that these resettlers underwent positive change in 5.7 out of 10 categories, whilst the remaining respondents encountered improvement in only 5.5 categories. However, the greatest positive change was found when respondents participated in government meetings, the 1984 rally and ARCH meetings (6.4).<sup>106</sup> The least total sum change (4.8) was found when people participated

---

<sup>106</sup> The number of topics also influenced the total sum of changes; there were incremental effects as the number of topics increased from none to two. However, after the number of topics hit three, the effect hit a plateau at 5.8 points for the total sum of changes.

in ARCH meetings, NBA meetings and the 1984 rally, therefore indicating a difference in opinions and/or discussions.

Two effects on individual asset variables require further attention. The first is the -20% change found in surplus when respondents participated in ARCH and NBA meetings and in the 1984 rally. As shown in **Table 8.5**, this change is based on a small number of respondents where two out of 10 respondents no longer had agricultural surplus post-resettlement. The second is the -22% change in the utilisation of government health care services amongst those who attended only ARCH and NBA meetings only. Again, this result is based on a small number of respondents where three respondents no longer use government services and one has started using these services post-resettlement. Nevertheless, these negative changes might be indicative of the difference in information presented at the gatherings.

### *8.3.3. EFFECT OF DISCUSSION TOPICS ON HOUSEHOLD INFRASTRUCTURE AND AMENITIES*

Discussion topics affected household improvement positively. Resettlers who recalled discussion topics at meetings experienced a greater impact on household improvement than those who did not. Analysis shows that these resettlers underwent positive change in 5.8 out of 10 categories, whilst the remaining respondents encountered improvement in only 5.3 categories (**Table 8.6**). The difference between respondents who reported that topics were discussed and those who did not is significant ( $t=2.362$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). However, there is no statistically significant effect if the number of topics increases; the total sum of change stays relatively the same

**Table 8.5: Effect of Meetings/Events on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

	No. of HHs		Ch Water	Ch Fuel Source		Ch Toilet and Bathing		Ch Housing		Ch Surplus	Ch Health Care		SUM
	N	%		Cook	Heat	Toilet	Bathe	Structure	Electricity		Private	Govt	
<b>No</b>	93	25.1	97.8	85.7	83.5	3.3	4.4	78.9	86.8	33.8	2.2	12.4	5.5
<b>Yes</b>	277	74.9	96.4	87.3	85.2	18.5	19.2	73.9	94.2	20.5	2.6	20.9	5.7
Govt only	1	0.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	5.0
ARCH only	40	10.8	97.5	77.5	75.0	30.8	79.5	80.0	95.0	18.0	5.1	23.1	5.8
NBA only	0	0.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1984 rally only	20	5.4	100.0	85.0	85.0	35.0	70.0	75.0	95.0	5.0	5.0	10.0	5.7
Govt + ARCH	21	5.7	90.5	81.0	85.7	14.3	85.7	61.9	76.2	25.0	0.0	19.1	5.4
Govt + NBA	0	0.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Govt + 1984 rally	8	2.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	25.0	75.0	100.0	87.5	12.5	0.0	12.5	6.1
ARCH + NBA	9	2.4	100.0	100.0	100.0	22.2	55.6	88.9	100.0	11.1	11.1	- 22.2	5.7
ARCH + 1984 rally	76	20.5	98.7	84.0	81.6	18.4	67.1	75.0	96.1	21.1	4.0	20.0	5.6
NBA + 1984 rally	2	0.5	100.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
Govt + ARCH + NBA	21	5.7	85.7	100.0	85.7	4.8	61.9	81.0	100.0	25.0	0.0	9.5	5.6
Govt + ARCH + 1984 rally	50	13.5	100.0	94.0	94.0	12.0	88.0	84.0	94.0	30.6	0.0	42.9	6.4
ARCH + NBA + 1984 rally	10	2.7	90.0	80.0	80.0	40.0	50.0	70.0	100.0	- 20.0	0.0	11.1	4.8
All four events	19	5.1	90.0	100.0	90.0	100.0	60.0	83.3	100.0	20.7	3.3	0.0	5.6
<b>Total (N)</b>	370	100.0	96.7 (367)	86.9 (367)	84.8 (368)	15.6 (366)	75.1 (366)	76.2 (367)	92.4 (368)	23.5 (353)	2.5 (362)	18.8 (362)	5.7 (346)

ARCH=ARCH-Vahini; Ch Fuel=change in fuel source; Ch Health Care=change in health care utilisation; Ch Housing=change in housing structure; Ch Surplus=change in surplus; Ch Toilet and Bathing=change in toilet and bathing locations; Ch Water=change in water source; Govt=Government; HHs=households; N=total; NBA=Narmada Bachao Andolan; No.=number; SUM=total sum of changes; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

**Table 8.6: Effect of Topics Discussed on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

	% of HHs	Ch Water	Ch Fuel Source		Ch Toilet and Bathing		Ch Housing		Ch Surplus	Ch Health Care		SUM
			Cook	Heat	Toilet	Bathe	Structure	Electricity		Private	Govt	
No	29.5	95.3	82.2	78.5	6.6	76.4	73.4	86.9	31.3	1.9	14.4	5.3
Yes	70.5	97.3	88.9	87.4	19.2	74.6	77.4	94.6	20.6	2.7	20.5	5.8
<b>Total (N)</b>	100.0	96.7	86.9	84.8	15.6	75.1	76.2	92.4	23.5	2.5	18.8	5.7
	(370)	(367)	(367)	(368)	(366)	(366)	(367)	(368)	(353)	(362)	(362)	(346)

Ch Fuel=change in fuel source; Ch Health Care=change in health care utilisation; Ch Housing=change in housing structure; Ch Surplus=change in surplus; Ch Toilet and Bathing=change in toilet and bathing locations; Ch Water=change in water source; Govt=Government; HHs=households; N=total; No.=number; SUM=total sum of changes; %=percent.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

An inference can be drawn based on the positive effect that discussion topics had on household improvement, coupled with the data and analysis in **Chapters 6 and 7**. It can be inferred that resettlers were well informed about conditions leading to relocation and resettlement through discussion topics on resettlement and livelihoods issues at meetings prior to resettlement. The assumption here is that every resettler had access to information if they chose to attend the meetings. However, the effect is not limited to those who had participated in discussions. On average, about 76% of respondents experienced improvement in their housing structure where they went from living in *kachcha* homes to *pucca* or semi-*pucca* structures. Amongst those that recalled discussion topics at meetings, about 77% reported a positive change in their housing structure. In comparison, about 73% experienced a positive change amongst those who had not mentioned a topic.

In some cases, the effect of topics on individual categories was weaker amongst those that recalled discussion topics (i.e., change in surplus and bathing facilities). For instance, about 21% of those that mentioned a topic generated a surplus after resettlement in comparison with 31% of those who did not. On one hand, this might be due to uncontrollable factors such as unpredictable weather conditions or land quality. Based on **Table 8.6**, change in surplus has fluctuated over the years. This reflects variations in environmental conditions (i.e., drought, monsoon rains). For instance, surplus reached a peak of 36% in 1992-1995, which may be explained by the good monsoons during the early 1990s.

On the other hand, it might be a reflection of (i) the information provided at meetings about crops and fertilisers, (ii) the number of resettlers that recalled they had attended meetings where the topic of crops and fertilisers was discussed and/or (iii) key characteristics of resettlers.



As previously mentioned, land at the new resettlement site differs in quality from that at their original villages. Thus, agriculture at the new sites is of different quality. This requires different types of agricultural inputs and equipment. According to **Table 6.3**, the number of respondents that recalled discussions on crops and fertilisers was low —about 73%. These were primarily Tadvī people who lived close to the dam site (**Table 6.12**). As seen in **Table 8.6**, Tadvī people who lived close to the dam site reaped a surplus in comparison to other resettlers in this sample —about 46% of households. It can, therefore, be inferred that Tadvī resettlers might have had more access to information than other resettlers due to their point of origin. The importance of key characteristics of resettlers is further discussed in the next section.

#### **8.4. Effect of Choice and Compensation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

Change in household infrastructure and amenities might also be influenced by the level of choice exerted and amount of compensation received by resettlers, which change as a result of the type and degree of participation. As previously discussed in **Chapter 5**, choice and compensation are two outcomes of participation. The former represents a social asset and the latter a financial or natural asset. The effects of choice and compensation are tested on household infrastructure and amenities in order to determine whether there is a relationship between choice and household improvements, or land compensation and household improvements (**Table 8.7**). The effects of participation on choice and compensation have been previously discussed in **Chapter 7**.

As shown in **Table 8.7**, choosing a resettlement site had little influence on individual change variables and on the sum of changes. For instance, the sum of changes indicates that resettlers who had a choice in selecting a resettlement site experienced an average change in about 5.7 categories, in comparison to 5.6 those who did not have a choice in site.

**Table. 8.7: Effect of Choice and Compensation on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

	No. of HHs		Ch Water	Ch Fuel Source		Ch Toilet and Bathing		Ch Housing		Ch Surplus	Ch Health Care		SUM
	N	%		Cook	Heat	Toilet	Bathe	Structure	Electricity		Private	Govt	
<b>Sites Seen Before (Site &gt; 1)</b>													
No	70	18.9	97.0	85.3	82.4	7.5	68.7	67.1	82.4	19.6	1.5	24.2	5.1
Yes	300	81.1	96.7	87.3	85.3	17.4	76.6	78.3	94.7	24.2	2.7	17.6	5.8
<b>Choice in Site Selection</b>													
No	129	34.9	97.6	89.9	87.4	10.3	73.0	74.4	86.6	24.4	4.0	24.8	5.6
Yes	241	65.1	96.3	85.4	83.4	18.3	76.3	77.2	95.4	23.1	1.7	15.6	5.7
<b>Choice in Relocation Unit</b>													
No	36	9.7	93.9	82.4	82.4	6.1	57.6	66.7	73.5	3.4	0.0	3.0	4.3
Yes	334	90.3	97.0	87.4	85.0	16.5	76.9	77.3	94.3	25.3	2.7	20.4	5.8
<b>Compensation Received per Chulha</b>													
No	50	13.5	89.6	79.6	69.4	14.6	62.5	42.0	77.6	2.1	0.0	17.0	4.4
Yes	320	86.5	97.8	88.1	87.2	15.7	77.0	81.6	94.7	26.8	2.9	19.1	5.9
<b>Total Compensation Received*</b>													
No	36	9.7	94.1	74.3	68.6	5.9	61.8	47.2	74.3	3.0	- 6.1	15.2	4.2
Yes	334	90.2	97.0	88.3	86.5	16.6	76.5	79.3	94.3	25.6	3.3	19.2	5.8
<b>Total</b>	370	100.0	96.7 (367)	86.9 (367)	84.8 (368)	15.6 (366)	75.1 (366)	76.2 (367)	92.4 (368)	23.5 (353)	2.5 (362)	18.8 (362)	5.7 (346)

Ch Fuel=change in fuel source; Ch Health Care=change in health care utilisation; Ch Housing=change in housing structure; Ch Surplus=change in surplus; Ch Toilet and Bathing=change in toilet and bathing locations; Ch Water=change in water source; Govt=Government HHs=households; N=total; No.=number; SUM=total sum of changes; %=percent.

\*Compensation in total includes respondents and other extended family members that received compensation.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Allowing resettlers to relocate with others of their own choosing led to improvements in more categories of household infrastructure and amenities (Table 8.7). These resettlers experienced an improvement in about 5.8 categories, in comparison to 4.3 of those who did not go with the relocation unit of their choice. This supports my earlier assertion that social capital (i.e., social networks) is important during periods of vulnerability and insecurity (Section 4.3.3).

Land compensation shows similar effects. Single *chulhas* that received compensation experienced improvements in 5.9 categories in comparison to 4.4, which was experienced by those who did not receive land compensation. A similar trend is apparent amongst those who were awarded land compensation from either the *chulha* or joint household.

Changes in different physical facilities and amenities for both groups of resettlers are comparable to the overall result that is noted above. Those resettlers who received compensation experienced change in each facility to a greater degree than those who did not receive compensation. Nevertheless, both groups of resettlers are better off now than they were prior to resettlement. The exception is the negative effect that was observed amongst those who did not receive any compensation in the utilisation of private health services. This effect is probably a result of the high cost of private health care and/or less availability of financial resources. Health-seeking behaviour might also effect utilisation. The underutilisation of private health services might also be a result of some of the health-seeking behaviour factors previously noted. Specifically, some factors might include (i) lesser incidence of disease at sites, (ii) proximity and convenience of alternative health facilities (i.e., government centres or MHUs), (iii) poor quality and delays in receiving private health care or (iv) increased cost of private health care in urban versus rural settings.

As was noted previously, there is a strong spill over effect with the exception of the choice in relocation unit. This spill over is illustrated in **Table 8.7**. The difference in change between those resettlers that went with a relocation unit of their choice and those that did not is substantial. This is more apparent in categories where sharing of limited resources would be beneficial (i.e., toilet and bathing facilities).

### **8.5. Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

The effect of key characteristics of resettlers on household infrastructure and amenities variables indicates changes in physical infrastructure and social services (i.e., schools, health care services) specific to individual groups since resettlement (**Table 8.8**). Tadvīs experienced the greatest net change in about 6.4 asset categories, as compared to other tribal groups who experienced next change in about 5 asset categories or less.

The most substantial change was noticed in location of bathing facilities, housing structure and agricultural surplus. As discussed briefly in the last section, about 46% of Tadvīs went from having no surplus in their villages to generating surplus at the new sites, in comparison with those from other tribal groups. Rathwas faced a negative change in surplus indicating that surplus-generating households in the villages were no longer doing so at the resettlement sites. This might be due to the availability of other employment opportunities.<sup>107</sup> Vasavas and Bhils also experienced positive change, but to a lesser extent than the Tadvīs.

---

<sup>107</sup> Whilst this might be true, **Table 5.13** shows that about 91% of Rathwa resettlers engage in farming activities at the new sites.

**Table 8.8: Effect of Key Characteristics of Resettlers on Household Infrastructure and Amenities**

	No. of HHs		Ch Water	Ch Fuel Source		Ch Toilet and Bathing		Ch Housing		Ch Surplus	Ch Health Care		SUM
	N	%		Cook	Heat	Toilet	Bathe	Structure	Electricity		Private	Govt	
<b>Tribal Group</b>													
Rathwa	98	26.5	92.9	81.6	74.5	51.0	52.1	62.2	91.8	- 3.1	- 5.2	18.8	5.2
Tadvi	194	52.4	99.0	99.0	99.0	1.0	91.2	93.8	95.3	46.4	- 0.5	17.0	6.4
Vasava + Bhil	66	17.8	98.5	62.1	62.1	9.1	66.7	53.0	86.4	3.1	6.1	22.7	4.7
Other	12	3.2	83.3	75.0	66.7	0.0	50.0	33.0	83.3	8.3	8.3	25.0	4.3
<b>Place of Origin</b>													
Close	195	52.7	99.5	99.0	99.0	1.0	91.2	94.9	96.4	45.6	0.0	16.9	6.4
Midway	44	11.9	97.7	59.1	56.8	0.0	77.3	40.9	88.6	9.5	2.3	31.8	5.6
Interior	112	30.3	93.8	80.4	75.0	48.2	50.9	68.9	93.8	- 0.9	7.3	19.1	5.3
Other	19	5.1	83.3	68.4	63.0	10.5	47.4	15.8	52.6	- 10.5	0.0	5.3	3.2
<b>Resettlement Site</b>													
Site A	70	18.9	87.1	81.4	71.4	54.3	47.1	54.3	94.3	- 1.4	10.3	30.9	5.2
Site B	74	20.0	100.0	98.6	97.2	0.0	91.7	97.3	98.6	40.3	1.4	24.6	6.5
Site C	125	33.8	98.4	99.2	100.0	1.6	89.6	91.2	93.6	49.6	- 0.8	12.9	6.3
Site D	59	15.9	100.0	76.3	74.6	29.8	54.4	69.5	79.7	- 6.8	1.7	1.7	4.8
Site E	12	3.2	91.7	33.3	33.3	0.0	75.0	100.0	91.7	0.0	8.3	41.7	4.7
Site F	30	8.1	100.0	63.3	63.3	0.0	80.0	16.7	93.3	10.3	0.0	26.7	4.5
<b>Year of Resettlement*</b>													
1988-1991	240	64.9	96.2	89.9	86.6	22.0	72.5	82.5	95.4	19.1	3.4	15.0	5.8
1992-1995	104	28.1	99.0	82.7	82.7	4.8	85.6	69.2	93.3	35.7	2.0	28.4	5.8
1996-2001	25	6.8	92.0	76.0	76.0	0.0	56.0	48.0	64.0	12.5	0.0	12.0	4.3
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>96.7</b> <b>(367)</b>	<b>86.9</b> <b>(367)</b>	<b>84.8</b> <b>(368)</b>	<b>15.6</b> <b>(366)</b>	<b>75.1</b> <b>(366)</b>	<b>76.2</b> <b>(370)</b>	<b>92.4</b> <b>(368)</b>	<b>23.5</b> <b>(353)</b>	<b>2.5</b> <b>(362)</b>	<b>18.8</b> <b>(362)</b>	<b>5.7</b> <b>(346)</b>

Ch Fuel=change in fuel source; Ch Health Care=change in health care utilisation; Ch Housing=change in housing structure; Ch Surplus=change in surplus; Ch Toilet and Bathing=change in toilet and bathing locations; Ch Water=change in water source; Govt=Government; HHs=households; N=total; No.=number; SUM=total sum of changes; %=percent.

\*Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The place of origin and the nature of these tribal groups also influence changes in bathing facilities and housing structure. Those tribals that live farther from the dam site tend to use resources collectively. Although they may reside in separate structures, tribals may still prefer to share bathing facilities with another family or a relative. For example, the Rathwas are more prone to live in extended households and collectively share resources. These variables influence the types of effects on different tribal groups.

Some changes in **Table 8.8** could be a result of ongoing government or externally funded programmes that focused on improving the living conditions of people at specific sites. For example, there is a positive change in the percentage of households that have private toilet facilities. These households are those who (i) are Rathwas (51%), (ii) have relocated from the interior villages (48%), (iii) resettled at **Sites A and D** (54% and 30%, respectively) and (iv) moved during the first time period (22% during 1988-1991). As previously illustrated in **Chapter 1**, a correlation exists between tribal group, point of origin, resettlement site and year of resettlement.

Fuel source for cooking and heating purposes have also changed over the years revealing that households are relying less on crop residue and more on wood and twigs. This may indicate a livelihood strategy where resettlers have found alternative ways of attaining wood and twigs at the new sites.

A change in the type of health care facilities is also found (**Table 8.8**). It appears that Rathwas and Tadvīs stopped using private health facilities, but increased their use of government health facilities (i.e., primary health centres and MHUs) post-resettlement. This might be attributable to a reduction in the number of barriers and constraints that had once limited access to public health facilities in their original villages. Villagers from remote areas often rely on health services that are near to their homes. These may be private or public facilities, and in some cases, traditional healers.

Health-seeking behaviour thus depends on a number of factors, including (i) the proximity of the health facility, (ii) timely availability of services upon request, (iii) costs and affordability of services, (iv) lack of alternative health care and (v) quality of services including client-provider interactions. Increased utilisation of government services post-resettlement may be due to any of these determinants, but most likely it might reflect the effect of increased access to public health facilities at resettlement sites. For example, the SSPA has started operating MHUs that visits each site at least twice a week (see Chapter 5).

## 8.6. Rate of Change amongst Gujarati *Adivasis*

The previous sections illustrate the effect of participation, choice and compensation on household infrastructure and amenities, and how key characteristics of resettlers influence the level of change post-resettlement. It sets the foundation for this section in which I discuss the “rate of change” amongst tribal resettlers in Gujarat, based on two opposing notions of tribal development.

### 8.6.1. PROJECT-AFFECTED TRIBALS: NATIONAL INTEGRATION VERSUS TRIBALISM<sup>108</sup>

The rate of change amongst tribal groups in India is one that has often been linked to the degree of exposure or contact they have had with non-tribal communities (Joshi 1983:

*...a tribal has been dubbed as a violator of law. He has become an intruder in his own forest with the enactment of the Forest Act. He has been branded as an encroacher on land which he has been cultivating for generations. And he commits a crime when he worships in his traditional style. (Sharma 1993: 21-22).*

55-56; Patwardhan 2000: 23). Change that is brought about by tribal development is often based on the way in which *adivasis* and their cultures are commonly portrayed before and after a particular intervention. The

---

<sup>108</sup> Terms borrowed by Misra (1993).

proponents of the SSP focus on the assimilation (or “national integration”) of tribals, whilst the opponents believe in the preservation (or “tribalism”) of tribals.

On one hand, “tribalism” preserves the socio-cultural and political identity of *adivasis* (Misra 1993: 44; Sinha 1996). Misra (1993: 44) defines tribalism as “a process of identity consolidation at the social level, and a separatistic and exclusionistic at the political level, which go side by side.” Opponents of development would like to preserve *adivasi* culture by claiming that little or no exchanges take place between tribal culture and other external forces.

On the other hand, proponents of development consider R&R an opportunity to improve access to external markets and initiate tribal development. Such “national integration” has to do with politically assimilating tribal groups into mainstream society. Late Prime Minister Nehru played a key role in planning and implementing various programmes aimed at tribal development:

*We do not want to preserve tribesmen as unseen specimens, but equally, we do not want to turn them into clowns in a circus. We do not want to stop the clock of progress, but we do want to see that it keeps the right time. We do not accept the myth of noble savage, but we do not want to create a class of ignorable serfs (Elwin 1959, cited in Misra 1993: 46).*

Baviskar (1997: 103) refers to this debate as the “*preservation of adivasi* culture versus their *assimilation* into modern mainstream” (my emphasis added). The “preservation” or “assimilation” debate is “a false dichotomy that overlooks the history of exchanges between culture and dominant states, markets, and religion” (Baviskar 1997: 104). For centuries tribal communities have always coexisted with non-tribal communities (Beteille 1986: 298-99).



Moreover, defining the preservation versus assimilation debate in such terms increases the risks of further marginalisation of tribal groups in the policy process. As individuals who are displaced due to development projects, tribals

*Scheduled Areas are: '...distinct tribal territory where the provision of the fifth/sixth schedule operates' (World Bank 1998).*

tend to be perceived as victims of the state and development. For instance, the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constitution of India (1950) have not successfully protected the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes from unwarranted land transfers.<sup>109</sup> Scheduled Areas were designed to provide protection to the *adivasis* living there against the ongoing threat of land transfers to non-tribals and corporations (Behura 1993; Sharma 1993).

However, the “eminent domain” clause coupled with the LA Act 1894 leaves tribals more vulnerable with little retribution for compensation (Chapter 2). The NPRR-2003 outlines the need to compensate tribals and other vulnerable groups for their land and other assets (Chapter 2, Section 2.5).

Nehru’s efforts of integrating tribal populations were central to the post-colonial protectionist tribal policy (Behura 1993; Joshi 1983; Misra 1993). He believed that tribal people would be assisted “to develop along the lines of their own tradition and genius, teaching them not to despise their past, but to build upon it” (Elwin 1959, cited in Behura 1993: 69).<sup>110</sup> The monographs, produced by Joshi and his team from CSS, may have been the first step in conducting a social impact assessment where adverse affects were predicted.

---

<sup>109</sup> Towards safeguarding tribal interests, the Indian Constitution recognises two distinct tribal territories under Article 244. One, the notion of the Scheduled Area is where the provision of the Fifth Schedule applies over large areas of tribal middle India. Another, the Sixth Schedule, applies to the administration in the tribal areas in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Nagaland in northeastern India. That is, only those who live in the scheduled tribal territories are to be considered as “tribals” (World Bank 1998).

<sup>110</sup> This is similar to what immigrants from developing countries teach their children when assimilating into Western society in the United States, Australia or Europe.

However, it is questionable whether the impact of the NVDP, and especially the SSP, on tribal communities was properly assessed.

#### 8.6.2. THE PREDICTED AND ACTUAL RATE OF CHANGE

During the initial surveys of the 19 submergence villages in Gujarat, Joshi (1983) predicted that the rate of change would be greater in Zone I, less in Zone II and only marginal in Zone III (refer to the zone categorisations in Chapter 1, Table 1.3). Joshi and his research team forecasted the potential impacts on resettlers, specifically the rate of change or pace at which tribal resettlers are able to adapt into mainstream society.

Joshi (1983: 56) found Zone III to be at the “extreme lower end of the continuum” in terms of development:

*...they do not easily understand and appreciate the complexities of technological change or social consequences arising out of them [...] What they are now is the result of a long historical process of neglect and economic backwardness. They need to be approached with patience and a sense of sympathy (Joshi 1983: 57).*

Joshi (1983) further emphasised that the direction of change in Zone I and II goes from

*...traditional group considerations to modern and individual considerations, wherein the traditional groups based on ethnic relation break down and new groups based on secular interests of the individuals emerge (Joshi 1983: 55-56).*

Based on my field research conducted during 2000-2001, I am able to test some of these projections. Villages in Joshi’s Zone I include those that are located at the dam site. These villages were not included in my study, as my sample consists of those villages that come from Zones II and beyond. For instance, tribal groups in Zone II, which I divided into submergence villages close to the dam site and those located midway between these villages and those in the interior regions, seem to be primarily concerned with individual

interests in comparison with traditional group solidarity in the zones farther away from the dam site. Whilst tribals from Zone II are unified, interviews have shown a shifting of interests and emerging new leaderships (i.e., Tadvis from village close to the dam site). In comparison, tribals from Zone III — Rathwas from the interior regions — have remained more united under their traditional leadership, demonstrating the ability to remain a more socially cohesive entity.

Findings from Sites C and D illustrate that different interest groups have emerged during the R&R process. A growing number of members and the presence of more than one *Saathi* (resettlement friend) in the *Samitis* (resettlement committees) is evidence of new groups trying to assert themselves. Such dynamism also reflects an emerging internal political system—a consequence that is unavoidable as displaced groups are not homogeneous units.

Some new factions may be a result of change in tribal language and religion. About 89% speak Gujarati in the home, which implies that some tribal groups (e.g., Rathwas and Tadvis) are not isolated from mainstream society due to language.

*Misra (1993: 48) states an interesting fact that can be connected with earlier discussions on tribalism: '...development of tribal languages while [it] promotes tribalism at the social level [it] accentuates tribal separatism at the political level.'*

In fact, knowing the Gujarati language may have helped these resettlers assimilate more rapidly into mainstream society. Vasavas and Bhils live in more remote villages and have less contact with market forces; these tribal groups were split in terms of language. About 44% of these tribals spoke Gujarati whilst 56% spoke *Adivasi Bholi* (or language).<sup>111</sup> However, some respondents gave one answer but in fact were able to speak both languages fluently.

---

<sup>111</sup> Based on an M&E report, conducted for TISS in 1989, a similar division in language is found. Tadvis spoke Gujarati and Vasavas spoke *Bhillori*, a language that is like *Adivasi Bholi* but more heavily influenced by Marathi (Parasuraman 1999: 184).

The progression of change, as Joshi predicted, is greater amongst those resettlers that come from villages closer to the dam site, than those that come from the interior villages. What Joshi refers to as “rate of change,” I refer to as the “sum of total changes” (or the last column in the previous change tables). For example, **Table 8.7** illustrates greater change amongst Tadvīs that come from closer to the dam site than those that moved from the midway or interior villages of the Narmada Valley (refer to **Chapter 1, Table 1.7** for classifications). Due to greater exposure to external forces (i.e., secular and religious) post-resettlement, a greater rate of change was noticed amongst Tadvīs (positive change in an average of 6.4 asset categories). The pace of change for Rathwas (5.2), that used to reside in the interior regions, has been slower than that for the Tadvīs but faster than that for the Bhils and Vasavas (4.7) that used to reside in midway villages.

A higher rate of change also appears to be based on the ability of resettlers to cope with a changing environment based on livelihoods assets portfolio, which Patwardhan (2000) asserts as being the grounds for determining “direction of change” (or what I would consider “positive or negative change,” as depicted by a plus or negative sign):

*People’s perception of the risk and avenues of rehabilitation and their ability to cope with the social, environmental and economic changes is likely to vary among groups. Tribal communities which are more accustomed to the market economy, less dependent on forest and having stronger contact with political and legal systems of the mainstream, are likely to be able to take advantage of the improved access to market and resulting opportunities after displacement (Patwardhan 2000: 23).*

My field research (2000-2001) indicates that the rate of change was slower for resettlers coming from midway villages than for those from close to the dam site and the interior forest regions. Tribals living close to the dam site have an overwhelming dependence on non-agriculture activities prior to resettlement. Tribals living farther away from the site are accustomed to a

more subsistence economy. Higher human capital and better access to transportation systems and the market have enabled all tribals, especially Tadvis and Rathwas, to hold non-agricultural jobs —office or wage labour. The slower rate of change amongst resettlers from the midway villages is not attributed to the type of compensation, as both land ownership and government employment opportunities were awarded per Gujarat's R&R policy. However, it could be due to the level of contact with markets and the degree and nature of participation, which are invariably influenced by factors such as communication and mobility (Tables 7.11 and 7.12).

Joshi (1983: 56) predicted that if sufficient options were to become available then it would take less time for Zone II to be nearer to Zone I. Patwardhan (2000: 23) claims that the Tadvis are more able to cope based on their degree of exposure to the market economy. In other words, tribals from villages close to the dam site, or midway, would take little time to assimilate into mainstream society found at the dam site (i.e., in the project site boomtowns), depending on external or conditional factors (i.e., the degree of exposure to markets, mainstream culture, etc). Based on this reasoning, Rathwas were not as isolated from market forces as conventionally assumed. Coupled with higher rates of participation, this would help explain greater change amongst tribals coming from the interior forest regions.

In addition, tribals from close to the dam site (i.e., Tadvis) may have had less incentive to participate. They may have (i) been accustomed to a different way of life prior to resettlement, (ii) enjoyed better status in terms of health and livelihood prior to resettlement and (iii) been content with the satisfactory access to basic infrastructure<sup>112</sup> (i.e., roads, transport, market and communication). As a result, they may have had higher expectations of the process prior to resettlement, which would be more difficult to fulfil. Whilst

---

<sup>112</sup> Tadvis did not have complete access to basic infrastructure. Based on the CSS monographs, infrastructure development seems to have only started in the area when work on the dam was commissioned post-independence and subsequently, when activists began flooding the region in the late 1970s (Das 1982; 1983: 54).

Tadvis experienced higher rate of change in comparison to Rathwas (6.4 versus 5.2, respectively), they appeared to be less happy. For instance, about 25% of Tadvi households were “happy” with resettlement in comparison to 94% of Rathwa households.

### 8.6.3. *THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES AND PERSPECTIVES*

As noted in the previous section, expectations about the policy and its implementation might have also influenced the ability of resettlers to regain their livelihoods post-resettlement. Considering tribals as primary stakeholders, who are responsible for their own development, makes their needs and concerns more visible. The right to develop or not to develop is a decision that should be left up to the individual tribal group.

According to Das (1982: 76), resettlers’ attitudes towards R&R are often determined by the compensation received. For instance, cash compensation was awarded to PAPs of the SSP in accordance with legally titled land prior to 1986 (Das 1982: 70-71). This marginalised tribals further as many of them cultivated encroached land, forest areas and/or barren land without legal land titles. These tribals received cash compensation but experienced higher risks of impoverishment, as it was difficult to purchase new land at market prices. This was the situation for those PAPs that suffered losses due to the boomtown of Kevadia Colony at the dam site. Informants mentioned that these PAPs took the cash compensation in fear that the struggle for better R&R provisions would prove fruitless.

Table 8.9 shows a possible continuum of where group interests lie with respect to their socio-economic statuses. The highlighted groups are the categories of tribals requiring special attention during R&R. Respondents and their spouses both explained the rationale behind their positive attitudes towards R&R, when asked if they were “happy” with resettlement. Resettlers are able to diversify their means of livelihood post-resettlement based on the

reasons they gave for being “happy”—good quality land, more agricultural output and greater ease in finding wage labour during times of scarcity.

**Table 8.9: Groups of Displacees and their Respective Characteristics**

Groups	Characteristics	Losses	Attitudes towards Rehabilitation	Remarks
Large acreage owned and lesser illegal cultivation	Underemployment and unemployment infrequent	Relative loss less	<i>Positive</i> Interested in higher rates of compensation	Relatively easy to rehabilitate
Smaller acreage owned but larger illegal cultivation	Same	Relative loss is high	<i>Negative</i> Interested in acquiring legal status for the total amount of land cultivated	Difficult to rehabilitate  Priority area
Very little or no acreage owned and fully illegal cultivation	Underemployment and unemployment frequent	Relative loss is very high	<i>Completely Negative</i> Desperate attempts for survival	Same
Completely landless and no illegal cultivation	Same	Relative loss is less	<i>Neutral</i> Would like locations in vicinity of ‘casual’ job sectors	Relatively easy to rehabilitate

Source: Das (1982: 76).

Resettlers also stated that things were better because of good physical infrastructure such as roads and availability of transportation vehicles — public and private. Some resettlers have also enjoyed being close to the town and market, whilst others enjoyed an increase in their mobility. Without any hills, some also enjoyed the ability to ride a bicycle. Women mostly expressed satisfaction with closer and more reliable water facilities, as they no longer have to climb hills to collect water.

Resettlers also noted with satisfaction the schools and hospitals, as they were closer and easier to reach because of better roads and less costly due to easier transport and lower fees. Because these social amenities were more accessible, enrolment of children gradually increased over the years. They explained how the availability and closeness of medical facilities gave

them a sense of ease at the sites. Resettlers could now hire an auto-rickshaw, borrow a neighbour's tractor and/or a motorbike instead of walking more than 50 km through hills and rough terrain.

About half of all respondents and 30% of all spouses (or 58% of those spouses that were available for interview) found life to be better after resettlement and indicated having a positive attitude about Gujarat's R&R policy. An overwhelming 61% of respondents and 30% of all spouses (or 57% of those spouses that were available for interview) claimed that there was more illness at the resettlement sites (Table 8.10). About 4% of respondents and 4% of spouses felt that there was less sickness at the sites due to improved availability and accessibility of medical care.

**Table 8.10: Attitudes and Opinions towards R&R and Level of Sickness Post-Resettlement**

Responses	Respondents (%)	Spouses (%)
<b>Attitudes About R&amp;R</b>		
No Response	0.3	0.3
Happy	49.5	30.0
Worse	26.2	13.8
Indifferent	23.0	7.8
Not Available	1.1	47.8
Do not Know	—	0.3
<b>Level of Sickness</b>		
No Response	0.3	0.3
More	60.5	29.7
Less	4.3	3.5
About the Same	30.5	15.1
Not Available	4.3	47.8
Do not know	—	3.5
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>100.0 (370)</b>	<b>100.0 (193)</b>

N=total; R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Whilst resettlers feel that illness is usually unpredictable and uncontrollable, they nevertheless gave some reasons for why illness rose at sites. They mentioned two main reasons: (i) an increased use of fertilisers and pesticides in agricultural production and (ii) the closeness of the people and



towns (i.e., urbanisation). For instance, the change in cultivation techniques and crop production has caused resettlers to purchase chemical fertilisers and pesticides to better suit hybrid seeds. Women felt that the food and vegetables are less fresh now than before when they used *desi* fertiliser (traditional fertiliser made of cow dung and compost).

Others have blamed the increased sickness on urbanisation. For instance, resettlers claimed that the nearby town polluted the air with black soot and the water with chemicals. Resettlers explained that when living in the hills, the *baawa* (or small breezes or winds) kept the atmosphere clean and drove the mosquitoes away. One resettler mentioned that illness was due to dirt, filth and unclean atmosphere. Another mentioned that the polluted air was due to the black smoke emanating from the steel factories of the nearby town. These resettlers felt that not only was the atmosphere unclean, but also the level of dirt and filth had increased since resettlement. Interestingly, both men and women claimed the level of sickness had increased, with little gender difference in the explanations.

Those resettlers who felt that life had worsened since resettlement mentioned that life had become tougher since moving away from their villages in the Narmada Valley. They had experienced difficulty in rearing cattle and livestock at the new sites on limited grazing land. Most families sold their goats due to the lack of grazing land, whilst others did so because of social image. One female resettler mentioned that goats were dirty animals and it was embarrassing to have them roaming around. Another resettler said that goats were a liability as they destroyed their agricultural fields and reduced their potential yields.

Resettlers also expressed the increased need for money to sustain daily needs, as items such as food, agricultural seeds, fertilisers and implements were expensive at the new sites. As a result, they felt pressure to work more and longer hours to generate additional income required to satisfy this need.

However, after further conversation, resettlers mentioned that the need to work more was partly due to the better quality of land that they had been awarded. Before, they were unable to get more than one harvest but now, at the new sites, resettlers are able to have two to three harvests, improving their overall standard of living and thereby increasing daily expectations.

Complaints were accompanied by praise about Gujarat's R&R policy and the overall process. Attitudes and opinions were often mixed, and depended on the resettler's mood at the time of interview. Most recent experiences also affected a resettler's response. For instance, if a resettler incurred a great monetary loss due to health services, s/he was more likely to express an increased level of sickness at the sites and unhappiness with the move.

Rathwas, Vasavas and Bhils that have resettled at **Sites A and D** expressed greater satisfaction with resettlement —about 91% and 100%, respectively. Tribal groups that reside at both sites come from the interior and more remote areas of the forest. However, I found that a majority of Vasavas and Bhils at **Sites E and F** were not as “happy” with resettlement as their peers were at other resettlement sites (about 75% expressed dissatisfaction).<sup>113</sup>

Interestingly, a low percentage of Tadvīs at **Sites B and C** stated that they were satisfied with resettlement. About 33% and 21% of Tadvīs at **Sites B and C** felt that life post-resettlement had improved, respectively. This shows that satisfaction with resettlement and rate of change (or total change in asset categories) are two different, yet related, concepts. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the rate of change was greater for those living closer to the dam site due to greater exposure and development. However, satisfaction

---

<sup>113</sup> As shown in previous chapters, these groups also received compensation and choice. However, these resettlers are new resettlers who have moved for the second time, as the situation at the first site was unsatisfactory.

is lower for those resettlers who used to live closer to the dam site than for those coming from more remote areas.

Irrespective of the year of resettlement, Rathwas and other tribals from the interior and remote regions have experienced resettlement to a satisfactory level—a level to which they have expressed “happiness” (Table 8.11). Tadvis, on the other hand, have experienced a lesser degree of satisfaction as they come from closer to the dam site. This degree is more prominent during 1992-1995. During this time, the construction of the Sardar Sarovar dam was also suspended and some level of instability was found within the SSPA administration.

**Table 8.11: Attitudes and Opinions of Resettlers by Place of Origin and Year of Resettlement**

Place of Origin by Year of Resettlement (Row %)		Respondents			Spouses		
		N	Happy	More Sickness	N	Happy	More Sickness
<b>Year of Resettlement*</b>							
1988-1991		240	58.8	95.0	132	67.4	91.7
1992-1995		104	26.9	98.1	50	34.0	98.0
1996-2001		25	56.0	92.0	11	45.5	90.9
<b>Total</b>		370	49.5	95.7	193	57.5	6.7
1988-1991	Close	130	29.2	99.2	59	35.6	96.6
	Midway	1	100.0	100.0	1	100.0	100.0
	Interior	102	95.1	90.2	70	92.9	87.1
	Other	7	71.4	85.7	2	100.0	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	240	58.8	95.0	89	67.4	91.7
1992-1995	Close	54	14.8	98.1	28	28.6	100.0
	Midway	40	27.5	97.5	16	18.8	93.8
	Interior	5	100.0	100.0	4	100.0	100.0
	Other	5	80.0	100.0	2	100.0	100.0
	<b>Total</b>	104	26.9	98.1	50	34.0	98.0
1996-2001	Close	10	30.0	100.0	4	0.0	100.0
	Midway	3	0.0	100.0	1	0.0	100.0
	Interior	5	100.0	100.0	1	50.0	100.0
	Other	7	85.7	71.4	4	100.0	75.0
	<b>Total</b>	25	56.0	92.0	11	45.5	90.9

N=total; %=percent.

\*Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Participation by residential unit (data not shown in **Table 8.11**) had little effect on attitudes and opinions, but a greater percentage of respondents felt more satisfied with R&R and noticed less sickness in cases where both women and men participated in policy-related events in comparison with only men. About 58% felt that they were better off as compared with the 45% where only men participated. In cases where both men and women participated, about 7% said there was less sickness in comparison with 3% where only men participated in events.

## **8.7. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I focused on my third main research question. I investigated the effect of policy implementation on the ability of resettlers to regain and improve their livelihoods, relative to (i) their conditions prior to resettlement and (ii) non-participants in the process at the same resettlement site. I examined the effects of participation, site infrastructure and development on individual households by considering the changes in households' current conditions in comparison to their conditions before resettlement. This required developing a number of change variables based on the before and after resettlement situation (i.e., what was the source of water before and after resettlement). Effects of participation (nature and degree) on these asset variables were tested to determine the extent to which households have been able to regain, or improve, their livelihoods post-resettlement.

Improvement in household infrastructure and amenities was measured by calculating change in 10 asset categories that represent different physical facilities and amenities before and after resettlement. Change in these categories helps to determine whether there was a decrease or increase in a household's financial, natural, physical and human capital. **Chapters 6 and 7** on compensation and choice provided information about the social, political and financial capital of resettlers post-resettlement. On average, resettlers

experienced improvements in 5.7 categories of household infrastructure and amenities. About 97% of households experienced net change in their source of water from external to internal water sources. The changes derived imply an improvement in the physical location of household infrastructure and amenities. It can be assumed that such conditions contribute favourably to overall household welfare.

Participation is based on the mix of assets, especially social and political capital. However, a certain degree of economic stability is necessary for social networks to be effective. The effect of participation on household infrastructure and amenities is based on the derived dimensions of participation (Chapter 6). Findings suggest that participation in policy-related events yields better conditions and improvements. For instance, those who did not participate from either the single *chulha* or joint household experienced improvements in 4.9 asset categories in comparison to those who participated from either the single *chulha* or joint household and experienced improvements in 5.8 asset categories. This was irrespective of whether men or women only or both men and women participated. The effect of participation on household improvement is slightly higher when resettlers from the *chulha* participated, in comparison with those from the joint household (5.9 versus 5.7, respectively). A difference existed in the effect of female and male participation on individual asset categories.

The presence of organisations, attendance in meetings and events, and topics discussed prior to resettlement improved household conditions post-resettlement. For example, resettlers who recalled visits by organisations in their original villages experienced a greater impact on household improvement than those who did not. Resettlers underwent positive change in 5.7 out of 10 categories, whilst the remaining respondents encountered improvement in only 5.4 categories. There is little effect of organisations on specific asset variables. However, the greatest positive change was found when respondents participated in government meetings, the 1984 rally and

ARCH meetings (in 6.4 asset categories). It should be noted that some effects on individual asset variables could be misleading as they are based on a small number of respondents.

Resettlers seemed able to reduce the degree of vulnerability and insecurity associated with “involuntary” resettlement (as per the SL/IR framework in Figure 4.2). Change in household infrastructure and amenities might also be influenced by the level of choice exerted and amount of compensation received by resettlers, which are variables that change as a result of the type and degree of participation. Choice and compensation are two outcomes of participation —the former represents a social asset and the latter a financial or natural asset. The effects of choice and compensation are tested on household infrastructure and amenities in order to determine whether there is a relationship between choice and household improvements, or land compensation and household improvements.

In Chapter 7, analysis revealed a spill over effect of participation on choice and compensation. Similarly, a spill over effect is also evident in this chapter. Resettlers that had not participated in policy-related events also experienced positive change in some asset categories.

The effect of key characteristics of resettlers on household infrastructure and amenities variables indicates changes in physical infrastructure and social services (i.e., schools, health care services) specific to individual groups since resettlement. Tadvīs experienced the greatest net change in about 6.4 asset categories, as compared to other tribal groups who experienced net change in about 5 asset categories or less.

The chapter concludes with a discussion on the rate of change (or sum of total change) amongst Gujarati tribal resettlers within the context of tribal development. The discussion includes the manner in which tribal development is perceived, improvements and/or challenges faced by resettlers during R&R policy implementation, rates of change predicted by

Joshi in the early 1980s and resettlers' views and expectations on R&R. The ability of PAPs to restore their livelihoods post-resettlement is influenced by these discussions. For instance, the rate of change was greater for those tribals (i.e., Tadvīs) living closer to the dam site due to greater exposure and development. However, satisfaction is lower for those resettlers that lived closer to the dam site (i.e., Tadvīs) than for those coming from more remote areas (i.e., Rathwas). Tadvīs, for instance, may have had higher expectations of the process prior to resettlement, which would be more difficult to fulfil. Participation during the R&R process plays a significant role in the PAPs' ability to regain, if not improve, their livelihoods after resettlement.

Chapter 9 will discuss the effects of Gujarat's R&R policy on individuals. This includes discussions on how implementation has affected men and women differently. The analysis presented in the next chapter will help highlight any gendered-differences in policy implementation.

## Chapter 9

### EFFECT OF GUJARAT'S R&R POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ON THE LIVELIHOODS OF FEMALE AND MALE RESETTLERS

*Given the fact that gender is one of the most neglected areas of dam impact assessments, there is an urgent need for detailed long-term studies investigating gender/dam linkages. The possible benefits of large dams can be realised far more extensively if there are studies that look into women's rights, roles and responsibilities and their position in the affected communities.*

—Mehta and Srinivasan (2000)

*Empowerment is the restructuring of gender relations within both the family and in society at large and it is society's recognition of women's equality with men in terms of their worth to society as independent persons.*

—Hopke (1992, cited in Pandey 1995: 24)

In this chapter, I will consider the effect of Gujarat's R&R policy implementation on the livelihoods of individuals through a gender analysis. In **Chapter 5**, I presented the effect of the policy on resettlement communities (i.e., resettlement sites). In **Chapters 7 to 8**, I discussed the effect of the policy on household choice, compensation and infrastructure and amenities. The household questionnaire was the main source used in determining the effects on these livelihood outcomes. Respondents that primarily answered this questionnaire included male heads of households. The analysis incorporated gender into discussions about the nature and degree of participation, and to some extent, into its investigations on the extent of policy implementation (e.g., work participation rates in **Table 5.14**). It did not, however, disaggregate the effects of participation on livelihood outcomes by gender. In order to explore the effect of implementing R&R policy on individuals, this chapter aims to address the last main research question:



- What has been the effect of policy implementation on gender relations (e.g., division of labour, access to and control of resources, and the ability to make decisions) within the household and within the community at the resettlement sites?

More specifically, the effect of women's participation on their livelihood outcomes (i.e., landownership and savings) will also be explored. Whilst the right to participate in the articulation of Gujarat's R&R policy was an empowering process for both male and female resettlers, women's participation in the R&R process was also limited by institutional and structural constraints (i.e., patriarchy, tribal systems and the socialisation of girls). For example, as shown in **Chapter 6**, about 85% of respondents said that men participated, whilst only 24% said that women had also participated in policy-related events. It can be inferred that for those who participated, the process was an empowering one. For this reason, I will address the following sub-question:

- What influence did women who participated have on gender relations within the resettlement site and possibly the wider community, in comparison with those who did not participate in the policy process?

Women's perceptions about their daughters and sons give insight into whether the changes brought about by resettlement have been significant enough to alter current ideology. According to the SL/IR framework (**Figure 4.2**), such a discussion feeds back into the concept of "empowerment" as it is considered a livelihood outcome and/or a result of other livelihood outcomes. The following questions will be asked in relation to Batliwala's definition of empowerment (**Chapter 1**):

- Does a change in attitude provide ample evidence to suggest that women themselves are beginning to challenge patriarchal ideology?
  
- Are women beginning to question and transform the structures and institutions that reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and social inequality?

Through the gender assessment questionnaire, I collected information on a variety of topics (Chapter 1) specifically on gender roles, responsibilities and activities. Some of the questions are similar to those asked in the household survey, which was mostly answered by the male head of the household. Because I was interested in how the policy affects women, I administered a separate gender assessment survey, which sought insights into how women felt in terms of how the policy had affected their lives. The responses they gave provide information into how implementing Gujarat's R&R policy had affected the roles of men and women at resettlement.

### **9.1. Selected Characteristics of Sample**

The gender assessment questionnaire was administered only to female respondents. The women were selected based on the findings of the household survey. Ninety households said that female members participated and/or had received land. Of them, I randomly selected 60 women for further interviews using the gender assessment questionnaire. In the household survey, 280 households said that female members did not participate in the R&R process. Of them, I randomly selected an additional 60 women.

In total, 120 women were selected for interviews, of which 97 women were found. Only 89 women completed the questionnaire. The remaining 23 women could not be contacted because they were unavailable, visiting their

natal home, working in the field and did not have time for the interview, experiencing trauma due to an internal site conflict and/or were dead. Characteristics of women who participated before resettlement and those who did not are shown in Table 9.1. A majority of the female respondents are Tadvis who had lived close to the dam, whilst about 30% of the respondents came from the interior regions. Amongst those women who did not participate, women from the interior villages are under-represented primarily due to the large number of incomplete questionnaires from Site A. The mean age of the female sample was 44.2 years, with the youngest coming from the interior regions and the eldest from the midway areas of the Valley.

**Table 9.1: Women's Participation Before Resettlement by their Key Characteristics**

	Participation Prior to Resettlement		
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
<b>Tribal Group</b>			
Rathwa	31.0	17.0	23.2
Tadvi	54.8	62.3	58.9
Vasava + Bhil	11.9	18.9	15.8
Other	2.4	1.9	2.1
<b>Place of Origin<sup>a</sup></b>			
Close	54.8	61.5	58.5
Midway	9.5	13.5	11.7
Interior	35.7	25.0	29.8
Other	—	—	—
<b>Resettlement Site</b>			
Site A	21.4	5.7	12.6
Site B	19.0	26.4	23.2
Site C	35.7	35.8	35.8
Site D	14.3	18.9	16.8
Site E	—	5.7	3.2
Site F	9.5	7.5	8.4
<b>Year of Resettlement<sup>b</sup></b>			
1988-1991	64.3	64.2	64.2
1992-1995	35.7	30.2	32.6
1996-2001	—	5.7	3.2
<b>Total (N)</b>	100.0 (42)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (95)

N=total; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>N=94 (yes=42; no=52).

<sup>b</sup>Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

## 9.2. Effect of R&R Policy Implementation on Gender Relations

The effect of Gujarat's R&R policy on individual livelihoods can be investigated by considering social change within the family and community (i.e., gender relations). With respect to Moser's (1993) triple roles — reproductive, productive and community management — I will identify the different roles of men and women and the differences in resource allocation before and after resettlement. The SL/IR framework helps to examine the extent to which these roles and the distribution of resources have changed post-resettlement, and the nature of processes that have influenced these relations (i.e., through which gender inequalities are perpetuated and reproduced). Whilst social change might be easier within the community, structural change within the household is more difficult, as gender relations vary from generation to generation, from place to place and from time to time:

*...social change via new equations in gender relations. This means a change in both the individuals and the institutions in society, through a continuing interaction, over time, between the two. The family, the community, economic and political structures do not change easily. Perhaps the family, where gender relations are sculptured, is most resistant to change (Sandhan Shodh Kendra 1996: 67).*

Tribal groups in India are mostly egalitarian where division is characterised by age and not by labour or by sex (Banu 2001). In such egalitarian societies, tribals also do not have a preference for sons, as they do not provide any assurance for salvation (Banu 2001). Instead, daughters are welcome since they bring bride wealth upon marriage. CSS confirmed the presence of the bride price system in their 1980s monographs, and stated that a price was often sought amongst tribal groups affected by the SSP in the Narmada Valley. Before the SSP or the NVDP, tribals were less exposed to market forces and had fewer opportunities for economic development. However, tribal women from my sample indicated that division of labour

within the household and community existed long before resettlement, whereby certain tasks are considered to lie within the women's realm.

Economic development, brought about by an increase in agricultural output and land ownership, has increased household incomes and reduced poverty levels. However, an increase in access and control over resources has the potential of creating or exasperating gender disparities (Jackson 1996; Razavi 1999: 409-10; World Bank 2000: 18). Control over resources is determined by cultural and institutional factors, which influence gender relations (i.e., female status within the household and beyond). With an increase in economic development opportunities, the roles men and women traditionally play tend to change or expand in order to better utilise available resources (Koenig 1995: 32). Jackson (2002: 505) indicates that further research is needed on the linkages between gender and poverty that analyse cultural and institutional factors, which are responsible for explaining gender disparities.

Findings from my survey reveal that women prefer sons for future security. With the onset of economic development at the resettlement sites, roles of men and women are changing. Cultural and institutional factors (i.e., mainstream culture, patriarchy and the caste system) further influence the manner in which tribal groups live post-resettlement. For instance, tribal resettlers practice both the dowry and the bride price systems at the resettlement sites. Similarly, a number of tribal women have adapted their dress to that of women living in nearby towns and host communities.

The SL/IR framework (**Figure 4.2**) provides this linkage. It draws upon the social relations framework by Kabeer (1994) and considers the importance of cultural and institutional factors by incorporating both gender-based activities and social relations into the analysis. The SL/IR framework provides a context and structure within which women have been able to continue their activities post-resettlement. For instance, the R&R policy

provided three unique provisions, of which one was improved household infrastructure and amenities. The time it takes for women to collect water has decreased due to better physical infrastructure and supply of natural resources. As such, women are able to pursue other livelihood activities (i.e., training or paid work). However, women are limited by cultural and institutional factors that make it difficult to pursue additional activities given the traditionally defined roles of men and women. The test would be to see if women's participation during the R&R process has helped offset patriarchal influences.

The effect of implementing Gujarat's R&R policy on individuals can be investigated by considering shifts in gender relations (i.e., division of labour, access and control over resources, and decision-making ability) before and after resettlement. Using the gender assessment questionnaire, I collected information from women about the roles and responsibilities of men and women before and after resettlement. They also gave an explanation for they thought the roles and activities changed since resettlement.

### *9.2.1. GENDERED-DIVISION OF LABOUR*

This section examines the types of domestic and non-domestic activities that female respondents engaged in after resettlement. It incorporates work done in the home and done outside in the formal and informal sector.<sup>114</sup> It examines the effect of resettlement on the different roles women play within the household and community.

#### *9.2.1.1. Domestic Activities: Housework and Child Care*

About 97% of respondents said that they participated in domestic work (Table 9.2). Common reasons for not doing housework include old

---

<sup>114</sup> The manner in which I inquired about such employment was by asking them whether they had conducted any other activities outside the home and received payment.

age, loss of sight and the diminished need to work in the presence of daughters or daughters-in-law.

**Table 9.2: Respondents Who Engage in Housework and Child Care**

Particulars	Freq.	%
<b>Housework</b>		
No	3	3.2
Yes	90	96.8
Total	93	100.0
<b>Type of Housework<sup>a</sup></b>		
Meal Preparation	86	95.6
Water collection	74	82.2
Washing Clothes/Utensil	54	60.0
Fuel Collection	47	52.2
Home Repairs and Maintenance	38	42.2
Child Care	37	41.1
Fodder Collection	13	14.4
Elderly Care	0	—
<b>Youngest Child with the Respondent during Work</b>		
Never with Respondent	53	57.0
Always with Respondent	3	3.2
Sometimes with Respondent	37	39.8
<b>Youngest Child with other People whilst Respondent is at Work<sup>b</sup></b>		
No	38	40.9
Yes	55	59.1
<b>Others that Care for Youngest Child whilst Respondent is at Work<sup>c</sup></b>		
School	34	61.8
Family Members/Neighbours	21	38.2
Self	9	16.4
Livestock	1	1.8

Freq.=frequency; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>90 Respondents gave multiple answers to this question.

<sup>b</sup>This category has been recoded from 11 choices to 4 categories. The 11 choices included: husband; other males; other females; elderly; other relatives; neighbours; friends; servants; attending school; institutional child care and self.

<sup>c</sup>For those 55 respondents that said other people care for their youngest child, multiple responses are shown. The total is greater than 100%. There was an instance where a respondent said that the livestock looks after the child.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Women engaged in “gender-based activities” in the home. Some of the activities in **Table 9.2** are viewed as being women’s activities, as women

indicated that they do them alone or collectively with other females. About 82% collect water, 96% prepare meals, 60% wash utensils and/or clothes and 42% conduct home repairs and maintenance. Surprisingly, fewer women said they cared for their children due to strong community bonds (i.e., social asset) and school infrastructure (i.e., physical asset). About 62% of women said that schools looked after their children, whilst 38% said that neighbours and family members took care of them (**Table 9.2**).

As part of the gender assessment questionnaire, respondents were asked about the division of labour within their households before and after resettlement with respect to domestic activities. **Table 9.3** shows the extent of change in the person responsible for conducting certain household tasks. By following the same steps as those taken to create change variables for household infrastructure and amenities in **Chapter 8**, I developed change variables for seven key tasks (last row in **Table 9.3**). For example, women prepared meals and cleaned the house alone or with other females. Women said that men helped to collect fuel, but did not assist in collecting water, making dung cakes, cooking meals or cleaning the home. Both men and women were involved in doing home repairs and maintenance. Women swept and maintained the floors and walls by applying a mud and cow dung mixture. Men fixed the roof and conducted more physical repairs or replacements.

The division of labour in the household with respect to domestic activities did not change at all for about 50% to 60% of women (**Table 9.3**). Domestic activities remained the responsibility of females with the exception of collecting fuel, caring for livestock and doing home repairs. The main change in the division of labour has been due to the involvement of other individuals (e.g., hired wage labour or other family members). With greater reliance on crop residue and twigs post-resettlement, other individuals are able to share in the task of collecting fodder and fuel. **Table 9.3** shows an increase in the number of “others” who collect fuel. For example, men are able to assist in the task as they can bring back fodder and fuel from the fields.



**Table 9.3: Gendered-Division of Household Labour**

	Water (N=86)		Fuel (N=86)		Dung Cakes (N=86)		Meals (N=86)		Livestock (N=85)		Cleans Home (N=85)		Home Repairs (N=84)	
	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF
R	32.6	24.4	12.8	11.6	32.6	33.7	32.6	32.6	4.7	4.7	35.3	34.1	3.6	6.0
R + other females	55.8	52.3	20.9	31.4	50.0	50.0	59.3	59.3	7.1	7.1	60.0	57.6	3.6	2.4
R + H	4.7	—	18.6	12.8	—	—	—	1.2	22.4	16.5	—	—	25.0	23.0
R + others	7.0	11.6	46.5	45.3	2.3	—	2.3	7.0	64.7	65.9	4.7	2.4	33.3	29.8
H + others	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11.9	3.8
H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.2	0.0	—	—	15.5	19.0
Others	—	11.6	1.2	12.8	1.2	8.1	4.7	—	—	4.7	—	5.9	7.1	15.5
Not done	—	—	—	—	14.0	8.1	1.2	1.2	—	1.2	—	—	—	—
<b>No change</b>	48.8		54.7		59.3		61.6		54.1		61.2		45.2	

AF=after resettlement; BF=before resettlement; H=husband; N=total; R=respondent; — = no response.

Note: Others include hired wage labourers, servant and/or other males and/or females, excluding both the respondent and husband.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Similarly, the availability of closer water sources (i.e., sources located internally within the resettlement site) has distributed the responsibility of collecting water to other individuals within the household. About 41% of women said that other females (i.e., older daughters and/or daughters-in-law) now collect water instead of them for the household (data not shown in Table 9.3). Some said it was because households have established themselves into separate residences (18%), whilst others said it was due to old age (14%). About 12% of respondents attributed the decline to the location of the water source. It took fewer people to collect water, as the source was closer to their home and the path leading to the source was flat and accessible.

#### 9.2.1.2. Non-Domestic Activities: Paid and Unpaid Work

Employment is defined as paid work (i.e., labour services for cash or kind) that is done outside the home in the formal or the informal sector (Grown and Sebstad 1989). For instance, women working as mid-day cooks for the government may be an example of employment in the “formal” sector. The formal sector is a more organised part of the labour market where activities are recognised and regulated. Women who work in the “informal” sector as a local *dai* (or midwife) are more vulnerable to the financial risks associated with market uncertainty.<sup>115</sup> With the exception of one respondent, all women said that they were involved in a non-domestic activity (Table 9.4).

The political participation of women has also increased since resettlement (Table 9.4). About 3% of women are involved in the *Vasabat Samiti* and 6% partake in local *Panchayat* meetings in Dabhoi. The GOI has also amended the Constitution to reserve seats for women and tribals in the

---

<sup>115</sup> The informal sector is characterised by “low productivity, minimal incomes, and a lack of economic and social security” (ILO 2001). This definition is taken from the “Decent Employment for Women in India” programme and is part of ILO’s Technical Cooperation with the United States Department of Labor to promote in India, ILO’s Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998).

political arena, which will further facilitate women's participation in the political sphere.

**Table 9.4: Respondents Who Engage in Other Activities Besides Housework**

Particulars	Freq.	%
<b>Other Activities</b>		
No	1	0.8
Yes	92	97.8
Total	93	100.0
<b>Type of Activities<sup>a</sup></b>		
Agricultural Work	85	92.4
Livestock Care	59	64.1
Gossip	24	26.1
Clean Grains	6	6.5
Entertain Visitors	4	4.3
Local Dai	3	3.3
Religious Activities	3	3.3
Make Social Visits	2	2.2
Training Classes	2	2.2
Wage Labour	2	2.2
Care for the Sick	1	1.1
Literacy Classes	0	0.0
SSPA-Related Activities	0	0.0

Freq.=frequency; SSPA=Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency; %=percent.

<sup>a</sup>92 Respondents gave multiple answers to this question.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

About 19% said that they engaged in paid activities outside of the home as skilled workers, agricultural labourers, local *dais* and mid-day cooks (note: data not shown in a table). Of these, close to 6% said they worked for a relative, 89% said they worked for someone else and 17% said they were self-employed. About 11% of those who worked said they were engaged in regular employment, 39% said the work was seasonal (less than four months)<sup>116</sup> and 50% said the work was irregular (or once in a while).

About 89% of employed women received cash for their work. The wages that women received were then compared to the wages men received for the same work, and to wages women had previously received in their

<sup>116</sup> The definition of "seasonal" work is designed as work for less than 4 months. It is borrowed from the National Family Health Survey 2 questionnaire (MOHFW 1998a).

original villages. About 83% of women said that the wages they received were comparable to that of men doing the same task, whilst the remaining women said that the job was gender-specific and no comparison was possible. For instance, about 44% of women said that jobs, such as a local *dai* or mid-day cook, are newly established occupations since resettlement.

The remaining 11% of employed women worked as agricultural labourers and received either cash and/or kind for their work. About 28% claimed that the wages were higher than that previously received in their original villages, 22% said the wages were lower and close to 6% found no change.

According to the ILO (2001), about 87% of women in rural areas work as agricultural cultivators. Based on my field research, about 92% of women said they engage in farming activities (Table 9.4). About 64% of women said they were involved in taking care of livestock. However, only 14% of respondents said that they engaged in fodder collection for animals. This low percentage implies that livestock care cannot be grouped as one task, and has become more restricted to the home since resettlement. For instance, it might have been easier to take livestock for grazing and bathing in the river or ravine before resettlement.

Ploughing and purchasing of agricultural equipment are often male-dominated activities. Levelling, sowing and weeding are conventionally considered women's tasks. About 84% of women stated that they helped sow the seeds, whilst 91% said they helped with the weeding. Close to 90% of women said that they levelled the farmland alone or together with other females prior to sowing. This was often done at the same time as men ploughed the ground. Fertilisation and harvesting are activities in which both men and women engage. About 91% of women said that they helped fertilise the crops, whilst close to 93% (an increase from 78%) said that they harvested crops alone or with others.

Change in the division of agricultural labour is shown in Table 9.5. More than half of the female respondents mentioned “no change” in all agricultural tasks. Whilst ploughing remained a male task, women continued to engage in levelling, sowing, weeding, fertilising and harvesting post-resettlement.

**Table 9.5: Gendered-Division of Agricultural Labour<sup>a</sup>**

	Plough		Level		Sow		Weed		Fertilise	
	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF
R	1.2	1.2	16.3	11.6	15.3	14.1	10.5	8.1	4.7	3.5
R + other females	0.0	0.0	15.1	18.6	9.4	11.8	7.0	9.3	4.7	3.5
R + H	1.2	1.2	7.0	5.8	11.8	10.6	11.6	11.6	20.9	16.3
R + others	2.3	4.7	53.5	53.5	44.7	47.1	67.4	61.6	62.8	67.4
H + others	44.2	27.9	0.0	1.2	10.6	2.3	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.3
H	31.4	33.7	0.0	1.2	2.4	3.5	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0
Others	1.2	31.4	7.0	8.1	5.9	10.6	3.5	8.1	4.7	7.0
Not done	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0
<b>No change</b>	59.3		54.7		51.8		55.8		47.7	

AF=after resettlement; BF=before resettlement; H=husband; R=respondent.

<sup>a</sup>The total number of respondents that answered the relevant questions was 86.

Note: Others include hired wage labourers, servant and/or other males and/or females, excluding both the respondent and husband.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The percentage of women that participated in agricultural training sessions since resettlement increased from about 1% to 6%. However, the percentage of women that purchased agricultural equipment and inputs decreased significantly from 35% to 9%. Women explained that in the old village, the market place was located far away. Because of the distance, women often helped in transporting implements back to the original villages. Moreover, the percentage of women who harvested crops after resettlement decreased significantly, as more households began hiring agricultural labourers to help with the task.

Mehta and Srinivasan (2000) found that changes in the division of labour amongst SSP-affected tribals were more negative for women than for men. For example, they found that a shift from dry land rain-fed subsistence agriculture to irrigated commercial cash cropping changed the division of

labour within the household. Moreover, they found that women were left out of discussions and consultations pertaining to land and other resources. Mehta and Srinivasan (2000) claim that (i) women's labour is disposable in commercial agriculture where cash crops are sown using green technology and implements are acquired and (ii) women's ability to make decisions and to control the amount of seeds and crops used for the home decreased over time, as households moved away from subsistence farming.

However, since resettlement, I found that women engaged more in decision-making activities related to agriculture. This was primarily due to the establishment of separate residences and cultivation arrangements at resettlement sites. For instance, women made more decisions regarding the types of crops sown (an increase from 45% to 61%), the types of new crops sown (from 45% to 57%), the amount of harvest that is kept for the home (from 48% to 64%) and the types of fertiliser used (from 23% to 35%).

Male out-migration also influences women's work inside and outside the home. On one hand, male out-migration increases women's workload. On the other, it creates opportunities for women to become heads of households (Chant 1997; Chen 1991; Koenig 1995; Mehta and Srinivasan 2000). In my sample, about 52% of men said they engage in wage labour post-resettlement (Table 5.14). However, out-migration is low amongst men since wage labour is now found in towns close to the resettlement sites.<sup>117</sup>

### *9.2.2. ACCESS TO AND CONTROL OVER RESOURCES*

This section discusses key areas where women have experienced change in access to and control over resources. In some instances, women have lost access to and control over resources (i.e., access to CPRs). In other instances, women have gained access to and control over resources such as time, which has helped them pursue other activities post-resettlement (i.e.,

---

<sup>117</sup> This research did not consider in detail the effects of reduced male out-migration on women's roles and responsibilities.

development schemes). Such changes could influence women's roles and affect their ability to complete daily tasks.

#### 9.2.2.1. Common Property Resources

About 93% of respondents said that they used to collect minor forest produce before resettlement primarily for home use. Women gathered items such as timber for fuel (99%), fruits and vegetables for consumption (83%), bamboo for home structure (71%) and roots and herbs for homemade remedies (33%).

Since resettlement, women no longer rely on the forest for meeting these needs, having found alternative sources. For instance, about 19% currently grow vegetables in their home gardens, whereas 72% purchase them from nearby markets. Similarly, about 98% continue collecting twigs for fuel, whereas 42% purchase bundles of twigs or weeds. About 28% of women said that roots and herbs are no longer required as they seek medical attention from nearby health facilities. Whilst women have found alternative sources for items, the need to rely on the market and cash economy for purchasing food, fuel and agricultural inputs and implements has increased.

Whilst 13% of 92 female respondents said that they used to have usufruct rights over a plot of land for growing vegetables, a majority did not. The majority of women said that they collectively cultivated land with their husbands and others, as there was no difference between "his" and "her" land. About 8% said that they still had usufruct rights over a plot of land after resettlement, whilst 5% said that they no longer had any such rights. About 2% of those who had a plot of land said that they sold the produce for cash, whilst others said that it was only for home use. Their husbands, however, owned the cash and not them.

#### 9.2.2.2. Women's Time

The amount of time it takes to complete household tasks has varied since resettlement. About 56% of the respondents felt that it takes more time to gather fuel, whilst about 92% of the respondents said that it takes less time to collect water post-resettlement. According to Mehta (1992), the amount of time it takes to collect water and/or gather fuel is correlated with the proximity of the source to the collector's home. The SL/IR framework also illustrates this relationship through an optimal combination of assets, with a greater emphasis on natural and physical infrastructure.

Women compared the proximity of the water and fuel sources to that in their original villages. For instance, about 91% said that the water source was closer to home and therefore it took less time to collect water. Interestingly, women who said that the source was farther away also felt that it took less time to collect water. Similarly, about 49% of women said that it took less time to gather fuel, as the source of fuel was closer to their home with better access and terrain (i.e., no mountains and hills).

Female respondents (i.e., mothers, aunts or grandmothers) also said that they spend less time looking after children. The reason is twofold. First, more children are spending time at school. About 62% of women said that their youngest child was enrolled in school, which has become the entity responsible for child care. Second, other family members or neighbours are able to assist in child care, as social networks were kept intact post-resettlement. The remaining 38% of women gave this explanation.

Women gained more free time, as it took less time to conduct different household tasks. Mehta (1992: 171, 2000) argues that increased leisure time post-resettlement has been at the expense of generating extra income through the sale of minor forest products. However, findings from my research indicate that labour saving technologies (i.e., water taps, grain



mills, et cetera) have allowed women to pursue other activities (i.e., participation in training and development schemes).

Findings from my field research indicate that women have not lost their social capital as a result of conducting domestic activities together. The ability to gossip with others at resettlement sites indicates strong community bonds. Prior to resettlement, women often gossiped with each other whilst performing domestic tasks together. An increase in women's free time and the housing clusters at resettlement sites have made it possible for both men and women to gossip post-resettlement. About 26% of women recognised gossiping as a distinct activity —ranking the third highest (Table 9.4). About 71% of women that named gossiping as a separate task are between the ages of 21-49, and 58% are between the ages of 31-49, inclusively.

### 9.2.3. *DECISION-MAKING ABILITIES*

Since resettlement, women claim that their ability to participate in decision-making within the household and beyond has increased. About 80% of women said that they had some say in the decision-making post-resettlement, as compared to 69% who were involved in decision-making before resettlement. Of those who witnessed a change in decision-making, close to 96% claimed it was due to separate residence and/or cultivation. The upcoming section discusses the ability of women to make decisions in specific areas such as their own labour, their ability to purchase different items and family health and welfare.

#### 9.2.3.1. Female Labour

Women in general have maintained control over their own labour with respect to three domains of work —in the fields, in wage labour and in going to the market. As shown in Table 9.6, between 60% and 70% of women experience “no change” in who decided if women should work in the specified fields. However, there was a slight increase in the percentage of women who alone made decisions about their labour in each of the three

categories. For example, about 30% of women decided on their own whether they should go to the market place before resettlement. This percentage increased to about 40% post-resettlement.

**Table 9.6: Decisions Regarding Female Labour in Agriculture, Wage and Market<sup>a</sup>**

	Work in the Field		Engage in WL		Goes to Market Place	
	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF
Not Done	1.2	1.2	36.0	40.7	12.8	2.3
Respondent	30.2	33.7	10.5	11.6	30.2	39.5
Husband	11.6	12.8	12.8	14.0	15.2	19.8
Respondent + Husband	15.1	22.1	11.6	17.4	10.5	18.6
All Females	51.2	55.8	24.4	23.2	37.2	48.8
All Males	18.6	17.4	17.4	16.3	23.3	25.6
All Males + Females	29.0	25.6	22.1	19.8	26.7	23.3
<b>No Change</b>	<b>70.0</b>		<b>66.0</b>		<b>62.0</b>	

AF=after resettlement; BF=before resettlement; WL=wage labour.

<sup>a</sup>The total number of respondents that answered the relevant questions was 86.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

About 41% of women made no decisions about their engagement in wage labour post-resettlement. Women no longer participated in wage labour due to separate residential and/or cultivation arrangements caused by separate compensation awards. Similarly, about 13% of the women did not go to the market before resettlement because it was not common for women to go to the market, the household generated no surplus and/or the market was located at a distance. More females go to the market post-resettlement because households have surplus, and the markets are closer to the sites. About 52% of these women felt that they went to the market more often due to the fact that they no longer reside in extended families.

As females gain access to markets, the level of knowledge and information they gain also increases. Exposure to mainstream society and interactions with markets (e.g., barter or monetary exchange systems) improve women's understanding of the outside world. This will invariably have an

empowering influence on intra-household relations, the effects of which are generational.

### 9.2.3.2. Ability to Purchase

A woman’s ability to make decisions influences her sense of “power” in relation to others based on sex, age and ethnicity. The ability of women to purchase household items, kitchen items or food items indicates her control over financial resources. However, items often relate to the activities they conduct. For example, women purchase more kitchen items than household items (Table 9.7). By residing in separate residences, women’s ability to purchase items independently has also increased.

**Table 9.7: Decisions Regarding the Purchase of Items and Management of Accounts<sup>a</sup>**

	Household Items		Kitchen Items		Food Items		Management of HH Accounts	
	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF
Not Done	10.3	4.8	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Respondent	0.0	0.0	6.0	7.2	1.2	3.6	6.0	6.0
Husband	34.9	37.3	20.5	16.9	10.8	4.8	37.3	48.2
Respondent + Husband	12.0	19.3	25.3	37.3	24.1	24.1	18.1	19.3
All Females	1.2	1.2	7.2	7.2	2.4	4.8	6.2	6.2
All Males	67.5	69.9	42.2	34.9	24.1	24.1	50.6	68.7
All Males + Females	32.5	24.1	50.6	57.8	72.3	69.9	43.4	25.3

AF=after resettlement; BF=before resettlement; HH=household.

<sup>a</sup>The total number of respondents that answered the relevant questions was 83.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The management of financial accounts within the single or multiple *chulha(s)* also indicates the amount of bargaining power women have within the residential unit. Based on the gender assessment questionnaire, more men tend to manage household accounts collectively since resettlement (Table 9.7). There was a slight increase amongst women who jointly manage household finances with their husbands after resettlement (from 18% to 19%). A more significant increase is found where the women jointly purchased household and kitchen items with their husband post-resettlement. Women explained that the decline in the management of household finances

from 43% to 25% was due to a change in residential unit from joint to individual households and in marital status to widowhood post-resettlement.

#### 9.2.3.3. Family Health and Welfare Planning

The health of tribals has often been characterised as being of high infant mortality, low nutritional status, low life expectancy and high fertility rate (Singh 1993: 5). The World Health Organization defines “health” as a “state of complete physical, mental and social well being and merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (WHO 1946). Health status, therefore, has been believed to be associated with a number of factors including poverty; illiteracy; rural residence; knowledge, attitudes and practices towards basic health care; under-privileged status; and health modernity (Sahay 1993: 174; Singh et al., 1993: 194).

Since resettlement, women have become more involved in making decisions about their family’s health and welfare planning (Table 9.8). However, women experienced no change in decision-making in the following areas: family health (74%), payment of children’s medical fees (65%), place of medical treatment (66%) and time to seek treatment (66%). However, women’s involvement increased in joint decision-making with her husband in two categories. About 37% of women now make decisions jointly with their husbands as to where one should go for receiving medical treatment in comparison to 30% who did so prior to resettlement. Similarly, about 43% of women made joint decisions with their husbands about when to seek treatment post-resettlement. In comparison, about 35% of women did so prior to resettlement. In addition, about 34% said that they would seek medical treatment immediately, whilst 66% stated that they would wait for some time.

**Table 9.8: Decisions Regarding Family Health\***

	Family Health		Payment of Children's Medical Fees		Where to go for Medical Treatment		When to Seek Medical Treatment	
	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF
R	8.8	10.0	1.2	1.2	4.8	6.0	3.7	4.9
R + other females	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
R + H	31.3	33.8	26.5	17.7	30.1	37.3	35.4	42.7
R + others	8.8	3.8	8.4	6.0	13.3	8.4	18.3	11.0
R + H + others	0.0	6.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	3.6	1.2	6.1
H + others	5.0	0.0	8.4	1.2	8.4	2.4	7.3	2.4
H	12.5	12.5	41.0	43.4	31.3	26.5	23.2	19.5
Others	10.0	12.5	12.1	19.3	8.4	15.7	8.5	13.4
Not done	23.6	21.1	1.2	0.0	2.4	0.0	2.4	0.0
<b>No change</b>	<b>73.8</b>		<b>65.1</b>		<b>66.3</b>		<b>65.9</b>	

AF=after resettlement; BF=before resettlement; H=husband; R=respondent.

\*The total number of respondents that answered the relevant questions was 89.

Note: Others include other males and/or females, excluding both the respondent and husband.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Of those that experienced some change, respondents explained it was due to residing in separate *chulbas* or due to becoming widowed post-resettlement. Some widows indicated that they had lost the ability to make decisions about their family's health, including payment of children's medical fees, after their husband's death. For instance, few widows were able to make decisions about family health (22%), payment of fees (29%), selection of medical facility (27%) and timing of treatment (27%). In rare cases, widows continued to make joint decisions with their sons or daughters-in-law.

Women felt that they alone had limited decision-making power over their fertility, but said that they made joint decisions with their husbands about their fertility and family planning (Table 9.9). No change was observed in decision-making for about 60% of all women. However, women's involvement in joint decision-making with their husbands decreased post-resettlement. Prior to resettlement, about 56% of women decided with their husbands how many children to have, whilst close to 12% said that their husbands alone decided and 9% said that it was up to "God." After resettlement, fewer women made joint decisions about their fertility with their husbands (49%) and fewer said that their husbands made sole decisions

(10%). In fact, a majority of women said that they did not plan their family size at all.

**Table 9.9: Decisions Regarding Family Welfare Planning<sup>a</sup>**

	No. of Children		Contraceptive Method		Female Sterilisation		Pregnancy Termination	
	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF	BF	AF
R	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.2	1.1	3.4	0.0	1.1
R + other females	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
R + H	56.2	49.4	50.6	33.7	50.6	33.7	40.4	28.1
R + others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.1	0.0	0.0
R + H + others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
H + others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0
H	12.4	10.1	19.1	15.7	21.3	0.0	15.7	12.4
Others	15.6	5.6	5.5	2.2	3.3	0.0	6.7	5.6
Not done	16.9	34.8	23.6	46.1	22.5	47.5	36.0	52.8
<b>No change</b>	<b>66.3</b>		<b>57.3</b>		<b>55.1</b>		<b>64.0</b>	

AF=after resettlement; BF=before resettlement; H=husband; R=respondent.

<sup>a</sup>The total number of respondents that answered the relevant questions was 89.

Note: Others include other males and/or females, excluding both the respondent and husband.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Similar decreases were found when women were asked about contraception, female sterilisation and pregnancy termination (Table 9.9). About 29% of female respondents said that one person out of the couple was sterilised. About 88% of them said it was the woman that was sterilised, whilst 12% said it was their husbands. About 67% of the women and 100% of husbands had undergone the operation in their original villages. A shift was also observed in decision-making regarding these topics from “others” (i.e., extended family members) to the individuals of single *chulha* or household (i.e., respondent and/or husband).

Female respondents who were not sterilised prior to resettlement experienced changing reproductive behaviour and decision-making abilities about their reproductive health. About 53% of respondents stated that a terminated pregnancy was not based on any decision post-resettlement, but rather it was because she or her husband had been sterilised (29%), she had become widowed (15%), her household lives separately (3%) or she is too old

(2%). These percentages remained relatively the same for each of the categories in **Table 9.9**. For instance, about 48% and 46% of women said female sterilisation was not done and contraceptive methods were not used.

In summary, resettlement has not altered the division of labour within the household for a majority of women. Domestic and non-domestic activities have remained to be divided along traditional gender lines. Collecting fuel, caring for livestock and doing home repairs have become shared activities as other individuals are engaged in the work (e.g., hired labour or other family members). Opportunities have increased for women to engage in productive work, as they have gained access to and control over resources (i.e., time). However, women did not say that they were involved in any organised community groups (i.e., member of the *Vasabat Samiti*). In addition, women have been able to continue making decisions within the household and community (i.e., control over their own labour, ability to purchase and decisions regarding family welfare). Women's roles in decision-making have increased in some areas, whereby they are more involved in the decision-making process and are able to make decisions jointly with their husbands.

### **9.3. Effect of Women's Participation on Women's Livelihood Outcomes**

The effect of women's participation on household outcomes was discussed in **Chapter 7** and **8**. For example, the variable "degree of participation" was defined by residential unit and by gender in **Chapter 7**. Similarly, discussions regarding the nature of participation in **Chapter 6** included accounts of women's attendance at meetings, their perceptions and/or topics discussed. For instance, only 21% of women selected for the gender assessment questionnaire claimed that they attended all the meetings that they had wanted.

In this section, the effect of women's participation on selected women's livelihood outcomes will be examined using findings from the gender assessment questionnaire. It is assumed that a woman's livelihood outcomes differ from household outcomes, which are often determined by the male head of household. As indicated in the SL/IR framework, these livelihood outcomes then feed back to alter women's asset portfolios and improve gender relations. An improvement in gender relations comes about when it is in line with other long-term strategic interests<sup>118</sup> (i.e., expected or desired livelihood outcome). This takes time, occurs over generations and varies according to social context. The previous section indicated little change in gendered-division of labour within the household after resettlement. For this reason, this section focuses on the effect of participation on women's short-term livelihood outcomes.

Women considered the following livelihood outcomes important during the R&R process:

- (i) Change in women's mobility,
- (ii) Participation in women's groups,
- (iii) Possession of a bank account,
- (iv) Voicing of concerns before resettlement and tackling them post-resettlement,
- (v) Long-term savings and
- (vi) Increase in investing in female education.

---

<sup>118</sup> This builds on women's strategic gender interests (Molyneux 1985) and women's practical gender needs (Moser 1993).



As shown in **Chapter 6 (Section 6.4)**, females continued to participate after resettlement in meetings and events. About 62% of women who participated before resettlement continued their participation afterwards. Out of those who did not partake in any meetings before moving, only 18% indicated that they started to participate in events after resettlement. Amongst those women that participated before resettlement, about 38% ceased their involvement in resettlement-related meetings. A separate variable reflecting only women's degree of participation (DGPART) was created based on their involvement in policy-related activities before and after resettlement. It included three categories of participation for women: (i) those who did not participate at all in meetings (46%), (ii) those who participated before but do not do so now or vice versa (27%) and (iii) those who continued to participate after resettlement (27%).

The effect of participation on women's livelihood outcomes is shown in **Table 9.10**. Change in mobility is the only variable that was created based on women's responses before and after resettlement. A negative value reflects that mobility has become more restricted since moving to the resettlement sites. The other variables reflect desired livelihood outcomes post-resettlement.

About 7% of all women felt that their mobility had become more restricted after resettlement (**Table 9.10**). However, participation seems to have a positive effect on women's mobility. On one hand, mobility increased for about 4% of women who participated at some point during the R&R process, as compared to a decrease of 12% amongst those who did not participate at all. On the other hand, it is possible that these women were unable to participate because their mobility was limited. About 91% mentioned that they needed permission to go somewhere before resettlement, whilst about 97% required permission to go out post-resettlement. The

implications of women's mobility on their empowerment will be discussed later in the chapter.

**Table 9.10: Effect of Participation on Select Outcomes**

	Change in Mobility	Women Groups	Bank Account	Savings	Investment in Female Education
<b>BFPART</b>					
No	-12.0	17.0	21.0	22.5	78.0
Yes	0.0	9.8	37.0	28.8	92.5
<b>DGPART</b>					
No	-12.2	11.4	16.0	18.3	73.2
No-Yes-No	4.2	20.0	24.0	22.2	96.0
Yes	0.0	12.0	52.0	40.5	91.7
<b>Total (N)</b>	- 6.7 (89)	13.8 (94)	28.0 (94)	25.2 (94)	84.4 (90)

BFPART =women's participation before resettlement; DGPART = degree of women's participation of women during R&R process; N=total.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Participation has been important for change in pursuing certain livelihood strategies. The effect of participation in meetings before and after resettlement increased women's knowledge and their involvement in different activities. For instance, about 37% of those women who participated before resettlement had a bank account in comparison to 21% of those that did not participate. The effect of women's continued participation in the process had a greater effect on having a bank account (52%) and having savings (41%). About 93% of those women who participated in meetings before resettlement felt that it was important to invest in female education, contrary to findings by Mehta and Srinivasan (2000). About 73% of women who did not participate at all felt it was important to invest in female education. Each of these increases influences a capital within the asset portfolio depicted in the SL/IR framework (Figure 4.2). The effects of an enhanced asset portfolio could potentially modify the nature of socialisation of women, as highlighted in the structures and processes box within the SL/IR framework (Figure 4.2). The effects of such change are generational and cannot be demonstrated in this study.

As shown in **Table 9.11**, about 91% of respondents expressed an opinion about whether land should be held individually or jointly. About 50% of these respondents said that land should be held in their own name or jointly with their husbands for the sake of their children's and their own security.<sup>119</sup> Close to 39% did not mind that only men received replacement land and 12% were indifferent about individual landownership. Because land ownership is not common for women in their tribal culture, women did not expect to be land recipients.

**Table 9.11: Effect of Participation on Land Ownership**

	Opinion About Land Name		Husband only	Individual only or Joint with Husband	Indifferent	Total	
	N	%				N	%
<b>BFPART</b>							
No	45	86.7	43.6	43.6	12.8	39	100.0
Yes	41	95.1	33.3	56.4	10.3	39	100.0
<b>DGPART</b>							
No	38	84.2	43.8	40.6	15.6	32	100.0
No-Yes-No	23	91.3	28.5	52.4	19.1	21	100.0
Yes	25	100.0	40.0	60.0	0.0	25	100.0
<b>Total (N)</b>	(86)	90.7	38.5	50.0	11.5	(78)	100.0

BFPART=women's participation before resettlement; DGPART=degree of women's participation of women during R&R process; N=total; %=percent.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Participation in policy-related events has increased the desire to own land individually or jointly with husbands (**Table 9.11**). About 56% of those respondents who had participated in policy events prior to resettlement now indicate that they had wanted either individual or joint ownership of land in comparison with 44% of those who had not participated. This percentage increased to 60% amongst those who continued to partake in events after resettlement in comparison to 41% of those who did not participate at all.

<sup>119</sup> The desire to own land individually or jointly for security purposes was not mentioned during my field research in 1993; the importance of individual or joint land ownership may not have been obvious at that time.

Overall, women's participation did not decrease their mobility, but did increase their knowledge and their involvement in different activities (i.e., the desire to save and have bank accounts). Women's participation also increased the wish to own land individually or jointly with husbands. Such an effect suggests an improvement in women's access to and control over resources after resettlement. A spill over effect also exists amongst those women who did not participate at all.

#### **9.4. Attitudes Towards Girls and Boys**

Based on the findings in the previous section, I thought it would be interesting to ascertain if there were any generational effects of participation and of policy implementation on girls and boys. As part of the gender assessment questionnaire for my research in 2000-2001, I designed a number of attitude questions. A few of these questions focused on recording whether there were any changes in the attitudes and perceptions of children, especially girls. I considered topics such as "ideal" marital age, envisioned hopes and planned dreams for their children. As previously stated, girls in tribal societies grow up with more rights than one in a conventional patriarchal society. However, this appears to be changing in light of a gender-biased R&R policy.

##### *9.4.1. ACTUAL VERSUS DESIRED FERTILITY*

Previously, I considered if there was any change in women's ability to make decisions regarding their fertility. In this section, I will determine change in attitude by considering the effect of female participation on fertility.

On average, women who participated in policy events before resettlement had about 4.5 children in comparison to the 4.2 children by those who did not participate (Table 9.12). I found that women who continued their participation in policy implementation desired more children. They wanted more boys than girls, post-resettlement (2.3 boys in comparison to 2.0 girls). This might have been fuelled by the greater emphasis placed on

sons as a result of the gender-biased provisions outlined in Gujarat's R&R policy. For instance, women who participated before resettlement wanted an average of 2.3 girls and 1.9 boys. After resettlement, women wanted an average of 2.0 girls and 2.3 boys. The desire for girls fell as low as 1.4 amongst those women who participated for a short time. A number of other factors might also help explain these differences in fertility levels among tribal women, such as her age, her sexual attitude, her husband's education and his occupation (Gandotra 1989, Pandey 1989, Singh et al., 1993).

**Table 9.12: Effect of Participation on Actual versus Desired Fertility**

Particulars	No. of HHs	Average No. of Children per Woman		Average No. of Girls per Woman		Average No. of Boys per Woman		
		Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired	
<b>BFPART</b>	No	50	4.2	4.1	2.2	2.3	2.0	1.8
	Yes	39	4.5	4.2	2.5	2.3	2.0	1.9
<b>DGPART</b>	No	41	4.4	4.3	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.3
	No-Yes-No	24	3.9	3.7	1.5	1.4	2.4	2.3
	Yes	24	4.7	4.3	2.3	2.0	2.4	2.3
<b>Total</b>		89	4.3	4.2	2.0	1.9	2.3	2.3

BFPART=women's participation before resettlement; DGPART=degree of women's participation of women during R&R process; HHs=households; No.=number  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Tadvi women experienced the greatest change in fertility since resettlement, as they had an average of 4.1 children per woman in comparison to the 3.8 children they desired. On average, Tadvi women wanted to have 0.3 fewer girls. Those women that resettled from close to the dam site and those at Site C noted similar reductions in the average number of children, especially girls per woman. Patriarchal practices might have had a greater influence on those women from close to the dam site, as they were less isolated from mainstream society.

#### 9.4.2. HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Attitude questions on health and education also illustrate changes in the way women think about girls in comparison to boys since resettlement. For instance, about 79% of women said that they do not differentiate between their sons and daughters when it comes to seeking medical treatment. This is based on the premise that health care is sought when needed. However, about 21% formally said that special care was given to boys over girls when they fell ill. About 79% claimed that sons should be given more care, as they often are the ones that care for elderly parents.

Women also had opinions about the optimal level of education for girls and boys. Excluded from the analysis were those women who did not have children. Based on the house listing (part of the household survey), more children began attending school after resettlement. About 72% of girls attended school in comparison with 52% of boys. Findings from the gender assessment questionnaire confirmed these findings. They felt the increase in attendance was due to improved access to schools, closer proximity of the school and less time spent on domestic chores for both boys and girls.

A majority of women stated that they and their husbands jointly decide on issues related to their children's education (65% for boys and 61% for girls). In cases where the mother is a widow, her eldest son will often make decisions about his children's education without consulting his wife.

Whilst the women from my sample welcomed the idea of educating their daughters, women from other studies were not as supportive. According to Mehta (1992), a Tadvi woman resettled from a midway village said:

*It is not my practice to send my girls to school here. I prefer that my girls should learn housework such as farming, cooking, grinding the flour and so on. So where is the need to send them to school? My girls don't need to get a job once they get married. Besides I can't afford the expenses (Mehta 1992: 119).*

The level of education a child attains is determined by his/her sex, and the expected outcome of attaining education. Roles and responsibilities of girls are explicitly defined and schooling may be seen as an impediment to achieving them. However, the women in my sample felt that girls should be educated in order to better themselves. Boys, on the other hand, were mainly educated so that they could get non-agricultural jobs.<sup>120</sup> About 76 female respondents expressed the desire to send girls to school. They believed that education for a girl would allow her to (i) better herself (51%), (ii) read and write (50%), (iii) attract a better spouse (16%) and (iv) sign her own name (12%). Education and literacy improve a woman's access (i) to information in areas that have the potential of improving her quality of life (i.e., contraception and nutrition), (ii) to employment and economic opportunities and (iii) to greater choice and development opportunities (Gorman 1999: 2). Interestingly, about 22% of women and 19% of women felt that girls and boys, respectively, should not get any education.

Levels of attainment for girls and boys seem to reflect the hopes and expectations parents have for each child. About 43% of women said that boys are allowed to study as much as they wanted, whilst only 18% gave girls that type of freedom. About 20% of women felt that girls should be educated up to middle school and about 22% felt that girls should reach high school. As the level of education increased, percentages declined for girls and increased for boys. About 17% of women felt that boys should be educated to higher secondary, whilst 12% supported education up to graduate levels. Whilst girls are allowed only a certain level of education, boys have greater flexibility and choice.

---

<sup>120</sup> Out of 78 female respondents, 82% said that boys should be educated for them to get non-agricultural jobs, to better themselves (40%), to pass the time (35%) and to live better (22%).

### 9.4.3. MARITAL AGE

A direct correlation exists between the years of education a girl attains, the age at which she marries and the number of children she is likely to have. The later a girl marries, the fewer children she is likely to have. The risks associated with pregnancy and childbirth also decreases, whilst increasing the chances of child survival (Dixon-Mueller 1993; Kabeer 1994). Bhasin and Bhasin (1997: 131) emphasise the effect of education on fertility: "...the most powerful effect of education is its role in bringing fertility within the sphere of conscious choice by affecting traditional values and attitudes, relating the individual to a culture in which personal choice rather than unseen forces govern events."

In order to test whether the age of marriage changed over time, I asked women to indicate the age at which their eldest and youngest children were married. Women who did not have a girl or boy were excluded from the analysis. Similarly, respondents who "did not know" or for whom the question was "not applicable" were also excluded from the analysis.

The range of responses I received from women varied. Some women said that the ideal age for marriage was as early as 11 years for boys and 14 years for girls, and as late as 25 years for boys and 22 years for girls (Table 9.13). On average, girls married by the age of 17 and boys by the age of 18 or 19. This was pretty much in line with the legal age of marriage in India. About 55% of respondents believed that girls should be married off once they are mature enough to conduct domestic and agricultural duties. Similarly, about 52% of respondents felt that a suitable spouse should be sought for boys once they are mature and have a source of income.

As shown in Table 9.13, the age of marriage for Tadvi and Vasava girls and boys decreased slightly. However, the average age for a girl to marry amongst the Rathwa tribal groups increased from 17 to 18. Out of 85 women, about 7% and 6% felt that the average marital age for boys and girls had



changed, respectively. A majority indicated that the change was due to more education (67% for boys and 60% for girls). Almost one-third of respondents did not know and/or could not give a reason for the observed change in age.

**Table 9.13: Perceived Average Age at Marriage by Tribal Group, Place of Origin, Resettlement Site and Year of Resettlement**

	Eldest Child		Youngest Child		Good Age		Legal Age	
	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy
<b>Tribal Group</b>								
Rathwa	17.4	16.5	18.0	19.7	17.2	18.7	18.0	18.0
Tadvi	17.2	18.4	16.8	18.8	17.0	20.2	16.9	19.0
Vasava + Bhil	15.7	19.0	—	18.0	17.7	19.4	—	—
Other	—	—	—	—	15.0	16.0	—	—
<b>Place of Origin</b>								
Close	17.2	18.4	16.8	18.8	16.9	20.2	16.9	19.0
Midway	15.7	19.0	—	18.0	17.7	19.6	—	—
Interior	17.4	16.5	18.0	19.7	17.0	18.4	18.0	18.0
Other	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Resettlement Site</b>								
Site A	17.0	19.5	18.0	20.0	17.4	19.1	18.0	18.0
Site B	17.4	18.2	16.5	18.6	17.5	20.1	16.5	18.5
Site C	17.0	18.7	17.0	19.0	16.7	20.3	17.0	19.3
Site D	17.6	15.5	—	19.5	16.7	18.0	—	—
Site E	15.5	20.0	—	—	16.0	18.7	—	—
Site F	16.0	18.5	—	18.9	19.0	20.3	—	—
<b>Year of Resettlement*</b>								
1988-1991	17.1	17.8	17.0	17.5	17.1	19.3	16.6	19.0
1992-1995	17.0	17.9	—	19.9	17.1	20.5	17.7	18.5
1996-2001	—	—	—	21.0	16.0	17.0	—	—
<b>Total (N)</b>	17.1	17.8	17.0	18.9	17.1	19.7	17.0	18.9
	(29)	(23)	(5)	(14)	(65)	(65)	(8)	(7)

N=total; — = no response.

\*Year of resettlement is not known for 1 resettler (N=369).

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

The risk associated with late marriages was well understood by female respondents. About 27% were aware of social problems associated with girls that marry later than boys, whilst only 9% acknowledged that for boys. Women felt that both a girl's and her family's reputations were at risk of being tarnished until the girl married. This was surprising because tribal societies

have often perceived sexual relations in a free manner. For instance, the CSS monographs on Gujarati submergence villages found that tribal societies enjoy more sexual freedom than caste societies in India. Banu (2001: 23) indicated that no value is associated with virginity amongst tribals, although promiscuity is also not valued. However, it appears that this traditional way of thought is changing. As mentioned earlier in **Chapter 1**, I witnessed a marital dispute at **Site A** that further confirms the changing perceptions in sexual relations and marriage. Relations between a boy and girl caused a rift between two families and between two communities within the same resettlement site. Peace was restored once the elders and community leaders decided that the two would be married.

#### 9.4.4. HOPES AND DREAMS

About 86% of women expressed hopes and dreams for their daughters and/or granddaughters, whilst 89% did so for their sons and/or grandsons (**Table 9.14**). Hopes and dreams help in determining the extent to which change has been influential within the household and community. They are also indicative of the extent to which women have gained self-awareness within traditions, cultural practices and patriarchal ideologies.

**Table 9.14: Effect of Participation on Hopes and Dreams of Children**

	Hopes for Girls	Change Over Last 5 Years	Hopes for Boys	Change Over Last 5 Years
<b>BFPART</b>				
No	89.1	14.6	88.9	27.5
Yes	82.4	35.7	88.9	37.5
<b>DGPART</b>				
No	86.8	12.1	88.0	22.6
No-Yes-No	89.5	29.4	95.7	36.4
Yes	82.6	36.8	86.4	42.1
<b>Total (N)</b>	86.3 (80)	23.2 (69)	88.9 (81)	31.9 (72)

BFPART=women's participation before resettlement; DGPART=degree of women's participation during R&R process; N=total.  
Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Hopes and dreams of children are very much focused on the domestic domain for girls and the employment sphere for boys. About 54% of women indicated that they hoped that the girls in their family would marry well, find good husbands and have good in-laws. Conversely, only 33% of women expressed this desire for boys. Instead, about 71% hoped that their sons or grandsons would study well and find a well-paying non-agricultural job. Only 22% felt this way about the girls.

About 23% and 32% of women said that their hopes and dreams had changed over the past 5 years for their girls and boys, respectively (Table 9.14). In most cases, change was due to external factors, which related to marriage or education. Comparatively, there was little difference between girls and boys. For instance, change was evident in the hopes and dreams of girls due to marriage (31%), studies and work (38%) and age (44%). For boys, change was because the boy was married (22%), had already studied and was working (17%) and was too old (57%).

A positive effect of participation was observed on women's hopes and dreams about their children (Table 9.14). About 36% of those who participated before had witnessed a change in their hopes towards girls in comparison to the 15% of those who did not participate. The percentage of women who witnessed change in their hopes and dreams towards their daughters increased with the degree of participation: about 12% of those that did not participate at all witnessed a change in comparison to 37% of those who continued their involvement post-resettlement. A comparable increase was reported for boys from 23% to 42%.

Amongst those women who spoke at meetings, a higher degree of change was noted. About 50% of women who said they had spoken at meetings before resettlement experienced more change in their hopes for girls than those who had not spoken (31%). This percentage increased amongst those women who continued their involvement in meetings and/or events

after resettlement. About 37% altered their dreams for girls, whilst 42% had done so for boys.

In addition to women's participation in the R&R process, external factors (i.e., access to education and job opportunities) might have influenced women's perceptions of girls in their families. The different components of the SL/IR framework help to illustrate the beginning of the synergic effects in women's perceptions of their children. However, significant changes are generational, assuming that access to facilities and control over resources remain the same or improve over time. Similarly, the adverse effects of the gender-biased policy on increased preferences for sons will be more noticeable in a few more generations.

## 9.5. Tribal Women and Empowerment

When tribal women assimilate into mainstream society, it could be considered (i) voluntary adaptation and upward mobility or (ii) forced adaptation with loss of culture and tradition. For instance, some female resettlers indicated that they started wearing a blouse under their sari wraps because that is what townspeople do. They felt that their dress was not much different, and dressing like townspeople did not imply loss of tradition or culture. Women resettlers who came from closer to the dam site seemed more integrated with mainstream society than those from the interior forests.<sup>121</sup> They used to live closer to markets, were physically less isolated and had more exposure to contemporary culture and styles.

Similarly, women resettled by the Kariba Dam in Zambia also shed their local ways to adapt to the more contemporary ways of Zambian women. They emphasised similarities to rather than differences from the national culture (Colson 1971, cited in Koenig 1995: 37).

---

<sup>121</sup> Distinctive tribal markers on the corners of women's faces indicated differences amongst tribal groups. Those from villages that are closer to the dam site have fewer markings than those from the interior forest villages.

For a number of resettlers, especially women, participation during the R&R policy brought with it the provision of choice. Choice allowed them to make decisions about assimilation or preservation based on their preferences. Adaptation or assimilation, if done by choice based on self-awareness, could lead to an increased sense of empowerment.

#### 9.5.1. THE MEANING OF POWER AND EMPOWERMENT

A majority of tribal women associated the meaning of power and empowerment with R&R events and activities. As shown in Table 9.15, about 28% had an idea of what *haque* (or right/power) meant, whilst close to 9% could explain the term *samarth* or *ne sata* (or empowered). Participation enhanced women's knowledge of what these words meant. About 37% of women who participated in meetings before resettlement were able to explain the meaning of *haque* in comparison to 22% of those who did not participate. Similarly, about 13% of those who participated and 6% of those who did not were able to explain the meaning of *samarth*. The percentage of women that were able to explain both terms increased with the degree of participation reaching to 42% and 17%, respectively, amongst those women who continued to partake in gatherings after resettlement.

**Table 9.15: Effect of Participation on Definitions of *Haque* and *Samarth***

	No. of HHs	<i>Haque</i>	<i>Samarth</i>
<b>BFPART</b>	No	50	22.0
	Yes	38	36.8
<b>DGPART</b>	No	41	19.5
	No-Yes-No	23	30.4
	Yes	24	41.7
<b>Total</b>	88	28.4	9.1

BFPART=women's participation before resettlement; DGPART=degree of women's participation during R&R process; HHs=households; No.=number.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Women often associated one or both terms with an improvement in their current life. For some, these terms were synonymous with the struggle to own five acres replacement land for all resettlers. Others associated *haque* with a better way of life. The following provide some examples of how female resettlers perceived *haque*.

- *‘Haque’* means now we’ve [got a] better life here, I get to roam about and everything is good here. Earlier I was unhappy but now it’s all good here” (Anonymous 2001f).
- *‘Haque’* means the right or authority over land (Anonymous 2001a).
- *‘Haque’* means owner of the house and owner of the land. Right of house. Right of land (Anonymous 2001d).
- If we do not have our own husband, then he only shows his right (Anonymous 2001e).
- *‘Haque’* means suppose if this home [is], in the name of my *husband*, then it’s even my right on it (Anonymous 2001c).

Moreover, about 64% and 18% of women who spoke at meetings knew better what *haque* and *samarth* meant, respectively. Of those who attended meetings but did not speak, about 25% and 13% of women could explain these terms.

Tribal groups and year of resettlement also affected the percentage of women who understood the meanings of these terms. For instance, about 39% and 13% of women from the Tadvi tribal group could explain the meaning of *haque* and *samarth*, respectively. Tadvis used to live in villages close to the dam site. They relocated to Sites B and C where about 38% of Tadvi women knew what *haque* meant and 39% knew what *samarth* meant. Rathwa

women, resettled from the interior villages to Sites A and D, were the next most knowledgeable. Moreover, about 27% of those who resettled in 1988-1991 could provide a definition for both terms. By 1996-2001, the percentage reached 33%.

### 9.5.2. CHANGE IN WOMEN'S MOBILITY

Following the SL/IR framework (Figure 4.2), it would appear that women's mobility should increase post-resettlement. Involuntary resettlement provided the vulnerability context within which both men and women sought livelihood strategies based on their pre-displacement strategies, assets portfolios, institutional processes and their extent of participation during the R&R process. However, as previously noted, there was little or no change in mobility amongst women who participated in the R&R process. However, mobility was restricted for those women who did not participate at all (see Table 9.10).

The following three factors would support a possible increase in women's mobility: (i) resettlers have a choice to relocate with other family and *fahia* members, (ii) residential homes at the sites are confined rather than being dispersed over a large area as in their original villages and (iii) less time is needed to complete domestic tasks. Women's mobility may also depend on household composition (i.e., structure and number of members), availability of labour and time, and the location and accessibility of resources, as also suggested by Gorman (1999: 45). Age and status of the woman within the household would also influence her mobility.

However, some claim that women's mobility in the case of the SSP decreased due to the intensity of agricultural work and unfamiliarity of surroundings (Mehta 2000; Mehta and Srinivasan 2000). This assertion assumes that women were able to move about freely prior to resettlement. Agricultural work at the resettlement sites has increased due to the triple-harvest crop schedule and an increase in the amount of land ownership.

When asked, the women replied that agricultural workload did not prevent them from moving around. In fact, they stated that their mobility was limited both before and after resettlement.

Overall, women indicated that they were unable to move about freely irrespective of the conditions brought about by resettlement. About 98% need to get permission or inform others of their whereabouts, whilst 94% did so before resettlement. There was no change amongst 93% of my respondents. About 83% of women said that they obtained permission from their husbands before going out at the resettlement sites. Of these, about 35% said that they also sought permission from either their sons or one of their parents-in-law, especially in cases where their husbands were not available.

The question that I posed to my respondents had to do with asking “permission.” However, the word “permission” might have been translated as “inform.” The need to inform and the need to ask permission are different, especially when the question is accompanied by a given destination (i.e., neighbours and friends, market and outside the village).

As such, it is necessary to distinguish between the need to ask (which is more involuntary) and the need to inform (which is more voluntary). For instance, about 59% of women said that they informed others of their whereabouts so as not to cause concern or worry. About 38% said that they sought permission beforehand so as to avoid arguments and adverse consequences (i.e., abuse or violence).

Informal discussions revealed that mobility restrictions for women might have actually decreased. For instance, more women were able to visit neighbours freely without asking permission or informing another household member. About 52% of respondents needed permission to visit their neighbours after resettlement, whereas before resettlement, about 68% needed permission. About 99% of respondents said that they could not leave



their original village without getting permission, whilst about 94% say that they cannot leave their resettlement site without asking.

However, the ability to seek medical attention freely at the sites has been the most significant for women. Respondents indicated a lesser need to get permission when seeking medical attention. This could be attributed to either the closer proximity of health care facilities at the sites, or the change in household structure (i.e., from the single *chulha* to joint to households).<sup>122</sup>

A cross-tabulation between change in the mobility and (i) tribal group, (ii) place of origin, (iii) resettlement site and (iv) year of resettlement revealed that Vasava women living in the midway regions of the Valley sought more permission since resettlement than before. This was especially the case at Site F. However, over the years, the need to seek permission has lessened. About 9% of female respondents sought permission to go out during 1988-1991, comparison to about 3% in 1992-1995 and 0% in 1996-2001.

As previously mentioned, resettlers reside and cultivate land at both the resettlement sites and in original villages. Women and families will tend to remain in the original villages until resettlement can no longer be postponed due to submergence. Mehta (1992: 142) finds that this separation is an indication of a breakdown in family structure where women's sense of place becomes threatened. Women tend to feel powerless and insecure.

Whilst women are at risk of increased vulnerability, an opportunity for empowerment exists based on new forms of livelihood strategies to better adapt or cope with vulnerability. For instance, as shown in Section 9.3, women's participation did not decrease their mobility, but did increase their knowledge and their involvement in different activities (i.e., the desire to save and have a bank account). Women's participation also increased the wish to own land individually or jointly with husbands. This improves women's access

---

<sup>122</sup> Boserup (1990: 58) suggests that "the subordinate status of women is conducive to large family size."

to and control over resources. A resulting stronger assets portfolio, along with modified institutional arrangements, could yield a stabilising outcome and even an empowering state.

### *9.5.3. DEVELOPMENT AND SAVINGS SCHEMES FOR WOMEN*

The availability of development and savings schemes at resettlement sites has provided opportunities for women to enhance their asset portfolio. These schemes have provided new resources and new income-generating opportunities for women.

Three major development and savings schemes have been initiated for women at the resettlement sites. They include

- (i) The Savings Scheme by ANaRDe Foundation, which includes a bank account,
- (ii) The Sewing Machine Scheme By ANaRDe Foundation, which includes stitching classes and sewing machine purchases and
- (iii) The Credit and Loan Scheme By ANaRDe Foundation, which gives out loans to a group of women for agricultural purposes.

About 69% named the sewing scheme whilst only 8% mentioned the savings scheme. However, when asked, about 28% said that they owned a bank account. Details of these schemes are found in **Appendix I**.

**Table 9.16** shows that about 14% of all women were aware of some women's groups at the resettlement sites. Out of 94 women, about 7% are participate credit and loan schemes. Close to 32% said that they currently participate in a savings scheme, whilst 68% said they could not because they

had no savings after meeting the daily requirements. The positive effect of women's participation in the R&R process on savings was illustrated in Table 9.10. About 41% of women who participated from the start felt the need to save in comparison to 18% of those who did not participate but also wanted to save.

**Table 9.16: Percentage of Respondents Who Currently Take Advantage of Different Schemes**

Type	Freq.	%
<b>Presence of Women's Groups</b>		
No	81	86.2
Yes	13	13.8
<b>Have a Bank Account</b>		
No	68	72.3
Yes	26	27.7
<b>Borrow Credit/Loans</b>		
No	87	92.6
Yes	7	7.4
<b>Have Savings</b>		
No	64	68.1
Yes	30	31.9
<b>Reasons for not Saving</b>		
None	4	6.2
Nothing to save	59	92.2
Husband saves	1	1.6
<b>Reasons for Saving*</b>		
Food	11	37.9
Clothing	12	41.4
Home Repairs	6	20.7
Schooling	8	27.6
Marriages	6	20.7
Skills Development	3	10.3
Security	10	34.5
Sickness	8	27.6
Children	7	24.1
Agricultural Needs	2	3.6
Family	2	6.9
<b>Total</b>	94	100.0

Freq.=frequency; %=percent.

\*Respondents have given multiple answers to the questions.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

During a group discussion of 25 women at Site B, I asked them why they saved money (Focus Group Discussion 2001).<sup>123</sup> They unanimously felt that money made them “feel good” especially when they could decide how to spend it. Married women saved for their children’s education, whilst the unmarried women saved money for the future. Women also save money for clothing (42%), food (38%) and security (35%). Other reasons are found in Table 9.16.

Table 9.17 shows the different types of schemes and training needs of women at resettlement sites. About 18% of all women said that they participated in women-only schemes since resettlement. These schemes were primarily related to agriculture, sewing and nutrition. About 42% said that they would like to acquire new skills, of which about 77% said that they would be interested in receiving training in the area of agriculture so that they could improve their production levels. This is not surprising as about 92% of all respondents said that they engage in activities related to agricultural work (Table 9.4).

However, women said that they would seize the opportunity to learn more skills if training classes were provided, but not at the expense of their agricultural work (Table 9.17). With the introduction of labour saving technologies at the sites, the amount of time women used to spend on completing their daily domestic duties has decreased. For instance, electricity has lengthened the day past dusk for everyone at resettlement sites. For women especially, electricity implies that grains can be ground at the local mill or at a later time and not at 3 a.m. About 93% of household respondents declared that they had electricity from the local supplier at the six resettlement sites. This is higher than the national average where more than 80% of rural households do not have any electricity (Pettersson 2002: 17).

---

<sup>123</sup> It was initially difficult to hold discussions, as a woman from the local NGO running the scheme was present. Once she left, the women felt more at ease and answered my questions.

**Table 9.17: Different Schemes and Training Needs at Resettlement Sites**

Type	Freq.	%
<b>Participation in Women-only Schemes since Resettlement</b>		
No	76	81.7
Yes	17	18.3
<b>Types of Women-only Schemes*</b>		
Agricultural	6	35.3
Chalk-making	1	5.9
Livestock care	0	—
Nutrition	3	17.6
Health care	1	5.9
Sewing-class	6	35.3
Family planning	1	5.9
Child care	1	5.9
Prevention of Domestic Violence	1	5.9
Counselling of Alcohol Abuse	1	5.9
Savings	1	5.9
<b>Training Opportunity</b>		
No	54	58.1
Yes	39	41.9
<b>Types of Training Needs*</b>		
Family health	9	23.1
Safe motherhood	5	12.8
Nutrition	9	23.1
Sewing	8	20.5
Child care	12	30.8
Agriculture	30	76.9
Crop management	0	—
Non-agricultural	2	5.1
Money management	1	2.6
Computers	0	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Freq.=frequency; %=percent.

\*Respondents have given multiple answers to the questions corresponding to type of savings, schemes and training opportunities.

Source: Field research (2000-2001).

Training programmes for skills development are often targeted at male participants and do not cater to the needs of female participants. Men and women have different training interests (Vir 1997). On one hand, males tend to be interested in activities such as spinning, weaving, tailoring, house construction, brick making, masonry work, carpentry, smithy, bio-gas plant

manufacturing and installation at resettlement sites. On the other hand, females show more interest in embroidery, patchwork, jewellery making, making cups and saucers out of forest leaves, herbal and flower plantation, cooking healthy foods and food preservation. These differences in training interests were confirmed through my discussions with women who requested income-generating opportunities that were more flexible and less structured (i.e., fixed participation commitments) to their time constraints.

Some women also expressed interest in learning *bharat* work (or needlework) to supplement their household income. By learning this skill, women felt that they could sell decorative pieces for the home in the local market. This was one work that women could do at their own time (i.e., after completing domestic and agricultural duties and responsibilities). Such training is also attractive, as it requires neither sophisticated machinery (i.e., sewing machines) nor extensive skills training. In doing *bharat* work, women can also be creative and preserve traditional tribal weaving.<sup>124</sup>

Whilst women welcomed training opportunities, they often lack the support from other members of their households, especially older male members. Training programmes lack sufficient incentives that would attract women and increase their participation rates. For instance, some female respondents reported that they attended trainings simply because their husbands could not attend and/or the training included free food and hospitality. Women from **Site B** expressed this reasoning as being the most challenging (Focus Group Discussion 2001).

Other factors that women found restricted their participation in agricultural trainings included (i) distance to and duration of the training, (ii) absence from the home and family, (iii) lack of incentive to learn and (iv)

---

<sup>124</sup> Women did not lack innovativeness at the resettlement sites. Some women showed me their “flowers in tin pots.” Such decorations were made from an empty tobacco can with a plastic lid (the flower pot), straws (flower stems) and different color plastic bags (cut in shapes of petals or leaves). Women also decorated doorways and windows with woven strips made out of empty 2" x 4" betel nut/tobacco chew sachets.

mixed sessions with participants of different tribal groups and sex. For instance, women could not partake in trainings that were held far from their homes and resettlement sites. Such trainings would require women to be absent from their homes for more than a couple of days. Moreover, women felt intimidated when sessions were held with men and with individuals from other tribal groups. Even though the sponsors of training sessions provided meals, accommodations and monetary incentives for attending, participation by women remained low. Based on these limitations, it is challenging to provide agricultural training to women within a patriarchal system that controls their participation.

Some women who had attended agricultural training sessions explained the types of training programmes and logistical arrangements. For example, one female resettler from **Site A** attended a five-day training session in the township of Chhota Udepur. She recalls liking it because all she did was eat, drink and sleep. She did not learn anything because the session was based on reading materials and she was illiterate. Nevertheless, she and her peers understood a bit of the information by listening to the officials when they spoke (Anonymous 2001g).

Women in my sample suggested four ways in which participation rates could be improved. First, training sessions would be more accessible to women if they are held locally at the resettlement sites. Second, women would be encouraged to participate in training classes if they are segregated by sex and by social composition. Third, any payment or subsidy that is provided at the end of the session should be given in the women's name rather than her husband's name. For example, a subsidy for an agricultural implement or input would contribute to women's agricultural production and ownership if given in her name. And last, sponsors should not be discouraged by low attendance rates at the start of training programmes, as it takes time for the training information to spread to interested women.

For some women, development and saving schemes have been successful where they have brought about increased opportunities and improved financial management skills. However, some schemes have been dismantled due to (i) a lack of follow-up by respective sponsors and (ii) the need for supplies and maintenance of sewing machines. For instance, female resettlers learning spinning at the resettlement site of Parveta in Gujarat faced such challenges (Parasuraman 1999). Although women found time to spin in the afternoons and in the evenings, the lack of supplies and maintenance of machines made it difficult for women to continue the activity. Each day, women could spin up to 20 to 25 bundles that would be worth about Rs.15 to Rs.20 per day (Parasuraman 1999: 224). In these instances, the schemes were unsustainable because women gained neither skills nor income.

Since the establishment of the six resettlement sites, changes have been made to the schemes and training opportunities. For example, women have asked that the amount of stipend be increased from Rs.100 per month to Rs.500 per month in the case of the sewing machine schemes. Similarly, training sessions have decreased from five hours per day to 2.5 hours per day in order to accommodate women's agricultural schedules. These sessions now take place in the afternoons from 2 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. instead of from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. A larger monthly stipend and more flexibility in the timing of training sessions are both likely to increase women's participation in development and training schemes and enhance their income generation ability.

## 9.6. Conclusion

In Chapters 5 to 8, I incorporated gender into discussions about the nature and degree of participation, and to some extent, into its investigations on the extent of policy implementation (e.g., work participation rates). It did not, however, disaggregate the effects of participation on livelihood outcomes by gender. Using the gender assessment questionnaire, this chapter demonstrated the effect of R&R policy implementation on individuals, with a



specific reference to the impacts on women. The gender assessment questionnaire was administered to 89 women, half of whom had participated in policy-related events before resettlement. A majority of these women were Tadvis who had lived close to the dam, whilst about 30% of the respondents came from the interior regions.

The effect of Gujarat's R&R policy on individual livelihoods can be investigated by considering social change within the family and community (i.e., gender relations). With respect to Moser's (1993) triple roles — reproductive, productive and community management — I identified the different roles of men and women and the differences in resource allocation before and after resettlement. The SL/IR framework helped to examine the extent to which these roles and the distribution of resources have changed post-resettlement, and the nature of processes that have influenced these relations (i.e., through which gender inequalities are perpetuated and reproduced). Gender roles, thus, vary across the following three dimensions: from generation to generation (different roles between generations), from place to place (different roles specific to a country and cultural context) and from time to time (different roles at different times during an individual's life cycle).

Gujarat's R&R policy is gender-biased as it only provides males 18 years old and above with replacement land. Widows are nevertheless awarded replacement land. Given the nature of the policy, I was interested in testing whether policy implementation has resulted in any changes in gender relations. Gender relations can be seen in terms of gendered-division of labour, access and control over resources and the ability to make decisions. These relations are maintained based on adapting assets portfolio that adjusts to any potential losses due to resettlement. Examples of these losses were presented in **Chapter 4** (e.g., social, economic and psychological losses). This chapter has demonstrated how these losses have not been lost, but how assets have compensated for a decrease in access to these assets (e.g., social and

psychological losses have been minimised by moving with people of their choice and sources of economic gain have been replaced by new economic opportunities). Gender relations are also influenced by institutional and cultural factors (i.e., patriarchy). By integrating these factors into the SL/IR framework (Figure 4.2), I was able to conduct a gender analysis whereby I considered gender relations before and after resettlement.

In general, resettlement has not altered the division of labour within the household for a majority of women. Domestic activities remained to be the responsibility of females with the exception of collecting fuel, caring for livestock and doing home repairs. The main change in the division of labour has been due to the involvement of other individuals (e.g., hired labour or other family members). Non-domestic activities (i.e., agricultural) remain defined along gender lines. Although there are more opportunities for women to engage in paid jobs, women continue to be responsible for levelling, sowing and weeding agricultural fields. The amount of opportunities for women to engage in productive work has increased, as women have gained access to and control over resources (i.e., time) in order to pursue other activities post-resettlement. The political participation of women has also increased since resettlement in organised community groups (i.e., *Vasahat Samiti* and *Panchayat* meetings).

Women have continued making decisions within the household and community (i.e., control over their own labour, ability to purchase and decisions regarding family welfare). Some women, however, noted a slight improvement in decision-making ability due to a change in household structure. Before resettlement, families lived together as part of joint or extended households. Since resettlement, families now live separately based on smaller households. This change in household structure is the result of Gujarat's R&R policy, which stipulates individual land ownership and individual preference of resettlement site and relocation unit. Such change in household structure has important implications. For instance, women stated

that they were more involved in making decisions about domestic and agricultural issues at the resettlement sites than before. Because they were no longer living with their in-laws at the resettlement sites, it was easier to make decisions jointly with the husband. Koenig (1995) also noted this shift amongst Zimbabwean families that partook in farming schemes. In cases where families moved away from extended families, men became more dependent on their wives for advice (Koenig 1995: 32). However, if such institutional change is brought about too quickly without support from society or the government, women could face difficulties in managing multiple roles.

The effect of women's participation was tested to determine whether participation played a role in influencing gender relations. Whilst women's participation did not decrease their mobility, it did increase their knowledge and their involvement in different activities (i.e., had the desire to save and have bank accounts). Women's participation also increased the wish to own land individually or jointly with husbands. This improved women's access to and control over resources after resettlement. About 56% of those respondents who had participated in policy events prior to resettlement now indicate that they had wanted either individual or joint ownership of land in comparison with 44% of those who had not participated. This percentage increased to 60% amongst those who continued to partake in events after resettlement in comparison to 41% of those who did not participate at all. A spill over effect was also noted amongst those women who did not participate at all. Of those women who participated before relocation and continued to do so afterwards, a greater percentage also knew the meanings of terms such as *haque* (or right) and *samarth* (or empowered).

Although the level of self-awareness and knowledge of women appeared to have increased, long-term effects of the policy implementation on gender relations remain to be seen. I also explored the potential changes in other institutional arrangements (i.e., patriarchy or socialisation) by using

open-ended questions. I asked women if they observed any change in their attitudes and behaviours toward girls and boys of the next generation. No significant change was mentioned. Change that was observed was attributed mainly to a change in marital status, completion of studies, start of employment or the increased age of the girl or boy. However, there was an indication that Gujarat's R&R policy might have actually worked against future generations of girls by promoting son preferences amongst tribals who would otherwise live in an egalitarian society. Women indicated an increase in the desired number of sons born to them, to their daughters or to their daughters-in-law. Awarding replacement land to only sons might have increased the value of boys in comparison with girls. This could have helped to exacerbate existing gender disparities, as women had expressed the importance of providing more care to sons over daughters.

Whilst women are at risk of increased vulnerability due to displacement, an opportunity for empowerment exists based on new forms of livelihood strategies to better adapt or cope with vulnerability. The effect of women's participation on livelihood outcomes (i.e., mobility, savings and landownership) improved women's access to and control over resources. The availability of development and savings schemes at resettlement sites has provided opportunities for women to enhance their asset portfolio. As indicated in the SL/IR framework, these livelihood outcomes have fed back to alter women's asset portfolios and suggest slight change in gender relations. However, a major shift in gender relations has to be consistent with the long-term strategic interests (i.e., expected or desired livelihood outcome) of individuals and/or communities. This takes time, occurs over generations and varies according to social context. This chapter showed little change in gender relations after resettlement, but indicated a move towards empowerment for women based on the six components outlined in **Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.9.1)**. A stronger asset portfolio, along with modified institutional arrangements (e.g., shift from joint families to single *chulha* households), has catalysed an

empowering process, which has the potential to influence gender relations in the future.

## Chapter 10

### CONCLUSION: LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD

*...good resettlement can prevent impoverishment and even reduce poverty by rebuilding sustainable livelihoods [...] Inadequate resettlement induces local resistance, increases political tensions, entails project delays, and postpones project benefits for all concerned: the benefits lost because of such avoidable project implementation delays sometimes far exceed the marginal cost of a good resettlement package.*

—Cernea (1997: 11, my emphasis)

*Resettlement must be treated as an opportunity, a mandate for reconstructing production systems, raising standards of living, restoring community and kinship relations and minimizing conflict with the host community, and the terms of resettlement should be defined by the communities in question.*

—Parasuraman (1999: 266)

This doctoral research investigated the effect of Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987 on the livelihoods of resettlers, with a special reference to the impacts on women. It focuses on a sample of tribals that have been affected by the construction of a reservoir resulting from the SSP in Gujarat. This population resettled mainly during the early 1990s from villages in hilly terrain to communities in relatively fertile and localised areas in the District of Vadodara (Baroda).

The main objective of the research is threefold: (i) to determine the extent to which the R&R policy was actually implemented, (ii) to operationally define participation in terms of nature and degree and to document its effect on policy implementation and (iii) to assess the effect of policy implementation on resettlers' livelihoods. Data were collected from six

resettlement sites in the Vadodara District during 2000-2001. Information was gathered from 370 heads of households using a household questionnaire, and 89 women using a gender assessment questionnaire. About half the women selected for the gender assessment had participated in the R&R process and/or had received compensation under Gujarat's R&R policy.

This thesis builds upon two previous studies that I conducted in 1993 and 1997. The first, an anthropological inquiry in 1993, suggested a slight improvement in the livelihoods of resettlers post-resettlement. The sample was small and resettlers were in transition. The second, a desk study in 1997, revealed PAPs' struggle to include three unique provisions into Gujarat's R&R policy of 1987. These provisions are not typical of resettlement projects elsewhere. With support from non-governmental organisations, they were able to incorporate three unique provisions: (i) five acres of replacement land, irrespective of previous land title status; (ii) choice in the selection of land plot, resettlement site and relocation unit and (iii) access to infrastructure and amenities at new resettlement sites. Findings from these two studies provided background information and the rationale for conducting field research in 2000-2001 and writing this doctoral thesis.

Research revealed that, through an active participation process which included enhanced awareness and information gathering, self-mobilisation and grassroots action, project-affected people acquired the right to implement choice. The extent to which PAPs have been able to implement this right to choose will be explored in this thesis.

Whilst Gujarat's R&R policy focuses on social justice, it falls short of gender equity. Gujarat's R&R policy is based on land redistribution, as arable land is purchased from rich landlords to be given to PAPs who might be landless or small land farmers. Moreover, the policy has been an opportunity for landless farmers who did not have land before resettlement. It has helped reduce economic disparities amongst tribal households. However, the policy

limits its provisions to male heads of households and sons aged 18 years and older. It remains gender biased, as it does not consider daughters eligible for R&R policy. It rewards those PAPs with large families comprised mainly of sons, and hinders opportunities for women's advancement. It does, however, consider widows eligible beneficiaries. This entitlement provides security for young and elderly widowed women who have lost their main source of social and economic support—their husbands.

Such land redistribution has the potential of creating social and economic disparities with host populations. Affected tribal communities were moved near to host populations that were comprised of similar tribal groups. However, some resettlers now own more land than their tribal counterparts in nearby communities. In some cases, land ownership of these resettlers is comparable to that of wealthy landlords in the area. The household questionnaire that was administered to my sample revealed that (i) some resettlers are employing local labourers to work in their agricultural fields and (ii) some non-PAP households have become residents of the resettlement sites due to the increased economic opportunities and available facilities. As resettlement communities began to integrate with host populations, evidence of cooperation and conflict begin to emerge. Such a comparison goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

When PAPs are “involuntarily” resettled from their lands, they are displaced physically and emotionally from their plots, daily routines, social interactions and economic productivity. They are moved because of dams and other infrastructure development projects, and do not have a choice of moving back. For some, this feeling of being forced out is minimised by including rehabilitation provisions that would help them maintain their networks, give them a source of livelihood and give them a choice in their future. However, past R&R studies for different projects suggest that individuals often face higher degrees of impoverishment, as they are routinely under-compensated for their possessions and resettled with inappropriate



rehabilitation measures (de Wet 1988; Cernea 1996b; Scudder and Colson 1982). R&R provisions cannot entirely compensate or mitigate the feelings associated with being “involuntarily” resettled. Resettlers search for possible coping mechanisms that will help them adapt and assimilate into their new environment.

When the provision of *choice* of resettlement site and relocation unit is incorporated into a R&R policy, resettlers are able to quickly re-establish their social networks post-resettlement and pre-determine their source of livelihood. The provision of choice is a result of PAPs’ ability to participate in R&R policy design and package development. Initially, resettlers are risk-averse, as they are concerned about their social networks and their daily sustenance. They engage in “safe and low-risk” activities with minimal investments. Resettlers begin to invest in their homes and/or take greater risks once they have attained a new mix of assets and secured immediate and long-term livelihood strategies. The shift from risk-averse to risk-taking behaviour is not clear, but rather, they tend to blend into one another. The process, through which one begins to take greater risks, depends on the R&R policy, asset portfolios of individual PAFs and the capacity of government and local institutions to support adaptation, change and development. For instance, continued government commitment is essential, which is often a result of exerted influence by significant individuals and institutions (i.e., the media, development partners, anti-dam organisations, grassroots NGOs and research institutions).

I have applied the sustainable livelihoods framework to the process of involuntary resettlement, which enabled me to explore the relationship between vulnerability and the survival strategies that households seek during displacement and relocation. It helped to illustrate the role of participation played in the development of R&R policy, its translation into choice during policy implementation and the basis for seeking particular livelihood

strategies. However, it must be noted that in the case of the SSP, my sample of resettlers did not have a choice of staying in their original villages.

The SL/IR framework provides a comprehensive and holistic tool for understanding the process through which involuntary resettlement can become more “voluntary.” A sustainable livelihoods approach to involuntary resettlement helps to understand the effects of R&R process on individuals within a broader framework. Within this framework, individual decision-making becomes important for long-term sustainability. Decisions are made based on internal assessments of individual situations, which include consideration of tradeoffs between viable livelihood alternatives. Although PAPs did not have a choice of staying in their original villages, reduced government investment in the area and lack of sufficient access to infrastructure and markets could have contributed to their decision to fight for better R&R provisions. The participation process, which ended with acquiring the right to implement choice, might have helped reduce the feeling of being “involuntary” moved. The SL/IR framework helps to understand the R&R process and evaluate it in terms of empowerment, which includes resettlers’ increased capacity to make choices, and their ability to transform interests into favourable outcomes within a changing social and institutional context. Based on the resettlement provisions made available to PAFs, this study suggests that resettlers consider and evaluate the best livelihood strategy available to them.

### **10.1. Review of the Thesis and Key Findings**

The thesis investigates the extent to which Gujarat’s R&R policy was actually implemented, the nature and degree of participation and the effect of the policy on the livelihoods of resettlers, with a special reference to the impacts on women.

In **Chapter 5**, I documented the extent to which the policy was actually implemented in terms of the unique provisions —compensation,

choice and site development. These provisions represent three key livelihood outcomes for PAPs —continued economic security, maintenance of social networks and sustained infrastructure development.

As per Gujarat's R&R policy, PAFs, sons 18 years and over and widows, all have been awarded five acres of land. About 86% of single *chulhas* received land compensation, and in another 4% of cases, another member received land or some other form of compensation. Inclusion of these respondents raises the percentage of households that received any compensation to about 90%. This has decreased the percentage of landless households from about 71% to 14% and increased the average size of landholdings post-resettlement.

Similarly, about 81% of respondents said that they had implemented their right to choose in moving to a resettlement site. This includes about 65% of households said that they had visited more than one site before resettlement and 16% who visited only one site. I have assumed that these 16% also implemented choice since about 30% of them said that they had liked the first one they saw and 67% said that another family member had seen an alternative site. On average, each household visited about 3.8 sites before selecting the current site. Similarly, about 90% of respondents said that they had moved with the relocation unit of their choice (i.e., the *falia*, community and other family members).

The level of infrastructure development and access to basic social amenities at the six resettlement sites have also be demonstrated in **Chapter 5**. Each site has electricity, water pumps, a school building and is visited by health care providers. All sites are well connected and have access to market places.

The two major dimensions of participation —nature and degree —are defined in **Chapter 6** based on the participatory process through which PAPs were able to include these three unique provisions. The right to participate in

the articulation of Gujarat's R&R policy was an empowering process for both male and female resettlers who were involved in the decision-making processes. The five stages of participation for households outlines the process through which the chance to participate was attained. It is a process that started from awareness and information gathering, progressed to internal decision-making and finally ended with political grassroots action and acquiring the right to implement choice. The last stage, the right to implement choice, is more of an outcome of this process. It provides the basis for this doctorate research. The other stages help form the basis for the measurement of participation in terms of degree and nature.

Whilst participation is defined as one's involvement in policy-related events, it may be active or passive and entail different actions depending on any one point along the continuum. The nature of participation described the type of activities in which PAPs engaged (i.e., presence of organisations, types of meetings and events and different discussion topics). Resettlers became more aware as a result of these activities, which also provided them access to information so that they could make an informed decision about what actions they would take (i.e., fight against the SSP or for a better R&R policy). About 85% of respondents said that at least one member participated from either the single *chulha* or joint household. About 85% said that men participated whilst about 24% said that women also participated in policy-related events before resettlement.

The degree of participation was defined based on gender and residential unit. Examining who participated in policy-related events gave some indication as to the number and status of people involved in gathering and processing information and decision-making within the household for future action. In households where more than one person participated, I assume that the decision to take action was not made by only one person (i.e., head of the household). This is especially important in households where both men and women participated. Based on a ranking system that I

developed in **Chapter 6**, about 16% of respondents said that both men and women participated from both residential units —representing the highest degree of participation at Degree 4.

Using these two dimensions of participation, I demonstrated the positive effect of participation by PAPs on choice, compensation and household infrastructure and amenities. On average, respondents said that about 1.6 organisations had visited their villages in the Narmada Valley, about 2.3 meetings and/or events were attended, and close to 12 topics were discussed. The degree of participation was consistent with the nature of participation.

The effect of participation —nature and degree —on attaining each outcome is examined for each affected-household in **Chapters 7 and 8**. In **Chapter 7**, research revealed that participation in policy-related events increases choice. Participants from single *chulha* households were able to exert more choice in resettlement site and relocation unit than those from joint households. Participation also had a positive effect on compensation. The effect of participation on compensation was greater when the person came from the single *chulha* (92%) than from joint households (85%). Women's participation, however, had a negative effect on land compensation.

In **Chapter 8**, findings showed that on average, resettlers experienced improvements in 5.7 categories of household infrastructure and amenities. Improvement in household infrastructure and amenities was measured by calculating change in 10 asset categories that represent different physical facilities and amenities before and after resettlement. The rate of change was greater for those tribals (i.e., Tadvis) living closer to the dam site due to greater exposure and development. However, satisfaction post-resettlement is lower for those resettlers that lived closer to the dam site (i.e., Tadvis) than for those coming from more remote areas (i.e., Rathwas).

The effect of policy implementation on individuals, with a special reference to the impacts on women, was examined in **Chapter 9**. It disaggregates the effects of participation on livelihood outcomes by gender using the gender assessment questionnaire.

Contrary to most resettlement experiences elsewhere, households displaced by the SSP have enjoyed substantial improvements in their living conditions due to Gujarat's R&R policy. The three inherent livelihood relationships (outlined in **Section 4.3.9**) have also been addressed in this thesis (i.e., the interplay between participation and Gujarat's R&R policy). **Chapters 5** and **Chapters 7, 8** and **9** also demonstrate a spill over effect whereby those who did not participate directly in Gujarat's R&R policy process also benefited from its implementation. As a result of smaller household size and modified structures caused by individual land compensation, resettlers have also experienced a positive change in gender relations (i.e., change in gendered division of labour, ability to make decisions and access to and control over resources). However, a major shift in gender relations has to be consistent with the long-term strategic interests (i.e., expected or desired livelihood outcome) of individuals and/or communities. This takes time, occurs over generations and varies according to social context.

With support from organisations and institutions, resettlers have maintained a greater degree of control over their lives and continued to make decisions about their well-being. A stronger asset portfolio, along with modified institutional arrangements (e.g., shift from joint families to single *chulha* households), has catalysed an empowering process, which has the potential to further influence gender relations in the future. Feelings of vulnerability and insecurity normally associated with forced resettlement are noticeably reduced.

## 10.2. Specific Effects on Tribal Groups

The debate between “assimilation” and “preservation” of tribals becomes pivotal in determining the effects of Gujarat’s R&R policy on PAPs. The way in which planners perceive tribal development invariably influences their assessment of the potential impacts of R&R on tribal groups. To assimilate or preserve oneself from mainstream society is an individual decision that tribal groups must make for themselves. History has shown that with the onset of economic and social transformation, tribal culture changes and adapts but it is often not lost. However, provisions to safeguard against unwanted cumulative impacts of the R&R process must be integrated into the R&R policy in case some tribal groups do wish to assimilate into mainstream society. For this reason, it is important to have *ad hoc* R&R policies, which can be implemented in a *pari passu* fashion. Contrary to much conventional resettlement policy thinking, a flexible structure will help guide the implementation of policies so that obstacles encountered may be overcome, and different views and opinions as they arise during the process may be incorporated.

In my sample, key characteristics of resettlers (i.e., tribal characteristics) helped document variations in actual policy implementation. These characteristics have influenced the way PAPs have adjusted to the conditions brought about by resettlement. For instance, the level of interactions tribals had with mainstream society before resettlement facilitated the process of adaptation post-resettlement. Some groups have historically moved around. For instance, the Tadvi tribal group is believed to have migrated from interior settlements to the banks of the Narmada River, thereby linking them to the Vasavas and Bhils. For these tribal groups, “migration” is common and could have inherently supported their decision to move. Some may have also decided to move based on a “push” out of the area. Since the 1960s when the NVDP was commissioned, the level of government investment in social and physical infrastructure has decreased in

the “submergence” area. For PAPs, the ability to have a better life after resettlement might have been more realistic than if they had decided to stay in their original villages. Coupled with the choice of land plots and site selection, Gujarat’s R&R policy gave tribals the flexibility to seek optimal conditions within which they could regain, if not improve, future livelihoods.

During my research, some tribal resettlers compared the adjustment process of R&R with that of a bride. Like a bride, a resettler moves from his/her native home (Narmada Valley) to a new place (resettlement site). The in-laws (often the mother-in-law) represent the host community for a resettler. Unlike a bride who moves alone, a resettler, with the implementation of choice, is able to move with other members of his/her family or *falia* (community). Resettlers pointed out that a bride experiences a more difficult process of adjustment than they did in relocating from the Narmada Valley.

The provision of choice in Gujarat’s policy also supports the relocation of other tribals from neighbouring states so as to help tribals maintain social networks. Tribal groups live in *falias* based on physical geographical boundaries. Their pattern of habitat does not follow state lines. Some *falias* may span across two states and not be confined to simply one state. As a result, some PAPs from neighbouring states have expressed their willingness to relocate to Gujarat. In some instances, members of *falias* have also exercised their individual preference by not moving to Gujarat.

The differential effect of R&R policy on tribal groups is also expressed in terms of “happiness.” Those moving from interior and more remote villages seem to be “happier” with resettlement than those who came from villages closer to the dam site. The following factors were cited by resettlers that were “happy” with R&R: (i) closer water facilities, (ii) lack of mountains (or hills) that made completing domestic activities easier, (iii) ability to roam around freely and use vehicles for transportation, (iv) benefits of having electricity (i.e., light and grinding mills), (v) closer proximity of



hospitals and clinics and (vi) on-site schools for children's education. Resettlers from all regions cited the increased need for cash as a downfall, but this need was felt more by those living in the interior regions where barter was the common form of exchange.

A majority of resettlers felt that the level of sickness had increased since moving to the resettlement sites. They also felt that health care services had become more accessible since resettlement. More illness was associated with (i) an increase in mosquitoes, (ii) higher levels of air pollution, (iii) increased use of fertilisers and pesticides for cultivation and (iv) greater intake of processed and fertilised foods. Resettlers of the Rathwa tribal group felt that the higher levels of sickness might be due to the design of the resettlement site (i.e., proximity of residential homes). Moreover, it appears that alcohol consumption has become more visible in resettlement communities. Some resettlers informed me that alcohol was consumed in larger quantities in their original villages than at the resettlement sites. It is part of tribal population's daily consumption, as the fruits to make alcohol were readily available.

### **10.3. Specific Effects on Female Resettlers**

Project planners often fail to take into consideration the impact of R&R specifically on women and/or take measures that increase women's access to and control over resources, including land rights. At the planning level, a number of assumptions not only guide the nature and fashion in which R&R policy is planned and designed, but also undercut the sustainable livelihoods of families and households displaced by large infrastructure projects. At the project development level, a number of key issues require consideration prior to the design phase of R&R policies (i.e., the losses incurred by women to be included in the calculation of the aggregate loss incurred by the family). These losses could potentially damage the pre-existing balance of livelihood assets and make it difficult for women to regain their livelihoods post-resettlement. Finally, during the implementation phase, it is

important to ensure that the R&R plan provides women with direct access to and control over compensation and benefits, including rehabilitation measures for purposes of replenishing any lost assets.

In this thesis, I have investigated the effects of R&R policy on resettlers' livelihoods with special reference to the impacts on women. Giving five acres of land to every male head of households and sons aged 18 years and older has reduced social and economic disparities amongst tribal households. The landless gained the most from this land redistribution. In parallel, giving wives equal ownership and daughters five acres of land could also have helped reduce gender disparities post-resettlement.

The R&R policy, nevertheless, remains gender-biased despite these immediate and long-term impacts. For instance, it does not consider daughters, aged 18 years and over, a separate PAF. Unlike sons, aged 18 years and over, daughters are not awarded equal access to land entitlements. Moreover, the policy rewards large families comprised mainly of sons and therefore increases the risk of greater gender disparities within a tribal society where bride price is highly valued.

Here it must be noted that (i) land allotment for daughters was not a primary concern for PAPs in 1987 and (ii) a number of families have since changed their land titles to reflect joint husband-wife ownership. Moreover, it must also be recognised that the policy does consider widows to be eligible beneficiaries. Women who lose their husbands within a patriarchal society lose their primary source of social and economic support. The policy safeguards young and elderly widows from falling into poverty and becoming more marginalised within the household and community.

Whilst the policy slows down the pace of women's advancement for my sample of resettlers, the effects of policy implementation remain conducive to women's empowerment. The effects of participation on women's livelihood outcomes have increased their knowledge and their

involvement in different activities (i.e., the desire to save and have bank accounts). Women's participation also increased the wish to own land individually or jointly with husbands. This improved women's access to and control over resources after resettlement (i.e., access to education, a wider marriage network and social and economic opportunities). Women's participation also seemed to have a positive effect on women's mobility; however, it is also possible that these women were unable to participate because their mobility was in practice limited prior to resettlement.

The potential losses that women could incur were presented in **Chapter 4** (e.g., social, economic and psychological losses). This thesis has demonstrated how assets have compensated for a decrease in access to these losses and/or assets. For example, social and psychological losses have been minimised by moving with people of their choice. Similarly, sources of economic gain have been replaced by new economic opportunities (i.e., income-generating opportunities at resettlement sites).

Hopes and dreams help in determining the extent to which change has been influential within the household and community. They are indicative of the extent to which women have gained self-awareness within traditions, cultural practices and patriarchal ideologies. For instance, about 84% of women said that they understood the value of investing in female education. The effects of higher education on girls could lead to improvements in social well-being and increased economic opportunities for women. For example, education qualifies women for non-agricultural jobs, which helps to increase their visibility in the labour market and their contribution to household income. With higher education, they tend to marry later in life, which thereby reduces their desired family size. Both effects are also influenced by a number of external factors (e.g., family size). However, a majority of women (54%) hoped that the girls in their family would marry well and could find a good husband.

Amongst my sample of female resettlers, a major shift was witnessed in residential structure (i.e., from joint families to single *chulhas*). There was also a slight shift in marital residence (i.e., increase in the number of *ghar-jawais* or men who live with their in-laws). This, along with a strong assets portfolio has helped stimulate a level of empowerment. However, government policies and awareness programmes are required to support women's advancement and eliminate constraints to additional resources. For instance, the GOI has amended the Constitution to reserve seats for women and tribals in the political arena, which would further facilitate women's participation in the political sphere. Greater institutional support within and beyond the household could help women manage multiple roles and responsibilities and avoid situations of conflict or domestic violence.

Some effects of R&R policy on gender relations are generational, which might be seen in two to three generations from now. For instance, labour saving technologies (i.e., water hand pumps, electricity, mills, et cetera) were introduced at the resettlement sites as a result of R&R policy. Whilst the immediate impacts were visible (i.e., an increase in time saving and a decrease in drudgery), cumulative long-term effects will be noticed in the future (i.e., enhanced decision-making ability, less restriction on mobility, increased access to markets, more power to purchasing non-domestic items and less rigidity in the gendered-division of work).

#### **10.4. Implications of the Research on the SSP**

This thesis demonstrates that the situation for a sample of Gujarati PAPs displaced due to the reservoir construction of the SSP has improved significantly after resettlement. The policy is progressive in nature due to the revised provisions actively sought after by PAPs, NGOs, external donor agencies and research institutions. Whilst the R&R policy for the remaining states are also progressive in nature, the anti-dam movement and the controversy surrounding the SSP imply that the provisions of each state

policy may not have been implemented to the same extent as that demonstrated in this thesis for Gujarat's R&R policy.

As mentioned in **Chapters 1 and 3**, the distribution of costs and benefits of the SSP has been the centre of political struggle amongst the three state governments of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Lack of uniformity on social and environmental issues has exposed each government's vulnerability and made them more susceptible to criticism by NGOs, development agencies and the resettlers themselves. **Tables 1.1 and 3.1** show the distribution of costs and benefits, respectively, for each state. A quick summary is provided below (**Table 10.1**).

**Table 10.1. Summary of Costs and Benefits of the Sardar Sarovar Project Across Four States**

State	Costs		Benefits		
	Total area (% of total)	Total PAFs (% of total)	Water Allocation (% of total)	Annual Irrigation (% of total)	Power Generation (% of total)
Gujarat	21	11	32	96	16
Madhya Pradesh	60	81	65	0	57
Maharashtra	19	8	1	0	27
Rajasthan	0	0	2	4	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>34,867 ha (100%)</b>	<b>40,827 PAFs (100%)</b>	<b>28 MAF (100%)</b>	<b>1.875 million ha (100%)</b>	<b>1450 MW (100%)</b>

ha=hectares; MAF=million acres feet; MW=megawatt; PAFs=project-affected families; %=percent.

Note: Costs figures are based on 2001 estimates.

Source: GOI (1978: 105-108); Raj (1990: 9); SSNNL (2005a); SSPA (2001c: 2).

The NWDT Award stipulates that Gujarat is responsible for the resettlement of those PAFs from adjoining states that wish to relocate in Gujarat. However, the likelihood of PAFs that would move from neighbouring states to Gujarat is small. In such cases, the concerned states become responsible for R&R of these PAFs. With this caveat, the state of Gujarat is expected to receive most of the irrigation benefits, whilst neighbouring states would incur most of the financial costs and non-monetary costs associated with resettlement and rehabilitation (**Table 10.1**). For

instance, Gujarat has to relocate only 11% of the total number of PAFs, but it gains about 96% of the benefit in terms of total annual irrigation. In comparison, Madhya Pradesh could be responsible for relocating about 81% of the total PAFs within the state, but is not expected to gain any benefits in terms of irrigation potential. The basic conclusion does not change even when using the latest 2005 estimates for total area lost and total PAFs affected.<sup>125</sup>

Considering the number of people to be relocated, implementation of a progressive R&R policy that specifies five acres of irrigated land to each PAF would be easier in Gujarat than in any other state. In states where land-for-land compensation is not a viable option, cash compensation will be awarded, as has been the case of the oustees displaced by the Indira Sagar Dam (Sharma 2005). Comparing these costs and benefits of the SSP across the four states adds another dimension to the universal application of Gujarat's R&R policy.

In addition, **Chapter 8** demonstrated that the rate of change (i.e., household improvement) for a particular group does not necessarily translate into happiness. Some groups might have had higher expectations before resettlement of what the R&R process might bring. For instance, Tadvis experienced a higher rate of change in comparison to Rathwas (6.4 versus 5.2, respectively). However, they appeared to be less happy. About 25% of Tadvi households were "happy" with resettlement in comparison to 94% of Rathwa households. In cases where groups have high expectations, either due to existing conditions or false information or rumours about expected benefits, implementing an R&R policy becomes challenging irrespective of its progressive nature. It helps explain why some PAFs have experienced

---

<sup>125</sup> The estimated total area lost increased to 37,533 ha and the number of PAFs increased to 41,440 (SSNNL 2005b). Whilst Gujarat relocates only 11% of the total number of PAFs, it gains about 96% of the benefit in terms of total annual irrigation. In comparison, Madhya Pradesh could relocate up to 80% of the total PAFs within the state, but is not expected to gain any benefits in terms of irrigation potential.

improvements in their livelihoods post-resettlement, and why others may have joined the anti-dam movement.

Based on the research undertaken in this thesis, a number of suggestions are made to improve the implementation of Gujarat's R&R policy and its provisions in certain areas. These include:

- (i) Complement the savings scheme for women with a self-initiated income-generating venture that would provide them with a steady source of income for savings purposes.
- (ii) Increase access to training opportunities for women by removing barriers to participation (e.g., flexible hours for training, stipend, relevant training for women and gender-balanced training groups).
- (iii) Consider the need for grazing land when developing an R&R policy and preparing an R&R action plan.
- (iv) Develop a training programme that trains herders in another livelihood activity. For instance, if land-for-land is the basis of an R&R policy, sufficient resources should be allocated to train herders in agricultural production.
- (v) Disseminate lessons learned from R&R experience in Gujarat for R&R implementation in the remaining two states of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh that are also affected by the SSP.

## **10.5. Lessons Learned for Future R&R Policy Development**

The following general lessons are learned for future work in R&R policy work based on this evaluation of Gujarat's R&R policy. Some of these

lessons were useful in conducting this evaluation, whilst others, if available, would have helped improve the evaluation.

- (i) Strong political commitment and capacity by the government helped contribute to the appropriateness of an R&R policy and its effective implementation (i.e., comprehensive policy, effective implementing authority, grievances redressal procedures, consistent implementation of provisions and resource allocations). In addition, amendments to increase the representation of resettlers in political meetings, such as the amendment made to Section 98 of Gujarat's Panchayat Act of 1993, will facilitate their integration into the host society.
- (ii) A comprehensive impact assessment, which includes a complete poverty and social analysis, provided sufficient information on the characteristics of the population being affected by displacement and resettlement. For instance, the monograph reports by Joshi and CSS are based on socio-economic surveys conducted prior to the commencement of physical relocation in Gujarat. Such an analysis is useful in determining the appropriate rehabilitation measures, in consultation with the affected population. The analysis also helps in establishing baseline indicators for future monitoring (i.e., pre-resettlement socio-economic surveys).
- (iii) A comprehensive gender analysis that includes sex-disaggregated data of socio-economic variables would have helped to highlight the cumulative impacts of formulating a gender-biased R&R policy. Such an analysis would provide information on the multiple roles of women, their access to



and control over resources, their decision-making abilities, et cetera. The analysis would also help investigate individual effects of displacement and resettlement on men and women. Common assumptions about the distribution of benefits within households can be highlighted and avoided for future policy work. Moreover, provisional safeguards to protect different gender interests and ensure integration of different gender strategies can be considered.

- (iv) A broad cost-benefit analysis should be undertaken to determine the costs and benefits of the project for each stakeholder. This is especially important for infrastructure projects that span across more than one state boundary. This would have provided the feasibility of awarding every PAF with five acres of land.
- (v) Cost estimates and financing plans of infrastructure projects should reflect the true costs of R&R to help implementing agencies better cope with R&R and its associated costs. A true reflection of the costs associated with land acquisition and resettlement would have flagged the costs to the government from the start. A contingency would provide the cushion between projected and actual costs.
- (vi) A stakeholder analysis and a plan for effective public participation during policy design and implementation will divert resistance movements, avoid project delays, help identify specific needs and provide appropriate mitigation and rehabilitation measures. However, resistance is important in shifting participation from being mere consultation to involvement.

- (vii) Measures that help PAPs maintain control of their lives post-resettlement should be sought during project design, and should be in line with their desired livelihood outcomes. For instance, providing land compensation to all PAFs irrespective of previous landholdings helped to reduce household disparities and financial insecurity after resettlement. Giving PAPs the choice to select their resettlement site and relocation unit allows them to maintain their social networks. Developing site infrastructure and amenities provides the incentive for PAPs to move, especially those who are searching for better opportunities.
- (viii) Planning and implementation of the R&R policy should be *ad hoc* and *pari passu* so that the policy provides the framework for R&R implementation with some flexibility to adjust to different needs and types of mitigation measures required.
- (ix) An internal and external monitor should be contracted to provide an independent evaluation of the R&R progress. In the case of the SSP, research institutions were used to monitor resettlement activities. The anti-dam organisation, NBA, also helped ensure that policy provisions were translated into actions.

The above lessons can be drawn based on this doctoral research and are instrumental to future R&R policy design and implementation. Some academics and practitioners have also cited similar lessons in their works on involuntary resettlement, which include Cernea (1997: 11), Koenig (2001, cited in de Wet 2002: 7) and Parasuraman (1999: 265-66). According to

Parasuraman (1999), a number of lessons could have been drawn from Gujarat's R&R policy for the India's national R&R policy: "A nationwide R&R policy [for India] should attempt to replicate Gujarat's livelihood regeneration provisions for the SSP-displaced with some modifications and with substantial safeguards to ensure implementation" (Parasuraman 1999: 250-51). Discussion on the NPRR-2003 in **Chapter 2** draws on some the lessons learned from previous projects. For instance, NPRR-2003 aims at presenting the "basic norms and packages in the shape of a Policy" (GOI 2004: Paragraph 1.3), but does not mention entitlements for PAFs without legal land titles. The NPRR-2003 falls short in some areas of key PAP entitlements (i.e., it does not consider relations between resettled communities and host populations).

Infrastructure projects that entail land acquisition and involuntary resettlement should include a complete assessment and inventory of the losses to determine (i) the categories of people affected, (ii) important stakeholders, (iii) necessary provisions required to mitigate any losses, (iv) appropriate rehabilitation provision to offset any cumulative impacts on the livelihoods of those affected and (v) realistic cost estimates. Pivotal to any assessment would be the role of PAPs in safeguarding the re-establishment of their own livelihoods post-resettlement through consultations and participatory actions.

## *Appendix A*

### TIMETABLE FOR FIELD RESEARCH, 2000-2001

#### **Data Collection Process**

September 2000: Arrived in India and immediately began establishing contacts with resident experts in the area of resettlement and rehabilitation. Began the site selection process.

October–  
November 2000: Period of cultural adjustment, which included becoming accustomed to the Indian Education System. Began to review Indian literature on resettlement, gender relations and patriarchy. Also reviewed statistics put forward by the government, private institutions and NGOs. Determined study population and sample size.

November–  
December 2000: Developed a household questionnaire for a complete resettlement site census. Combed through the methodological issues and problems associated with administering the questionnaire. Field-tested the questionnaire and made necessary revisions.

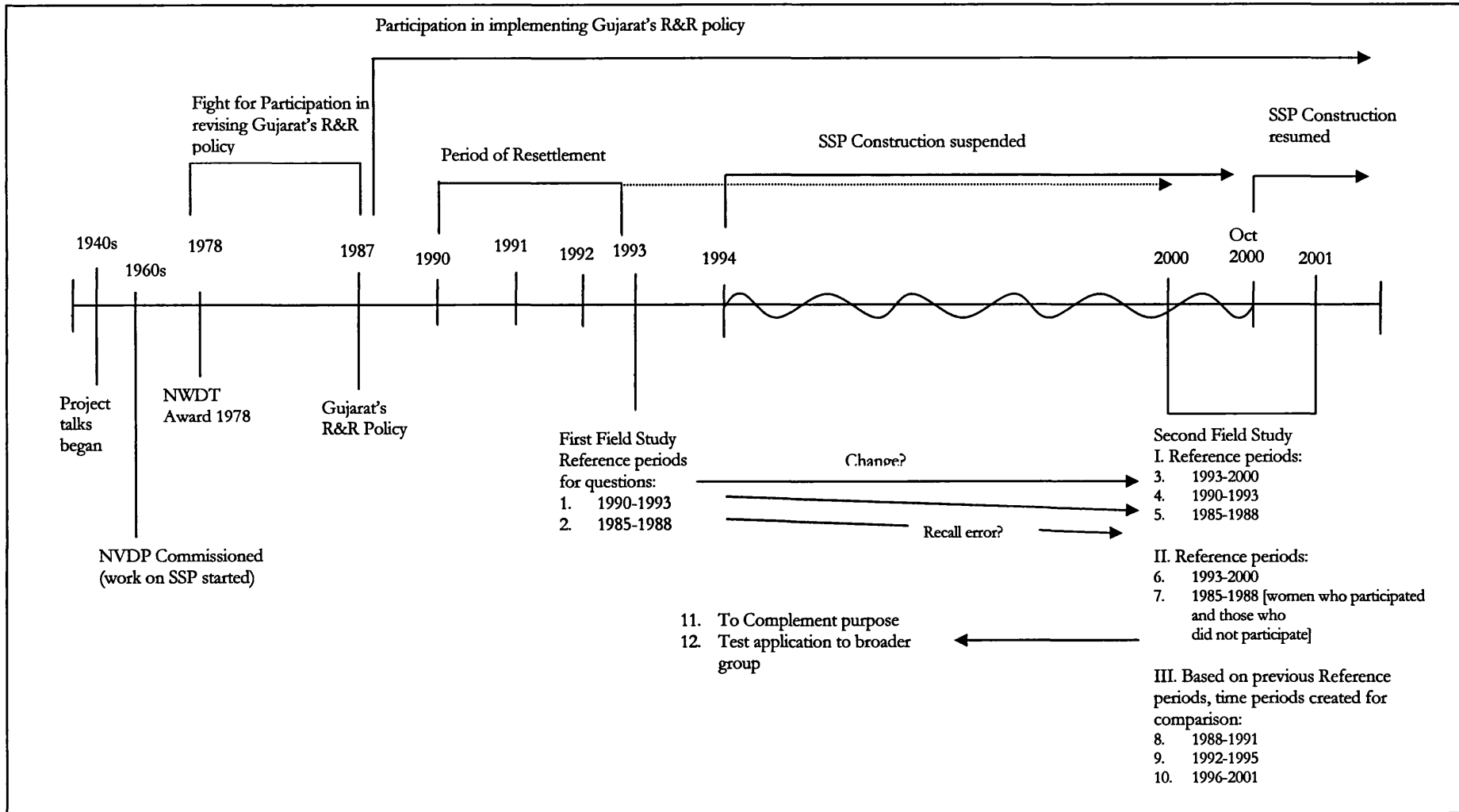
Mid—  
December 2000: Began administering the household questionnaire.

January 2001: Continued data collection.

February 2001: Developed and finalised the gender assessment questionnaire. Began administering the second questionnaire for sample.

March 2001: Completed all data collection. Returned to London by the end of the month.

# Situation of 2000-2001 Field Research



NVDP=Narmada Valley Development Project; NWDAT=Narmada Waters Dispute Tribunal; R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation; SSP=Sardar Sarovar Project.  
 Source: Field research (2000-2001).

DETAILS OF THE FIVE STAGES OF PARTICIPATION<sup>1</sup>

The right to participate in the formulation of Gujarat's Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) policy can be delineated into five levels of participation.

**Five Stages of Participation**

1. Learning process
2. Exchange of information
3. Self-mobilisation
4. Collaboration —methods of protest
5. Right to implement choice

Effective participation requires not only free flow of information at all stages, but also a clear set of operating rules that are understood and adhered by all parties, and appropriate skills in order to “operate on equal terms in open-ended negotiation process where outcomes emerge from the process” (Koenig 2001, cited in de Wet 2002: 8). The first stage is the *learning process* where project-affected persons (PAPs) initially become aware of the project. When information and skills are lacking, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) play an instrumental role in informing PAPs of the situation and the available options. An *exchange of information* to and from the PAPs is a must, which Cernea (1996b) claims to be a prerequisite. The NGOs should then step aside and *allow the community members to mobilise themselves* and determine their plan of action based on the information that is available to the PAPs.

PAPs need to decide whether to resist the development project itself, seek ways of countering the adverse effects of the project or improve the provisions that are already prescribed for R&R purposes. After communities have taken a stance, NGOs and local communities are then able to *work in*

---

<sup>1</sup> This section is based on my Field research in 1997. Steps leading to the R&R policy are important, as they highlight the active involvement of PAPs during policy revision.

*unison* towards achieving common objectives, which should have been predetermined by PAPs. Tactics that are employed at this stage can be either violent or non-violent, and legal or illegal in nature (Oliver-Smith 1991). The final stage is the implementation of the right to choose, which is gained during the resistance, but is implemented in the selection of site location, resettlement land and relocation unit. This section will introduce these five stages, leaving the core of the thesis to focus on the fifth stage — implementation of choice.

### **Stage 1: The Learning Process**

The first stage is called the *learning process* where PAPs initially become aware of the project. In instances where PAPs of the Narmada Valley did not know about the dam, they were informed by ARCH-Vahini and other NGOs during the early 1980s. NGOs were instrumental in informing displacees of the R&R situation and available options. During interviews in 1993, PAPs expressed uncertainty, scepticism and fear when they realised in 1980 that a dam was going to be built.

A Tadvi male resettler at **Site C** recalled how he had witnessed workers drilling rocks at the dam site. He remembers asking a surveyor if they were mining for precious metal (i.e., gold or silver). This Tadvi was sceptical about the occurrences, but when the large machines were brought in, his doubts turned to fear (Anonymous 1993j).

Another male resettler, a Bhil at **Site A**, remembers hearing dynamite explosions near his house in the interior village. He asked wanderers and/or passers-by what was happening. The thought of constructing such a “bridge” across the massive and sacred Narmada River was inconceivable (Anonymous 1993e).

A Tadvi male resettler at Site C learned of the dam project when ARCH-Vahini visited his village in the interior regions of the Valley. They informed him and others of possible relocation without the provision of replacement land. Farming was the only trade they knew so land was essential (Anonymous 1993h).

## **Stage 2: Exchange of Information**

Exchange of information can take place at various levels and the flow of information can be in both directions. It is critical for community mobilisation and collaborative efforts amongst multiple stakeholders. Activists in the Valley helped to inform the PAPs about the particulars related to the dam, submergence area, compensation and other rehabilitation provisions. Similarly, villagers have provided information to government and R&R agencies in the form of surveys; in such cases, information about the socio-economic status of households facing submergence and the level of development (i.e., physical infrastructure and social amenities) in the Valley was relayed back to the authorities.

Resistance is more prevalent when information exchange is prevented. When a large dam project threatens a community's socio-economic and cultural existence, inhabitants respond by mobilising themselves into an opposition. This resistance may be against the project *per se* or its existing resettlement process. Resettlers will react to fear, lack of information and loss of control over their lives. For example, the GOG enforced the Official Secrets Act in the vicinity of Kevadia Colony and the dam site until the late 1980s. This prohibited the media, PAPs and activists from having access to records (i.e., site plans), meeting construction workers and examining construction material at the site (Sheth 1991: 13). Parasuraman (1999: 238) asserts that the government found itself unable to fulfil people's demands and incapable of improving the R&R provisions; the



situation intensified when the government stopped accepting data collected by villagers and activists.

Whilst NGOs have been instrumental in facilitating access to information and filling the communication gaps, they have also hampered the process (Gill 1995). Responses of PAPs to the R&R differ largely due to the type of and manner in which information is communicated to them by different NGOs (Hakim 1997). Access to information will influence displacedes' attitudes toward resettlement and their perception of the government; in some instances, information has been manipulated by NGOs for their own self-gain and progress. In one instance, PAPs from Madhya Pradesh came to ARCH seeking resettlement assistance in April 1992 (Patel 1997). These PAPs wanted to relocate onto forestlands but had not been informed that the GOI had released the Taloda forest for relocation purposes as far back as June 1990.

Instances involving NGOs lead to the question of accountability (Mayo and Craig 1995: 7). Identifying the mechanisms that allow the public to hold NGOs accountable for what they do versus what they preach is challenging (Oakley 1997). It is difficult to monitor and mandate NGOs, especially when the media may successfully perpetuate an ideal that may no longer exist for an NGO. In a recent opinion piece in the *Times of India*, the author confused terms such as "movement" and "empowerment of the people" (Iyer 2000). The author proceeded to make broad conclusions about NGOs, movements and the empowerment of people, including the role of leaders and NGOs in sustaining a movement aimed at the empowerment of the people. "Leaders in power" are fundamental in gaining the right to participate in policy. They are agents of change who define the space for dialogue and education. Multinational presidents, government officials, NGO activists, community leaders or even heads of households set parameters for participation and consultation at multi-levels (e.g., international, community or household).

“Empowerment of the people” is a self-reflection process that cannot be headed by an organised movement. As a result of that process, empowerment is aimed at improving one’s own condition and used to achieve broader development change (Smulovitz et al., 2003). It is not a lobby group with a “leader” but rather a collective process that is initiated from within a resistance group and developed with the aid of NGOs.<sup>2</sup>

### Stage 3: Self-Mobilisation

Effective mobilisation requires “a democratic and pluralistic climate with a free flow of information” (Oliver-Smith 2001, cited in de Wet 2002: 9). In the case of the SSP, PAPs mobilised themselves into a resistance once they became aware of the dam project. This resistance, which in itself can be seen as a form of empowerment, takes two forms: some PAPs will choose to fight for a better R&R policy, whilst others will choose to join the anti-dam campaign. The level of information to which PAPs have access influences both forms. Resettlers who fought against the dam were mostly *adivasis* from Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra who were unable to resettle on forestland. Those who chose to fight for a better R&R package rationalised the consequences of displacement (Mehta 1993). Some Tadvi resettlers recalled how victory could not have been won without a strong community bond and an effective local leader (Focus Group Discussion 1993a).

During this mobilisation stage, ARCH’s role remained peripheral. The NGO played a more significant and instrumental role in

*If the government does not give in, then we go into the forest. Strong about what we wanted. Dam is built, lakhs of people will benefit. We live so near...should at least benefit as much if not more (Anonymous 1993a).*

---

<sup>2</sup> “Empowerment of the people” is not run by the NGOs themselves, as their missions tend to change to accommodate new areas of need and assistance. Whilst “the chief aim of NGOs should be their own abolition” (Anonymous 2000a: 28), the anti-dam organisation “as the momentum of the movement grew, the functioning of the NBA became somewhat less democratic and participatory” (Singh 1997).

guiding the PAPs during the seven-year struggle that followed this stage. However, other activists took a more influential role. For instance, Hakim (1997) presents an instance when a few men from a submergence village in Gujarat went to visit the exuberant leader of the anti-dam movement in Ahmedabad around 1987:

*She kept us up all night talking about the dam and how we must stop it from coming up. Sure, we all dream that the dam will not happen. But we realize it is a dream. We have to prepare for the reality...We sympathize with Meghaben's [Medha's] movement...If she changed her approach and instead worked for improving certain problems we are having with this policy...then all the tribals in the valley would support her (Hakim 1997: 140).*

This helps to explain the different reactions of PAPs to Gujarat's R&R policy and the variations in the rehabilitation success post-displacement. For example, PAPs who decided to participate for improved provisions affiliated themselves with the respective resistance movements: anti-dam (i.e., NBA) or pro-resettlement (i.e., ARCH-Vahini). Some have changed affiliation a number of times during the course of the R&R process to suit their needs and concerns.

#### **Stage 4: Collaboration —Methods of Protest**

People affected by development projects employ various methods of protest in order to express their resistance to a situation. These methods can be grouped into two broad categories: violent or non-violent, and legal or illegal (Oliver-Smith 1991). Room for dialogue is created when people are able to gather and discuss the development project and their fate, and is essential when deciding the methods. In such instances, internal and external relationships change whereby social distinctions (i.e., age, caste and class) cease to exist as obstacles within a community. With the assistance and guidance of local NGOs, PAPs are given the means by which to mobilise,

organise a platform for resistance and communicate their needs to the government and project authorities.

During the R&R struggle in Gujarat, the methods of protest included writ petitions in the Gujarat's High Court and in India's Supreme Court, letter writing campaigns, rallies and marches and artistic expressions of resistance. These tactics were directly related to the objectives of the resistance movement. For instance, songs and chants depicting self-efficiency, self-respect, tribal independence and assertiveness were mentioned as viable tactics (Parasuraman 1999: 238). The type of government, external players and events, and the growing resistance to large dam projects worldwide also influenced the nature of protest methods used.

The rally that took place on 8 March 1984 is an illustration of one of the many tactics that Gujarati PAPs used: a rally from the village of Vadgam (located near the dam site) to the project authorities offices in Kevadia Colony was organised by a large number of PAPs from the Narmada Valley and local NGOs. Their demands were simple: a minimum of five acres of land for every PAP, irrespective of previous landholdings and titles.

The march was 10 km long and took place along the banks of the Narmada River. Mehta (1992: 129) notes, "the march of 1984 of all 19 Gujarat villages forced the government of Gujarat to raise the compensation as well as a minimum of five acres (two hectares) to each PAP. Many villagers [have] acknowledge[d] the importance of this decision and the role played by the NGOs notably Arch Vahini." A memorandum was presented at the end, which included their requests to the GOG (ARCH-Vahini 1988b). Within a month, the minister of irrigation (also an *Adivasi*) verbally promised a minimum of five acres for every PAP —encroachers, landless and sons aged 18 and older.

A Tadvi female resettler recalled shouting the slogan: “*panch acre ka zamin, nabin to dam nabin*” (“five acres of land, otherwise no dam!”). She recalls how the slogan started as a mere phrase and ended as a chant of protest and anger (Anonymous 1993g). A Rathwa female resettler stayed at home but recalled how stories about the rally were enthusiastically repeated several months afterwards (Anonymous 1993f). The effect the 1984 rally had on raising the consciousness of PAPs about their rights and duties as equal beneficiaries of the SSP was significant (Vir 1997).

*Panch acre ka zamin...  
...nabin to dam nabin!*

The rally came at a time when public show of resistance was crucial in increasing pressure on GOG and the project authority: “the last thing it [GOG] wanted, at that time of delicate negotiations with the World Bank, was this organised show of strength on the part of tribals who were refusing the government’s insignificant favors” (Patel 1997: 74). In May 1985, the World Bank signed a Loan Agreement conditional to certain provisions based on three key events: (i) the rally at Kevadia Colony, (ii) Scudder’s recommendations after his World Bank Mission and (iii) a formal letter addressed to the Bank stating the demands of the PAPs. The loan referred to encroachers as landless PAPs, and emphasised the need to resettle the landless in either the agricultural or non-agricultural sector. Moreover, it stressed that PAPs of the Valley should be entitled to a stable means of livelihood (Patel 1997).

During the same time, the ill fate of the PAPs displaced by the World Bank-funded Sobradinho hydroelectric scheme in Brazil had raised cautionary flags against the adverse social consequences of large dams. Brazil in the 1960s was under a repressive military regime, which allowed little room for resistance or participation in policy formulation. The Sobradinho was initiated in the late 1960s and was the first in a pair of projects constructed on the São Francisco River in Northeast Brazil. By 1979, it had displaced about 50,000 landholders, sharecroppers and other rural people, of which about

20,000 people received replacement land on newly irrigated plots. The remainder experienced extreme poverty as they were given no compensation and were left to resettle and rehabilitate themselves (Hall 1992; McCully 1996).

By 1980, the World Bank guidelines on R&R were drafted and have since undergone a number of revisions. The adverse affects and difficulties brought about by the Sobradinho scheme on the local people alerted other PAPs who would soon be facing displacement by the Itaparica hydroelectric project of their possible fate. The Itaparica project was located about 200 km downstream and was the second in the pair of dams to be constructed on the São Francisco River. Construction on the dam started in 1978, a year before the sluice gates of the Sobradinho dam were closed. The need for adequate compensation and rehabilitation provisions had never been so urgent and apparent.

Central to the demands put forth by the Itaparica-affected persons was the need to participate and collaborate with the Catholic Church, local NGOs and local trade unions (Hall 1993). The agents of participation were clearly the PAPs themselves. In addition, the Catholic Church and *Polo Sindical do Submédio São Francisco* (Polosindical) —a federation of 13 rural trade unions—respectively created room for dialogue and worked on redesigning the relocation plans in favour of the rural population. With the end of the military rule in 1985, the Brazilian authority invited the World Bank to prepare the “Itaparica Resettlement and Irrigation Project” in mid-1986. However, as a result of the Brazilian government’s neglect to establish dialogue with Polosindical, thousands of PAPs occupied the dam site and paralysed operations in 1986 (Hall 1992).

The PAPs of the Itaparica and the SSP merely reasserted the need for an adequate R&R policy. The demands of PAPs worldwide were similar —it did not matter whether they were individuals being ousted by the Itaparica

project or by the SSP. The Itaparica PAPs voiced the need to gain (i) access to the plans and maps of the project authority, (ii) land titles for all farmers, (iii) full and fair compensation, (iv) land adjacent to the reservoir for the relocation of all displacees and (v) post-agricultural production support services and social infrastructure (Hall 1992).

Whilst the numbers of resettlers varied, in principle, PAPs in Brazil and in India fought for the right to participate in determining an adequate R&R package. Using similar methods, PAPs in Brazil and India both influenced the World Bank's decision to adopt more rigid R&R guidelines. For instance, the Morse Commission (or the World Bank's Independent Review) created additional pressure on the Bank to conduct a review of the projects it funded from 1986-1993, which was published in 1996. Moreover, other resistance movements to Bank-financed dams worldwide during the mid-1980s may have equally pressured the Bank to consider socially adverse consequences of the projects it funds. However, it is difficult to attain documentation of other resistance movements surrounding dam projects in the 1980s.

### **Stage 5: Implementation of Choice**

After a series of GOG resolutions, the R&R policy stands as outlined in the previous section of this chapter. A "formal victory" had been declared for Gujarati PAPs affected by the SSP upon the passing of GOG Resolution in December 1987 (ARCH-Vahini 1988b). Some reservoir-affected PAPs had succeeded in their fight to participate in the R&R policy process. Whilst victory was won on paper, PAPs faced yet another challenge: the need to continue participating in policy implementation. Endorsed by the GOG:

*...the plan for Resettlement and Rehabilitation of the Oustees shall ensure adequate participation by the oustees... (GOG 1985: Preamble, section 2).*

Validity of individual choice was another concern expressed by PAPs. The degree of choice in relocation depends upon amicable conditions in which policy is implemented. It is based on land availability for resettlement, which was deemed impossible. Once the GOG was willing to purchase fertile land on the open market from landowners, the issue was dismissed. Similarly, societal dynamics also influence and, in some cases, determine individual choice. For example, a Vasava male resettler told us that he did not have a choice to relocate with the resettlement unit he wished, but other members from the resettlement unit mentioned that they had exercised their choice by not including him.

Viewpoints clash on the issue of participation, implementation and sustainability. In cases where oustees are unhappy with the implementation of the policy post-resettlement, they have been known to return to their original villages (Bhatia 1993, 1997a). In some instances, they may join the anti-dam campaign. Patel (1997: 85) argues that since the early 1990s, about 4,300 out of 4,500 families have resettled in Gujarat and the results have been “positive.” Similarly, Joshi (1997: 176-77) cites a figure of 7,000 PAPs. Whilst Bhatia (1993: 69) has little doubt that the R&R package is a “liberal package,” she asserts that within the context of implementation, “no consultation with the PAPs has taken place from the very inception of the project as well as at every stage of the project.” Bhatia also expressed this sentiment in her written correspondence to me on 28 August 1997 (Bhatia 1997b). Mehta (1992) feels that very few perceive themselves as project beneficiaries:

*...relocation did not appear to be voluntary. Relocation has turned people into passive recipients of a fate determined by the government which is perceived to be omnipotent. Participation in what [was] supposed to be a development project was minimal. There was no prior consultation (Mehta 1992: 192).*



The government made no “voluntary” effort to consult tribals as an “equal party” in project planning and development. The inequalities that are embedded in society and the relationships governing those inequalities restrict governments and project authorities from considering them as primary stakeholders. Whilst the particular character of the state —democratic or authoritarian —will determine the conditions of resistance, the capacity of the oustees to aspire or envision alternatives is necessary for generating choice and action (Smulovitz et al., 2003: 10). These aspirations to consider different future possibilities are what force PAPs to challenge the process of resettlement, making relocation more voluntary through the increased need for choice.

It is important to recognise the variations in the quality of rehabilitation received by PAPs. If we assume that tribals are not a homogeneous entity, then we accept that there are differentiating characteristics amongst the relocating groups (e.g., economic, social, cultural and political). Ousteas will not have the same experience with resettlement and variations are unavoidable. Furthermore, if we accept that a number of players are involved in the R&R process (i.e., central/state governments, NGOs, funding agencies, local landowners and private stakeholders) then we presume that each will have its own agendas. Delays in policy implementation are bound to occur as stakeholders have different interests and needs.

Patwardhan (2000) asserts that it has taken 15 years to resettle close to 25% of the families displaced by the SSP reservoir (cited in Bhatia 1997a: 12). Such a claim is misleading for during those 15 years (1981-1996), a number of external events took place: the NWDT Award was issued in 1978, people were notified of submergence during the early 1980s, the people’s struggle in Gujarat began around 1984, victory was won in 1987 and relocation and resettlement began as late as 1988. It must also be noted that construction on the dam was stalled from 1993 until 2000. During this time, politics surrounding the SSP changed: there was a change in parties of the national

government, the agency responsible for R&R underwent restructuring and the unit responsible for rehabilitation also experienced a change in leadership (Patel 2001).

*Appendix C*

HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

<b>IDENTIFICATION</b>			
<b>State:</b>	Gujarat	1	
<b>District:</b>	Vadodara	1	
<b>Taluka:</b>	Dabhoi	1	
	Sankheda	2	
	Tilakvada	3	
<b>Vasahat:</b>	Dhalnagar	1	
	Golagamdi	2	
	Simaliya	3	
	Sinor Road	4	
	Vadaj I	5	
	Vadaj II	6	
<b>Household Number:</b>			<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
<b>Chulha Number:</b>			<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
<b>SSPA Plot Number:</b>			<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

Number of Chulhas in House: \_\_\_\_\_

Relationship amongst the Chulhas: \_\_\_\_\_

HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

**Permission:**

Kem chho, my name is \_\_\_\_\_, and I am working with Anupmaben from MS University in Vadodara. We are conducting a survey on general issues about your family and your vasahat. Anupmaben is not affiliated with the government, with ARCH Vahini or the NBA. She is a Ph.D. student from London who is interested in hearing about your stories and experiences. She visited the vasahats around Dabhoi 7 years ago, and is now interested to learn more about your experiences.

At this time, I would like to gather some basic information about your family so that Anupmaben may come back later to talk to you in more detail. Your names and answers will be kept confidential and will not be shared with any official or groups. The findings from this survey will be presented collectively, and will be used to give a background information on the conditions pre- and post-resettlement.

We would very much appreciate your participation in this survey, and hope you will agree to participate. Do you have any questions that you would like to ask me? Would you like to continue with the interview?

- DISAGREE → End survey
- AGREE → Continue with survey

**Notes/Comments:**

- INCOMPLETE → Could not complete survey due to:
- Description of area (information used to locate house again): \_\_\_\_\_

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

***General Background Information on Respondent\****

\* Ask to speak to either the head of the household and/or a person who is 18 years or older.

Question	Answers	Codes	Action
<b>1. Name of Respondent:</b>	Name:		
<b>2. Designation of Respondent:</b>	None Muktiya of Vasahat Member of Vasahat Samiti Punarvasvat Saathi Panchayat Invitee Panchayat Member  Other (specify) _____	0 1 2 3 4 5  8	
<b>3. Sex of Respondent</b>	Female Male	1 2	
<b>4. Tribal Group of Respondent:</b>	Dungri Bhil Goval Nayka Rathwa Tadvi Vasava  Other (specify) _____ Do not know	1 2 3 4 5 6  8 9	

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	Action				
5. Religious Sect of Respondent:	None Ramadi Swaminarayan Sathkawal Kabir Panth Teachings of Vishwanath Guru Hindu Muslim  Other (specify) _____ Do not know	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  8 9					
6. Year of resettlement:	<table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="width: 20px; text-align: center;">9</td> <td style="width: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px;"></td> </tr> </table>	1	9				
1	9						
7. Submergence Village:	Hanfeshwar Ferakada Gadher Kadada Makadkhada Mokhadi Navagam Turkheda Panchmuli Vadgam  Other (specify) _____	01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10  88					
8. Falia							

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	Action
9. What is the major dialect spoken inside your home?	English	0	
	Dungri Bhili	1	
	Gandi Gujarati	2	
	Gujarati	3	
	Hindi	4	
	Muslim Bholi	5	
	Naykai	6	
	Rathwa Bholi	7	
	Other (specify) _____	8	
Do not know	9		

*House-Listing: Chart on Household Members*

Question	Answers	Codes	Action
10. Complete the attached chart. List all members of the household.			
11. Are there any other persons (e.g., small infants or babies) that we have missed?	No	0	
	Yes	1	→ Add to chart
12. Are there any household members who have moved here with you but are now dead?	No	0	
	Yes	1	→ Add to chart with 'D'
13. Are there any household members who moved with you but no longer live with you? (e.g., sons or married daughters)?	No	0	
	Yes	1	→ Add and 'RE' next to name
14. Have there been any miscarriages or births in the family that have resulted in death?	No	0	→ 17.
	Yes, how many _____	1	



**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	Action
15. How many occurred before resettlement?	None 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	
16. How many occurred after resettlement?	None 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	
17. Are any of the females pregnant now?	No Yes	0 1	→ 'EM' next to name
18. Are there any non-family members who <u>permanently</u> reside with you in the house?	No Yes	0 1	→ Add and 'PR' next to name
19. Do you have any visitors, guests, or family members that are <u>temporarily</u> living with you (e.g., pregnant daughters who have come for delivery)?	No Yes	0 1	→ Add and 'TR' next to name
20. If any son's marriages took place in the vasahat, where did their wives come from?  <i>Multiple Answers Possible</i>  <u>Number of Marriages:</u> _____	None Bhadarpur Dabhoi Host village Same vasahat  Other vasahat (specify) _____ Do not know	0 1 2 3 4  8 9	

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	Action
<b>21. If any daughter's marriages took place in the vasahat, where did they marry?</b>  <i>Multiple Answers Possible</i>  <b>Number of Marriages:</b> _____	None	0	
	Bhadarpur	1	
	Dabhoi	2	
	Host village	3	
	Same vasahat	4	
	Other vasahat (specify) _____	8	
	Do not know	9	
<b>22. Did any member participate in wage labour before resettlement?</b>	No	0	
	Yes	1	→ Add 'WL' next to name
	Do not know	9	

<b>D = Dead</b>	<b>RE = Resides Elsewhere</b>	<b>EM = Expected Mother</b>	<b>PR = Permanent</b>	<b>TR = Temporary</b>	<b>WL = Wage Labour</b>
-----------------	-------------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-------------------------

*Comments:*

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Name	General Member Information				Literacy				Education						Employment (Ages 10+)				End
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	Relation	Sex <sup>1</sup>	Age	Marital Status <sup>2</sup>	Can s/he sign <sup>3</sup>	Where did s/he learn to sign <sup>4</sup>	Can s/he read <sup>3</sup>	Can s/he write <sup>3</sup>	Did/does s/e attend school <sup>3</sup>	Yes			No	Why not	Does s/he work <sup>3</sup>	Nature of work (multiple)	Earns cash or kinds	Is it regular work <sup>3</sup>	
Where did s/he start <sup>4</sup>										Standard	Currently attending <sup>3</sup>	If no, why							
01. Head of Family:																			
02.																			
03.																			
04.																			
05.																			
06.																			
07.																			

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Name	General Member Information				Literacy				Education						Employment (Ages 10+)				End
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	Relation	Sex <sup>1</sup>	Age	Marital Status <sup>2</sup>	Can s/he sign <sup>3</sup>	Where did s/he learn to sign <sup>4</sup>	Can s/he read <sup>3</sup>	Can s/he write <sup>3</sup>	Did/does s/e attend school <sup>3</sup>	Yes			No	Does s/he work <sup>3</sup>	Nature of work (multiple)	Earns cash or kind <sup>5</sup>	Is it regular work <sup>3</sup>		
Where did s/he start <sup>4</sup>										Standard	Currently attending <sup>3</sup>	If no, why	Why not						
08.																			
09.																			
10.																			
11.																			

<p><sup>1</sup><b>Sex:</b> 1 = Female 2 = Male</p>	<p><sup>2</sup><b>Marital Status:</b> 1 = Married in village 2 = Married in vasahat 3 = Separated in village 4 = Separated in vasahat 5 = Divorced in village 6 = Divorced in vasahat 7 = Widowed in village 8 = Widowed in vasahat 9 = Not married</p>	<p><sup>3</sup><b>No/Yes:</b> 0 = No 1 = Yes</p>	<p><sup>4</sup><b>Location:</b> 0 = In village 1 = In vasahat</p>	<p><sup>5</sup><b>Cash/Kind:</b> 1 = Cash 2 = Kind 3 = Both</p>
--	---	--	---	---

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

***Living conditions: Before and After Resettlement\****

\*Ask the following questions regarding the family's current living conditions in the vasahat, and then again regarding their previous living conditions in their original villages.

Question	Answers	NOW (Vasahat)	BEFORE (Village)
<p>23. What type of <u>housing structure</u> does the household live in?</p> <p><i>Note Observations (e.g., phone, TV, Ceiling fans, etc.)</i></p> <p><u>Observations:</u></p>	Kachcha Semi-pucca Pucca Tin shed	1 → 25. 2 3 4 → 25.	1 → 25. 2 3 4 → 25.
24. What year did you start construction?	19 _ _	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
<p>25. Does the household own any other house?</p> <p><u>*Where:</u></p> <p><u>**Where:</u></p>	No Yes  Do not know	0 → 27. 1*  9	0 → 27. 1**  9
26. What type of structure is it?	Kachcha Semi-Pucca Pucca Tin Shed	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	NOW (Vasahat)	BEFORE (Village)
<p>27. What is the main source of <u>water</u>?</p> <p><i>Select One Answer – Note any alternative sources below</i></p> <p>*Specify other: _____</p> <p>**Specify other: _____</p>	<p>Narmada Mata Stream Ravine Canal Tube well Tank Bore well Hand pump Piped water (into home)</p> <p>Other (specify)* Do not know</p>	<p>01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09</p> <p>88* 99</p>	<p>01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09</p> <p>88** 99</p>
<p>28. What is the main source of <u>fuel for cooking</u>?</p> <p><i>Select One Answer – Note any alternative sources below</i></p> <p>*Specify other: _____</p> <p>**Specify other: _____</p>	<p>Cow dung Twigs/wood Weeds Crop residue Kerosene Cylinder Gas Gober Gas (bio-gas)</p> <p>Other (specify)* Do not know</p>	<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</p> <p>8* 9</p>	<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</p> <p>8** 9</p>

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	NOW (Vasahat)	BEFORE (Village)
<p>29. What is the main source of <u>fuel for heating</u>?</p> <p><i>Select One Answer – Note any alternative sources below</i></p> <p>*Specify other: _____</p> <p>**Specify other: _____</p>	<p>Cow dung Twigs/wood Weeds Crop residue Kerosene Cylinder Gas Gober Gas (bio-gas)</p> <p>Other (specify)* Do not know</p>	<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8* 9</p>	<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8** 9</p>
<p>30. If your household has <u>surplus</u>, where do you go to sell it?</p> <p><i>Select One Answer – Note any alternative sources below</i></p> <p>*Specify other: _____</p> <p>**Specify other: _____</p>	<p>No surplus Shops in vasahat or old village Nearby towns (specify)</p> <p>Other (specify)* Do not know</p>	<p>0 1 2 _____ 8* 9</p>	<p>0 1 2 _____ 8** 9</p>
<p>31. What type of <u>toilet</u> facilities does the household have?</p> <p>*Specify other: _____</p> <p>**Specify other: _____</p>	<p>None Flush toilet Pit toilet or latrine</p> <p>Other (specify)* Do not know</p>	<p>0 1 2 8* 9</p>	<p>0 1 2 8** 9</p>

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	NOW (Vasahat)	BEFORE (Village)
<p><b>32. Where is the toilet facility?</b></p> <p><b>*Specify other:</b> _____</p> <p><b>**Specify other:</b> _____</p>	<p>In private (at home)</p> <p>Shared facility (with a few)</p> <p>Public (bush or field)</p> <p>Other (specify)*</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>8*</p> <p>9</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>8**</p> <p>9</p>
<p><b>33. Where does your household <u>bathe</u>?</b></p> <p><b>*Specify other:</b> _____</p> <p><b>**Specify other:</b> _____</p>	<p>In private (at home)</p> <p>Shared facility (with a few)</p> <p>Publicly (near water source)</p> <p>Other (specify)*</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>8*</p> <p>9</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>8**</p> <p>9</p>
<p><b>34. What type of <u>sanitation</u> facilities do you have?</b></p> <p><b>*Specify other:</b> _____</p> <p><b>**Specify other:</b> _____</p>	<p>None</p> <p>Drainage (underground or open)</p> <p>Rubbish disposal</p> <p>Other (specify)*</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>0</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>8*</p> <p>9</p>	<p>0</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>8**</p> <p>9</p>



**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	NOW (Vasahat)	BEFORE (Village)
<p><b>35. Where do you go when someone in your household falls sick?</b></p> <p><i>Multiple Answers Possible</i> <i>Rank Top 3 Answers (1=main; 2=secondary; 3=least)</i></p> <p><b>*Specify other:</b> _____</p> <p><b>**Specify other:</b> _____</p>	<p>Nowhere, rely on home remedy Traditional healer Sub-centre PHC or CHC Family welfare centre Private (hospital, clinic, doctor) Public (hospital, clinic, doctor) NGO (hospital, clinic, doctor) Vasahat dispensary or clinic SSPA mobile health units Visiting Health Worker</p> <p>Other (specify) Do not know</p>	<p>01 _____ 02 _____ 03 _____ 04 _____ 05 _____ 06 _____ 07 _____ 08 _____ 09 _____ 10 _____ 11 _____</p> <p>88* _____ 99 _____</p>	<p>01 _____ 02 _____ 03 _____ 04 _____ 05 _____ 06 _____ 07 _____ 08 _____ 09 _____ 10 _____ 11 _____</p> <p>88** _____ 99 _____</p>
<p><b>36. Do you have electricity?</b></p>	<p>No Yes  Do not know</p>	<p>0 1  9</p>	<p>0 1  9</p>

**Comments:**

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

*Land and Livestock: Before and After Resettlement*

Questions	Answers	Codes	Action
37. Did you or any of your household members receive 5 acres of land as compensation?	No Yes  Do not know	0 1 → 9	39.
38. What did you receive for compensation?  <i>*Why:</i>	No compensation* Cash allowance only  Other (specify) Do not know	0* → 1 → 8 → 9 →	41. 40. 40. 41.
<i>Land at Vasahat</i>			
39. How much <u>agricultural</u> land (in acres) does your household own?	5 acres 6 – 10 acres 11 – 15 acres 16 – 20 acres 21 – 25 acres  Other (specify) _____ Do not know	1 2 3 4 5  8 9	
40. In whose name(s) was it give given?  <i>Multiple Answers Possible – Indicate Names Below</i>  A. B. C.	Male Head Son (s), #of _____ Widow Father-in-Law  Other (specify) _____ Do not know	1 2 3 4  8 9	

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	Action
41. Does your father or father-in-law own land?	No Yes (specify in acres) _____ Do not know	0 1 9	
42. How much total agricultural land (in acres) does your <u>joint-household</u> (extended family) collectively own?  (Skip if house structure has only one <i>chulha</i> )	None 5 acres 6 – 10 acres 11 – 15 acres 16 – 20 acres Other (specify) _____ Do not know	0 1 2 3 4 8 9	
<i>Land in Original Village</i>			
43. Did your <u>joint-household</u> (extended family) own or encroach any agricultural or forest land in your original village?  <i>Total amount</i>	No Yes Do not know	0 1 9	→ 46. → 46.
44. How much <u>agricultural</u> land (in acres) did your <u>joint-household</u> (extended family) collectively own or encroach?  <i>Multiple Answers Possible</i>  *In whose name: _____	None Jointly owned, acres* _____ Jointly encroached, acres _____ Do not know	0 1* 2 9	
45. How much <u>forest or jungle</u> land (in acres) did your <u>joint-household</u> (extended family) collectively own or encroach?  <i>Multiple Answers Possible</i>  *In whose name: _____	None Jointly owned, acres* _____ Jointly encroached, acres _____ Do not know	0 1* 2 9	

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	Action
<p>46. Did your <i>chulha</i> <u>individually</u> own any agricultural or forest land in your original village?</p> <p><i>Total amount</i></p>	<p>No</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>0 →</p> <p>1</p> <p>9 →</p>	<p>49.</p> <p>49.</p>
<p>47. How much <u>agricultural</u> land did your <i>chulha</i> <u>individually</u> own or encroach?</p> <p><i>Multiple Answers Possible</i></p>	<p>None</p> <p>Indiv. owned, acres _____</p> <p>Indiv. encroached, acres _____</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>0</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>9</p>	
<p>48. How much <u>forest or jungle</u> land did your <i>chulha</i> <u>individually</u> own or encroach?</p> <p><i>Multiple Answers Possible</i></p>	<p>None</p> <p>Indiv. owned, acres _____</p> <p>Indiv. encroached, acres _____</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>0</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>9</p>	
<i>Livestock in Vasahat</i>			
<p>49. Does your <u>individual</u> <i>chulha</i> own any animals?</p>	<p>No</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>0 →</p> <p>1</p> <p>9 →</p>	<p>52.</p> <p>52.</p>
<p>50. How many animals does your <i>chulha</i> <u>individually</u> own?</p> <p><i>Multiple Answers Possible (indicate actual numbers)</i></p>	<p>Bullocks, # _____</p> <p>Cows, # _____</p> <p>Buffaloes, # _____</p> <p>Goats, # _____</p> <p>Chickens, # _____</p> <p>Other (specify) _____</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>8</p> <p>9</p>	

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	Action
51. Does your father/father-in-law own any animals?	No Yes  Do not know	0 1  9	
52. How many animals does your <u>joint-household</u> (extended family) <u>collectively</u> own?  (Skip if house structure has only one <i>chulha</i> )  <i>Multiple Answers Possible (indicate actual numbers)</i>  <i>Total amount</i>	None Bullocks, # _____ Cows, # _____ Buffaloes, # _____ Goats, # _____ Chickens, # _____  Other (specify) _____ Do not know	0 1 2 3 4 5  8 9	
<i>Livestock in Original Village</i>			
53. Did your <u>joint-household</u> (extended family) <u>collectively</u> own any animals in your original village?	No Yes  Do not know	0 1  9	→ 55.  → 55.
54. How many animals did your <u>joint-household</u> (extended family) <u>collectively</u> own?  <i>Multiple Answers Possible (indicate actual numbers)</i>  <i>Total amount</i>	Bullocks, # _____ Cows, # _____ Buffaloes, # _____ Goats, # _____ Chickens, # _____  Other (specify) _____ Do not know	1 2 3 4 5  8 9	55.
55. Did your <i>chulha</i> <u>individually</u> own any animals?	No Yes  Do not know	0 1  9	→ 57.  → 57.

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**  
**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	Action
<b>56. How many animals did you <u>individually</u> own?</b>  <i>Multiple Answers Possible (indicate actual numbers)</i>  <i>Total amount</i>	Bullocks, # _____	1	
	Cows, # _____	2	
	Buffaloes, # _____	3	
	Goats, # _____	4	
	Chickens, # _____	5	
	Other (specify) _____	8	
	Do not know _____	9	

*Comments:*

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

***Participation in Resettlement and Rehabilitation\****

\*If the Respondent does not know the answers to this section, then ask one other person (18 years or older) who is part of the same family. Indicate the answers of both the Respondent and the other person in the respective columns. If no other person is available, continue with the Respondent and mark his or her responses.

Indicate "other" person: \_\_\_\_\_

Question	Answers	Respondent	Other
<b>57. Did any member in your <i>chulha</i> participate in any policy-related event (e.g., 5 acres of land meetings)?</b>  <b>*Why not:</b>  <b>**Why not:</b>	No* Yes  Do not know	0* 1  9	0** 1  9
<b>58. Did any member from your joint-household participate?</b>	No Yes  Do not know	0 1  9	0 1  9
<b>59. Who participated in these sessions from the household?</b>  <b>*If women participated, then complete 'Other' for spouse.</b>	No one Women Men Both	0 → 62. 1* 2 3*	0 → 62. 1* 2 3*
<b>60. Were they elderly, young, or both?</b>	Elderly (50+ years) Young Adults Both	1 2 3	1 2 3

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Respondent	Other
<p>61. List the members who participated</p> <p>A. B. C.</p>			
<p>62. In your <i>original</i> village, which of the following groups came to discuss resettlement?</p> <p><i>Multiple Answers Possible</i></p> <p><u>*Specify other:</u></p> <p><u>** Specify other:</u></p>	<p>None Too young ARCH Vahini NBA Rajpipla Social Services Society Anand Niketan Ashram Shramik Vikas Sansthan Government  Other (specify) Do not know</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  8* 9</p>	<p>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  8** 9</p>
<p>63. In which of the following events did members of the family participate?</p> <p><i>Multiple Answers Possible</i></p> <p><u>*Specify other:</u></p> <p><u>** Specify other:</u></p>	<p>Did not participate Too young at the time ARCH meetings (e.g., Rajeshbhai, Truptiben, etc.) Anand Niketan Ashram (e.g., Harivallabh bhai, etc.) NBA meetings (e.g., Medhaben) Government meetings Vadgam to Kevadia Colony Rally Meeting in Ahmedabad Muktiya Mantri—Kevadia Colony  Other (specify) Don not know</p>	<p>01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09  88* 99</p>	<p>01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09  88** 99</p>



HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Respondent	Other
<p><b>64. What were some topics discussed at these meetings before resettlement?</b></p> <p><i>Multiple Answers Possible</i></p> <p><b>*Specify other:</b></p> <p><b>** Specify other:</b></p>	<p>None                      Water source                      Fuel source                      Grazing/Fodder source                      Child care issues                      Health care                      School facilities                      Land Quality                      Land Ownership                      Choice of land                      Crops and fertiliser                      Transportation                      Cash allowance                      Choice of relocation unit                      Residential design                      Tin shed design</p> <p>Other (specify)                      Do not know/remember</p>	<p>00                      01                      02                      03                      04                      05                      06                      07                      08                      09                      10                      11                      12                      13                      14                      15</p> <p>88*                      99</p>	<p>00                      01                      02                      03                      04                      05                      06                      07                      08                      09                      10                      11                      12                      13                      14                      15</p> <p>88**                      99</p>
<p><b>65. Did you see any other site before deciding on this site?</b></p> <p><b>*Why not:</b></p> <p><b>** Why not:</b></p>	<p>No, why not *                      Yes, how many</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>0*                      1 _____</p> <p>9</p>	<p>0**                      1 _____</p> <p>9</p>

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Respondent	Other
<p>66. Did you move here with all of whom that you wanted?</p> <p><u>*Why not:</u></p> <p><u>** Why not:</u></p>	<p>No*</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>0*</p> <p>1</p> <p>9</p>	<p>0**</p> <p>1</p> <p>9</p>
<p>67. With whom did you move (e.g., joint-household members, falia members, etc.)?</p>			

Comments:

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

***In Conclusion\****

\*When asking the following questions, see if the Respondent's spouse is available. If available, ask the last two questions from him or her. If spouse is not available, ask the same person who provided you information in the section, 'Participation Resettlement and Rehabilitation'. If no other person is available, ask the Respondent only.

Questions	Answers	Codes	Action
<p><b>68. Ask the Respondent: Do you feel there is more, less, or about the same level of <u>sickness</u> here in the vasahat than in your original village?</b></p> <p><b>*Why:</b></p>	<p>No response                      More in the vasahat*                      Less in the vasahat *                      About the same*</p> <p>N/A                      Do not know</p>	<p>0                      1*                      2*                      3*                        7                      9</p>	
<p><b>69. How did you feel when you were told you had to move?</b></p>			
<p><b>70. In general, how do you feel about resettlement? Do you find it better or worse than expected? (Note comment below)</b></p> <p><b>*Why:</b></p>	<p>No response                      Happy (Better off)                      Unhappy (Worse off)*                      Indifferent</p> <p>N/A                      Do not know</p>	<p>0                      1                      2*                      3                        7                      9</p>	

**HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

<p><b>71. Ask the spouse (if available): Do you feel there is more, less, or about same level of <u>sickness</u> here in the vasahat than in your old village?</b></p> <p><b><u>Name:</u></b></p> <p><b><u>*Why:</u></b></p>	<p>No response More in vasahat* Less in vasahat* About the same*</p> <p>N/A Do not know</p>	<p>0 1* 2* 3*</p> <p>7 9</p>	
<p><b>72. How did you feel when you were told you had to move?</b></p>			
<p><b>73. In general, how do you feel about resettlement? Do you find it better or worse than expected? (Note comment below)</b></p> <p><b><u>Name:</u></b></p> <p><b><u>*Why:</u></b></p>	<p>No response Happy (Better off) Unhappy (Worse off)* Indifferent</p> <p>N/A Do not know</p>	<p>0 1 2* 3</p> <p>7 9</p>	

**Comments:**

*Appendix D*

GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

<b>IDENTIFICATION</b>			
<b>State:</b>	Gujarat	1	
<b>District:</b>	Vadodara	1	
<b>Taluka:</b>	Dabhoi	1	
	Sankheda	2	
<b>Vasahat:</b>	Dhalnagar	1	
	Golagamdi	2	
	Simaliya	3	
	Sinor Road	4	
	Vadaj I	5	
	Vadaj II	6	
<b>Household Number:</b>		<input type="text"/>	
<b>Chulha Number:</b>		<input type="text"/>	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

**Permission:**

Kem chho, my name is \_\_\_\_\_, and I am working with Anupmaben from MS University in Vadodara. We are conducting a more detailed survey on general issues about the work that you and other members of your families do since resettlement. Anupmaben is not affiliated with the government, with ARCH Vahini or the NBA. She is a Ph.D. student who is interested in hearing about your stories and experiences. As you may remember, she recently visited the vasahats about a month ago.

Your responses to my questions will be kept confidential and will not be shared with any official or groups. The findings from this survey will be presented collectively. We would very much appreciate your participation in this survey, and hope you will agree to participate. Do you have any questions that you would like to ask me? Would you like to continue with the interview?

- DISAGREE → End survey
- AGREE → Continue with survey

**Notes/Comments:**

- INCOMPLETE → Could not complete survey due to: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

*General Information:* Please interview only females in this section.

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
1. Name of Respondent:			
2. Designation of Respondent:	Member of vasahat Mukhiya of Vasahat Member of Vasahat Samiti Punarvasvat Saathi Panchayat Invitee Panchayat Member  Other (specify)	0 1 2 3 4 5  8 _____	
3. Age of the Respondent:	_____ years	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
4. Sex of Respondent:	Female Male	1 2	
5. Tribal Group of Respondent:	Dungri Bhil Goval Nayka Rathwa Tadvi Vasava  Other (specify)	1 2 3 4 5 6  8 _____	



GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

<b>6. Submergence Village:</b>	Hanfeshwar	01	
	Ferakada	02	
	Gadher	03	
	Kadada	04	
	Makadkhada	05	
	Mokhadi	06	
	Navagam	07	
	Turkheda	08	
	Panchmuli	09	
	Vadgam	10	
	Other (specify)	88 _____	

**COMMENTS:**

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

**R&R Policy Participation:** This section determines to what degree the woman participated in the R&R policy before 1987, and since then in its implementation.

Questions	Answers	Codes	ACTION
7. Did you attend any meetings or events (i.e., rally) related to 5 acres of land or resettlement?	No	0 → → →	17.
	Yes	1	
	Do not know	9 → → →	
8. Which of the following events did you attend?  <i>*READ THE OPTIONS</i>	Distant meetings(Gandhinagar)	1	17.
	Local meetings (falia, village)	2	
	Rallies	3	
	Site selecting visits	4	
	Other (specify)	8 _____	
	Do not remember	9 → → →	
9. Before the government gave 5 acres of land to everyone, whose meetings did you attend?  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>	ARCH (Rajeshbhai, Truptiben)	1	17.
	NBA (Medhaben, Nanditiben)	2	
	Govt (Nigam, SSPA)	3	
	N/A	7 → → →	
	Other (specify)	8 _____	
	Do not remember	9	
10. Where did these meetings take place?  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>  <i>*PROBE</i>	Within the falia	1	17.
	Within the village	2	
	Nearby towns (Kavant, Kevadia, Naswadi)	3	
	Very far away	4	
	Other (specify)	8 _____	
	Do not remember	9	

GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	ACTION
11. Were you able to attend <u>ALL</u> the meetings you wanted to attend?	No Yes	0 1 → → →	13.
12. Why not?  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>  <i>*PROBE</i>	Too far away Child/Elderly care at home Domestic work Field work Other wage labour work Not allowed to attend Need permission  Other (specify) Do not remember	01 02 03 04 05 06 07  88 _____ 99 _____	
13. Did you speak at any of these meetings?	No Yes  Do not remember	0 1  9	
14. What did the organisers do to make you feel comfortable at the meeting?  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>  <i>*READ OPTIONS</i>	Separated meetings by sex Had meetings in the evenings Offered food and drink Compensated travel Provided information Asked for suggestions Provided updates  Other (specify) Do not remember	1 2 3 4 5 6 7  8 _____ 9 _____	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<p><b>15. What was discussed at these meetings?</b></p> <p><i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i></p> <p><i>PROBE: Any other issues discussed?</i></p>	<p>Fuel</p> <p>Fodder</p> <p>Water</p> <p>Land</p> <p>Choice of land</p> <p>Choice of relocation unit</p> <p>Water availability</p> <p>New income opportunities</p> <p>Education</p> <p>Health</p> <p>Loans</p> <p>Other (specify)</p> <p>Do not remember</p>	<p>01</p> <p>02</p> <p>03</p> <p>04</p> <p>05</p> <p>06</p> <p>07</p> <p>08</p> <p>09</p> <p>10</p> <p>11</p> <p>88 _____</p> <p>99</p>	
<p><b>16. Did you tell any family member or friend about what you learned at these meetings?</b></p>	<p>No one</p> <p>Husband</p> <p>Other family members</p> <p>Friends/neighbours</p> <p>Husband/family members</p> <p>Husband/friends/neighbours</p> <p>Husband/family/friends/neighbours</p> <p>Other (specify)</p> <p>Do not remember</p>	<p>0</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>8 _____</p> <p>9</p>	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<p>17. What were your concerns before resettlement?</p> <p><i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i></p> <p><i>*PROBE</i></p>	<p>Fuel</p> <p>Fodder</p> <p>Water</p> <p>Land</p> <p>Choice of land</p> <p>Choice of relocation unit</p> <p>Water availability</p> <p>New income opportunities</p> <p>Children's education</p> <p>Family's health</p> <p>Loss of friends</p> <p>N/A</p> <p>Other (specify)</p> <p>Do not remember</p>	<p>01</p> <p>02</p> <p>03</p> <p>04</p> <p>05</p> <p>06</p> <p>07</p> <p>08</p> <p>09</p> <p>10</p> <p>11</p> <p>77 → → →</p> <p>88 _____</p> <p>99</p>	<p>23.</p>
<p>18. What was more important to you—that your husband gets land in his name, you get land in your name, or you get land jointly in both your names?</p>	<p>He gets land in his name</p> <p>I get land in my name</p> <p>We get land jointly</p> <p>Did not matter whose name</p> <p>We get land separately</p> <p>N/A</p> <p>Other (specify)</p> <p>Do not know</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>7 → → →</p> <p>8 _____</p> <p>9 → → →</p>	<p>20.</p> <p>20.</p>
<p>19. Why?</p>			

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	ACTION
20. Were your concerns fully or partly addressed <u>before</u> resettlement?	Not addressed Fully addressed Partly addressed  N/A Other (specify) Do not remember	0 1 → → → 2  7 8 _____ 9	23.
21. Is there something that you were promised that you are yet to receive?	No Yes  Do not know	0 → → → 1  9 → → →	23.  23.
22. What?			
23. Have you participated in any of the following events since moving to the vasahat?  <i>*READ THE OPTIONS</i>  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>	No Distant meetings Local meetings Women-only meetings Rallies SSP-related events Punarvasvat Samiti Panchayat meetings  Other (specify) Do not remember	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7  8 _____ 9	25.
24. Why not?			

GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	ACTION
25. Today, do you re-tell members of your family about your participation in the events (e.g., daughters, daughter-in-laws, grandchildren)?	No	0	
	Yes	1	
	N/A	7 → → →	27.
26. Why or why not?			
27. Are there any women's groups that currently come and discuss issues that you feel are important?	No	0 → → →	29.
	Yes	1	
	Do not know	9 → → →	29.
28. Please give some details of these groups.			
29. Do you have a savings account? Please give details.	No	0	
	Yes	1	
30. Do you save money for future use?	No	0	
	Yes	1	
31. For what purpose do you save money?  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>	Do not save	00	
	Food	01	
	Clothing	02	
	Home improvement (physical)	03	
	School	04	
	Marriage	05	
	Training/skills classes	06	
	Future security	07	
	Other (specify)	88 _____	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	ACTION
32. Do you have <u>access</u> to credit and loan?	No	0 → → →	35.
	Yes	1	
	Do not know	9 → → →	
33. Have you taken advantage of any credit or loans?	No	0	
	Yes	1	
34. Please give some details of the scheme.			
35. What schemes are you involved in that pertain specifically to women?  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>  <i>*PROBE</i>	None	0	
	Agricultural	1	
	Income generating (chalk)	2	
	Livestock	3	
	Nutritional	4	
	Health	5	
	Skills development (sewing)	6	
Other (specify)	8 _____		
Do not know	9		
36. If there were an opportunity to enhance your skills, would you take part in the training?	No	0	38.
	Yes	1 → → →	
	Do not know	9 → → →	
37. Why not?			39.



**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Questions	Answers	Codes	ACTION
38. In what areas would you like training?	Family health Safe motherhood (delivery) Nutrition Sewing Child care Agriculture techniques Crop management Non-agriculture skills development Money management Computers  Other (specify) Do not know	01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10  88 _____ 99	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

*Background Information:* This section determines what type of work the woman is currently engaged in.

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<p>39. Do you do any type of housework?</p> <p><i>*ANY BIT COUNTS</i></p>	<p>No Yes</p>	<p>0 1 → → →</p>	<p>41.</p>
<p>40. Why not?</p>	<p>Too old Too sick Temporarily bed ridden Have daughter-in-laws  Other (specify) Do not know</p>	<p>1 2 3 4  8 9</p>	<p>42.</p>
<p>41. What activities do you do in the home?</p> <p><i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i></p> <p><i>*PROBE</i></p>	<p>Fetch water Gather fodder Collect fuel Prepare meals Take care of children Take care of elders Wash clothes/utensils Mending house  Other (specify)</p>	<p>01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08  88 _____</p>	

GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<p>42. What else do you do?</p> <p><i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i></p>	<p>Nothing                      Work in field                      Take care of the livestock                      Clean grains                      Attend evening literary classes                      Attend training classes                      Engage in other wage labour                      Involved with SSPA                      Gossip                      Entertain visitors                      Local <i>dai</i>                      Social visits                      Religious activities                      Take care of old/sick persons</p> <p>Other (specify)</p>	<p>00                      01                      02                      03                      04                      05                      06                      07                      08                      09                      10                      11                      12                      13                      88 _____</p>	
<p>43. Have you done any <u>outside work</u>, other than housework, for <u>cash, kind or both</u> (meal, grains, clothes) in the last 12 months? (OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT)</p>	<p>No                      Yes</p>	<p>0 → → →                      1</p>	<p>53.</p>
<p>44. What kind of work did you do to earn cash or kind?</p> <p><i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i></p>	<p>Unskilled wage labour                      Skilled wage labour (training)                      Agricultural labourer                      Cook mid-day meals for school</p> <p>Other (specify)</p>	<p>1                      2                      3                      4                      8 _____</p>	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<p>45. Did you work for your family, for someone else, or for self?</p> <p><i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i></p>	<p>Family Someone else Self-employed  Other (specify)</p>	<p>1 2 3  8 _____</p>	
<p>46. Was this work regular, seasonal (less than 4 months), or once in a while?</p>	<p>Regular Seasonal (&lt;4 months) Once in a while  Other (specify)</p>	<p>1 2 3  8 _____</p>	
<p>47. Were you paid in cash or in kind for this work, or not at all?</p>	<p>Not at all Cash only Cash and Kind Kind only  Other (specify)</p>	<p>0 1 2 3  8 _____</p>	
<p>48. Were you paid higher, lower or the same amount as men are paid for the same work?</p>	<p>Higher Lower Same amount  N/A Do not know</p>	<p>1 2 3  7 → → → 9</p>	<p>51.</p>

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
49. Is this wage higher, lower, or about the same as compared to the wage paid back in your original village?	Higher Lower About the same  N/A Do not know	1 2 3  7 → → → 9	51.
50. Was this work regular, seasonal (less than 4 months), or once in a while as compared to the paid work done in the vasahat?	Regular Seasonal (<4 months) Once in a while  Other (specify)	1 2 3  8 _____	
51. Generally, how much of your earnings contribute to the total family income: none, almost none, less than half, about half, more than half, or all?	None Almost none Less than half About half More than half All  Other (specify) Do not know	0 1 2 3 4 5  8 _____ 9 _____	
52. Who mainly decides how the cash or kind that you earn should be used?	Husband Jointly with Husband Other family member (specify) Jointly with other (specify) Respondent  Other (specify) Do not know	1 2 3 _____ 4 _____ 5  8 9	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<p>53. Whilst working (house/outside work), do you usually have your youngest child with you, sometimes have him/her with you, or never have him/her with you?</p>	<p>Never Sometimes All the time  N/A Other (specify)</p>	<p>1 2 3 → → →  7 → → → 8 _____</p>	<p>55.   55.</p>
<p>54. Who usually takes care of your youngest child whilst you are at work?</p> <p><i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i></p>	<p>No one Husband Older boys Older girls Elderly Other relatives Neighbours Friends Servants/Hired help Child is in School Institutional childcare  Other (specify)</p>	<p>00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10  88 _____</p>	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

**Minor Forest Produce:** This section relates to the activities undertaken in minor forest produce before resettlement. These are forest-based activities conducted by women (and sometimes men) that were used to supplement household nutrition or income.

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<b>55. What did you gather from the jungle before resettlement?</b>  <i>*READ OUT OPTIONS</i>  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>	Nothing	0 → → →	62.
	Fruits/Vegetables	1	
	Roots for medicine	2	
	Wood/twigs	3	
	Bamboo	4	
	N/A	→ → →	70.
	Other (specify)	8 _____	
<b>56. What do you do now in the vasahat to get these items?</b>  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>	Nothing	0	
	Grow own vegetables	1	
	Buy vegetables/fruits	2	
	Go to the doctors for medicine	3	
	Gather available twigs/wood	4	
	Buy wood/twigs	5	
	Get any items from old village	6	
	Other (specify)	8 _____	
<b>57. In your original village, did you gather the items for home-use or for sale?</b>	For home use only	1 → → →	62.
	For sale only	2	
	For home use + sale	3	
	Other (specify)	8 _____	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
58. What did you sell for cash and kind?  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>	Nothing Fruits/Vegetables Roots for medicine Wood/twigs Bamboo  Other (specify)	0 → → → 1 2 3 4  8 _____	62.
59. Did you own the cash or kind received from these items?	No Yes	0 1 → → →	61.
60. Who owned the cash or kind that you received?	Husband Jointly with Husband Other family member (specify) Jointly with other (specify)  Other (specify) Do not know	1 } 2 } 3 } 4 }  8 } 9 }	62.
61. On whom did you spend the cash or kind?	No one On self On husband On children On other family members  Other (specify) Do not know	0 1 2 3 4  8 _____ 9	
62. Did you use a part of your family's land for your <u>own</u> purposes in your original village (e.g., growing vegetables, crops, etc)?	No Yes	0 → → → 1	70.
63. Do you have a piece of land for your own use now in the vasahat?	No Yes	0 1	



**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
64. In your original village, what did you use the piece of land for?	Nothing To grow vegetables/fruits To grow other crops  Other (specify)	0 1 2  8 _____	
65. Did you keep the products grown for home-us or for sale?	For home-use only For sale only For home-use and sale  Other (specify)	1 → → → 2 3  8 _____	70.
66. What did you sell for cash and kind?	Nothing Vegetables/fruits Crops  Other (specify)	0 1 2  8 _____	
67. Did you own the cash or kind received from these products?	No Yes	0 1 → → →	69.
68. Who owned the cash or kind that you received?	Husband Jointly with Husband Other family member (specify) Jointly with other (specify)  Other (specify) Do not know	1 2 3 4  8 9	70.

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
69. On whom did you spend the cash or kind?	No one On self On husband On children On other family members Other (specify)	0 1 2 3 4 8 _____	

**COMMENTS:**

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

*Agricultural work:* This section relates to the activities undertaken in agricultural work.

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<b>70. Do members of your family work in the agricultural field?</b>	No Yes	0 → → → 1	90.
<b>71. Does your family cultivate the agricultural fields individually or with other relatives or friends here in the vasahat?</b>	Individually With other relatives With friends  Other (specify) Cannot say/Do not know	1 2 3  8 _____ 9	
<b>72. Did your family cultivate the agricultural fields individually or with other relatives or friends earlier in the village?</b>	Did not cultivate before Individually With other relatives With friends  Other (specify) Cannot say/Do not know	0 1 2 3  8 9	
<b>73. If there is a change, please note why below.</b>			

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Respondent = 01 Husband = 02 Respondent + Husband = 03 Other females = 04 Other males = 05	Respondent + other females = 06 Respondent + other males = 07 Respondent + Husband + others = 08 Husband + others = 09 Not done = 10	Respondent + others = 11 Others = 12 Can not say/Do not know = 99 Other (specify) = 88 _____	
Question	Now (Vasahat)	Before (Village)	If there is a change → ask why and note below
74. Who ploughs the fields?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
75. Who levels the fields (e.g., clears away the rocks and unevenness)?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
76. Who sows the seeds?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
77. Who does the weeding?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
78. Who fertilises the crops?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
79. Who does the harvesting?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
80. Who purchases new agricultural items? (Equipment)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
81. Who attends agricultural training sessions (e.g., sponsored by the Government, Nigam, or otherwise)?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
82. Who decides what to sow?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
83. Who decides how much of the harvest should be kept for the home?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
84. Who decides on whether a new crop should be sown?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Respondent = 01	Respondent + other females = 06	Respondent + others = 11
Husband = 02	Respondent + other males = 07	Others = 12
Respondent + Husband = 03	Respondent + Husband + others = 08	Can not say/Do not know = 99
Other females = 04	Husband + others = 09	Other (specify) = 88 _____
Other males = 05	Not done = 10	

Question	Now (Vasahat)	Before (Village)	If there is a change → ask why and note below
85. Who decides what type of fertiliser should be used?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
86. Who decides if a woman should work in the field?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
87. Who decides if a woman should engage in wage labour?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
88. Who decides if a woman should go to the market place?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
89. Who goes to the market place for selling surplus?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

*Non-agricultural work:* This section relates to the activities undertaken in non-farm work (e.g., cattle, water, fuel and fodder).

Respondent = 01 Husband = 02 Respondent + Husband = 03 Other females = 04 Other males = 05	Respondent + other females = 06 Respondent + other males = 07 Respondent + Husband + others = 08 Husband + others = 09 Not done = 10	Respondent + others = 11 Others = 12 Can not say/Do not know = 99 Other (specify) = 88 _____	
Question	Now (Vasahat)	Before (Village)	If there is a change → ask why and note below
90. Who collects water?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
91. Has the amount it takes to collect <u>water</u> in the vasahat increased, decreased or is about the same as compared to the earlier village?	Increased Decrease Same  N/A Do not know		1 2 3  7 → → → 93. 9 → → → 93.
92. Why?	Source farther Source closer  Other (specify) Do not know		1 2  8 _____ 9
93. Who collects fuel?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
94. Has the amount of time it takes to collect <u>fuel</u> in the vasahat decreased, increased or is about the same as compared to the earlier village?	Increased Decrease Same  N/A Do not know		1 2 3  7 → → → 96. 9 → → → 96.

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Respondent = 01 Husband = 02 Respondent + Husband = 03 Other females = 04 Other males = 05	Respondent + other females = 06 Respondent + other males = 07 Respondent + Husband + others = 08 Husband + others = 09 Not done = 10	Respondent + others = 11 Others = 12 Can not say/Do not know = 99 Other (specify) = 88 _____	
Question	Now (Vasahat)	Before (Village)	If there is a change → ask why and note below
95. Why?	Source farther Source closer More difficult to find  Other (specify) Do not know		1 2 3  8 _____ 9
96. Who prepares dung patties?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
97. Who prepares the meals?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
98. Who cares for the livestock?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
99. Who cleans the inside of the house?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
100. Who maintains the house structure (e.g., repairs)?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
101. Who purchases household items (e.g., cots, chairs)?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
102. Who purchases kitchen items (e.g., vessels, cups, plates)?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Respondent = 01	Respondent + other females = 06	Respondent + others = 11
Husband = 02	Respondent + other males = 07	Others = 12
Respondent + Husband = 03	Respondent + Husband + others = 08	Can not say/Do not know = 99
Other females = 04	Husband + others = 09	Other (specify) = 88 _____
Other males = 05	Not done = 10	

Question	Now (Vasahat)	Before (Village)	If there is a change → ask why and note below
103. Who purchases food items (e.g., vegetables, fruits, salt)?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
104. Who manages the family accounts (e.g., money, legal papers, bill payments, etc.)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	

*Health and Family Planning:* This section relates to the activities undertaken in regard to the health care and family planning.

Respondent = 01	Respondent + other females = 06	Respondent + others = 11
Husband = 02	Respondent + other males = 07	Others = 12
Respondent + Husband = 03	Respondent + Husband + others = 08	Can not say/Do not know = 99
Other females = 04	Husband + others = 09	Other (specify) = 88 _____
Other males = 05	Not done = 10	

Question	Now (Vasahat)	Before (Village)	If there is a change → ask why and note below
105. Who makes decisions about your family's health?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
106. Who pays for medical expenses of your children?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
107. Who decides <u>where</u> to go for treatment?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
108. Who decides <u>when</u> to go for medical treatment?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	



**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Respondent = 01 Husband = 02 Respondent + Husband = 03 Other females = 04 Other males = 05	Respondent + other females = 06 Respondent + other males = 07 Respondent + Husband + others = 08 Husband + others = 09 Not done = 10	Respondent + others = 11 Others = 12 Can not say/Do not know = 99 Other (specify) = 88 _____	
Question	Now (Vasahat)	Before (Village)	If there is a change → ask why and note below
109. Usually how soon do you seek medical care for yourself in the vasahat? Do not seek care at all, or do so immediately or wait for a while?	Do not seek Immediately Wait for a bit		0 1 2
110. Is there any special attention paid if boys are sick, here in the vasahat or earlier in the village? If yes, more than girls?	No Yes  N/A		0 → → → 112. 1  7 → → → 112.
111. Please give details			

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
112. How many children do you have?		<input type="checkbox"/>	
113. If you could decide exactly how many children to have, how many would that be?		<input type="checkbox"/>	
114. How many of these children would you like to be <u>boys</u> ?		<input type="checkbox"/>	
115. How many of these children would you like to be <u>girls</u> ?		<input type="checkbox"/>	

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Respondent = 01	Respondent + other females = 06	Respondent + others = 11
Husband = 02	Respondent + other males = 07	Others = 12
Respondent + Husband = 03	Respondent + Husband + others = 08	Can not say/Do not know = 99
Other females = 04	Husband + others = 09	Other (specify) = 88 _____
Other males = 05	Not done = 10	

Question	Now (Vasahat)	Before (Village)	If there is a change → ask why and note below
116. Who decides how many children you should have?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
117. Who decides what method of contraception to use in order to prevent unwanted children?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
118. Who decides if a contraceptive method should be continued?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
119. Who decides when a woman or man should have an operation?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
120. Who decides if an unwanted pregnancy should be ended?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	

**COMMENTS:**

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

*Education:* This section relates to the activities undertaken in regards to the education of members of the *chulha*.

Question	Answers	Girls	Boys
121. Up to what level should a <u>girl</u> and <u>boy</u> be educated?	No education	00	00
	Less than Primary	01	01
	Middle	02	02
	High school	03	03
	Higher secondary	04	04
	Graduate or more	05	05
	Professional degree	06	06
	As much as desired	07	07
	N/A	77	77
	Other (specify)	88 _____	88 _____
Do not know	99	99	
122. What purpose should <u>girls</u> and <u>boy</u> be educated?  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>	To better one's self	1	1
	To attain a better spouse	2	2
	To take better care of family	3	3
	For time pass	4	4
	So s/he can read and write	5	5
	So s/he can sign	6	6
	For a non-agricultural job	7	7
	Other (specify)	8 _____	8 _____
	Do not know	9	9
123. Do more <u>girls</u> and <u>boy</u> go to school now in the <i>vasahat</i> than earlier in your original village?	No	0	0
	Yes	1	1
	N/A	7 → →126.	7 → →126.
	Do not know	9 → →126.	9 → →126.

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Girls	Boys
124. Why?  <i>*PLEASE INDICATE REASONS UNDER EACH COLUMN</i>			
125. Who usually decides if a <u>girl</u> and <u>boy</u> should attend school?	Respondent Husband Jointly with Husband Other in family (specify) Jointly with other (specify)  Other (specify) Do not know	1 2 3 4 _____ 5 _____  8 9	1 2 3 4 _____ 5 _____  8 9

COMMENTS:

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

*Mobility:* This section reflects questions relating to a woman's degree of mobility and freedom.

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<p>126. For which of the following do you need to have permission to do since you've come to the vasahat?</p> <p><i>*READ OUT OPTIONS</i></p> <p><i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i></p>	Do not need permission	0	
	To go out of the vasahat	1	
	To visit with neighbours	2	
	To visit your parents' home	3	
	To take a <u>girl</u> to the doctor	4	
	To take a <u>boy</u> to the doctor	5	
	To seek treatment for self	6	
	N/A	77	
	Other (specify)	8 _____	
	Do not know	9	
<p>127. Who do you need to have permission from?</p>	No one	00	
	Father	01	
	Husband	02	
	Father-in-law	03	
	Mother-in-law	04	
	Brother-in-law	05	
	Sister-in-law (BIL's wife)	06	
	Son	07	
	Daughter	08	
	N/A	77	
Other (specify)	88 _____		
Do not know	99		

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**  
**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
128. Did you need to have permission before in your original village?	No	0	
	Yes	1	
	N/A	7 → → →	
129. Why?			<b>131.</b>
130. What did you need to have permission for in your original village?  <i>*READ OUT OPTIONS</i>  <i>*MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE</i>	Do not need permission	0	
	To go out of the vasahat	1	
	To visit with neighbours	2	
	To visit your parents' home	3	
	To take a <u>girl</u> to the doctor	4	
	To take a <u>boy</u> to the doctor	5	
	To seek treatment for self	6	
	N/A	7	
Other (specify)	8 _____		

**COMMENTS:**

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

*Age of marriage.* To determine if the age of marriage has changed since resettlement and/or women's perception on the subject.

N/A (they don't have an eldest/youngest son/daughter) = 77		Too young for marriage = 88		DK = 99	
Question	Answers	Girls	Boys		
131. At what age did your <u>ELDEST</u> daughter and son get married?		<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>		
132. At what age did your <u>YOUNGEST</u> daughter and son get married?		<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>		
133. In general, what do you think is a good age for a <u>GIRL</u> and <u>BOY</u> to get married?		<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>		
134. Why?  <i>*PLEASE INDICATE REASONS UNDER EACH COLUMN</i>					
135. Has this age changed since moving here?	No Yes  N/A Do not know	0 1  7 → →137. 9 → →137.	0 1  7 → →137. 9 → →137.		

**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

<p>136. Why?</p> <p align="center"><i>*PLEASE INDICATE REASONS UNDER EACH COLUMN</i></p>							
<p>137. What is the legal age for marriage for a <u>girl</u> and a <u>boy</u>?</p>		<table border="1"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> </table>			<table border="1"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> </table>		

**COMMENTS:**

*Changes in Attitudes and Behaviours:* This section reflects questions relating to changes in attitudes and behaviours.

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
<p>138. What are your hopes for your daughter(s) or granddaughter(s)?</p>	<p align="center">N/A</p>	<p align="center">7 → → →</p>	<p align="center">141.</p>
<p>139. Do you think your way of thinking towards your daughter(s) or granddaughter(s) has changed in the last 5 years?</p>	<p align="center">No Yes Indifferent  N/A</p>	<p align="center">0 1 2  7 → → →</p>	<p align="center">141.</p>



**GENDER ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (2001)**

**\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\***

Question	Answers	Codes	ACTION
140. Why—in what way?			
141. What are your wishes or hopes for your son(s) or grandson(s)?	N/A	7 → → →	144
142. Do you think your way of thinking towards your son(s) or grandson(s) has changed since in the last 5 years?	No Yes Indifferent  N/A	0 1 2  7→ → →	144.
143. Why—in what way?			
144. What does the word “haque” or “hardikat” (power, right, authority) mean to you?			
145. What does the term “samarth” or “nesata” (empowered) mean to you?			

**COMMENTS:**

*Appendix E*

STATISTICS ON A FEW MAJOR DAMS IN THE WORLD

Dam/Project	River	State/Province	Country	No. Displaced	Reservoir Area (ha)	Dam Height (m)	Installed Capacity (MW)	Completed	Purpose
Itaparica	São Francisco	Bahia/Pernambuco	Brazil	40,100	83,400	105	2,500	1988	P
Sobradinho	São Francisco	Bahia/Pernambuco	Brazil	72,000	412,400	41	1,050	1978	P
Arenal	San Carlos	Canton of Tilarán	Costa Rica	2,500	8,300	70	157	1980	M
High Aswan	Nile	Aswan	Egypt/Sudan	113,000	400,000	111	2100	1970	M
Hirakud	Mahanadi	Orissa/ Madhya Pradesh	India	110,000	74,300	59	270	1957	M
Saguling	Citarum	West Java	Indonesia	60,000	5,300	98	700	1984	P
<b>Under Construction:</b>									
Three Gorges	Yangtze	Hubei	China	1,300,000	110,000	175	18,200	—	M
Narmada Sagar	Narmada	Madhya Pradesh	India	300,000	90,800	84	—	—	M
Sardar Sarovar	Narmada	Gujarat	India	320,000*	37,600	163	1450	—	M
Tehri	Bhagirathi	Uttar Pradesh	India	105,000	4,200	261	2000	—	M
<b>Planned:</b>									
Longtan	Hongshui	Guangxi	China	73,000	37,000	192	4,200	2005	P
Pak Lay	Mekong		Lao PDR	11,800	11,000	67	1,320		P
Kalabagh (Indus)	Indus		Pakistan	124,000	55,000	93	2,400		M

ha=hectares; Lao PDR=Lao People's Democratic Republic; m=metres; M=Multipurpose; MW=megawatt; No.=number; P=Power

\* Number includes oustees from canals

Source: McCully (1996: 322-36); Goldsmith and Hildyard (1984: 334-52); Cernea (1997: 21-25).

## *Appendix F*

### REVIEW OF GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

#### **History of Gender and Development**

Assessing the effect of development projects on women's lives and their relations began in the early 1970s and has evolved over the last 30 years. Academic debates and growth of women's studies at universities and colleges have generated information and helped shape the way women's problems are identified and solutions are sought. Moreover, the growth of women's organisations has successfully created networks and alliances in both the local and international arenas. Formal policy approaches aimed at incorporating women into development activities (i.e., welfare-oriented, equity, antipoverty and mainstreaming) have resulted from past experiences, reviews and reformulation of strategies and objectives. Beginning with the Women in Development (WID) approach to a more holistic approach of Gender and Development (GAD), women are no longer viewed as "invisible" objects; rather, they are seen as equal partners in development activities whose needs and interests are central to the sustainability of any development policy and project.

A gender perspective in development first emerged when women in the North worked as a constituency for collective action to further their own gender interests and empowerment. These interests and actions were translated at the institutional level and implemented in professional practice. Some agencies responded to the movement by creating a women's sector to

address the problems associated with their marginalisation in development planning.

Women in Development<sup>3</sup> became known during the early 1970s as a result of Boserup's work on *Women's Role in Economic Development*, which systematically delineated the sexual division of labour on a global level in an agrarian environment (Boserup 1970). Activists and researchers of WID advocated that women were equal partners in development activities and that they made a significant contribution to development through their contributions as food producers, labourers and environmental managers. Statistics did not, however, differentiate between women and men. They helped to obscure the fact that both engage in different activities and had different needs. Women were no longer "invisible" objects in development thinking and planning.

However, reviews of the WID projects and programmes indicated that the WID approach was not effective in influencing national policies and in bringing about gender equity that was envisaged at their establishment. Projects that targeted and segregated women tended to further marginalise and isolate them from the mainstream of development. Treating women as a homogeneous category meant divorcing them from other social relations, including economic and social processes. This type of isolation not only ignored the relations through which such inequalities were perpetuated and reproduced, but also failed to accurately reflect the various groups of women or the different voices of women. Women-only projects often focused on income-generating activities that, once implemented, reverted to being welfare oriented in approach (Buvinic 1986). They were often poorly conceived and funded, and sometimes added to women's already heavy workloads with few compensatory benefits (Buvinic 1986; Elson 1995;

---

<sup>3</sup> The Women's Committee of the Washington, D.C. Chapter of the Society for International Development first coined the term.

Molyneux 1985; Moser 1993; United Nations Development Fund for Women [UNIFEM] 1991).

During the latter half of the 1970s, the concept behind Woman and Development (WAD) approach emerged. However, the term was not coined until the 1980s. It focused on the relationship between women and development processes rather than on strategies purely for the integration of women into development. The WAD approach focused on the impact of class. Even men who did not hold an elite status were also adversely affected by the structure of inequalities within the international system (Rathgeber 1990). However in practice, the WAD approach groups women together as a homogeneous entity without taking into account class, race or ethnic distinctions. It shared a common weakness with the previous WID approach: interventions concentrated on the development of income-generating activities without taking into consideration the increased time burdens that such activities placed on women (Rathgeber 1990). It failed to analyse the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production and women's subordination and oppression (Rathgeber 1990: 493).

This led to a major shift in the paradigm where the focus shifted from women to a gender relations approach —social relations that generate and perpetuate gender disparities (Kabber 1994). Since the 1970s, there has been a widespread growth in consciousness across Asia, including India, regarding women's oppression and the need to fight against patriarchy (Agarwal 1988: 24). Rather than consider women a separate and homogeneous group, activists from multidisciplinary backgrounds collectively made efforts to incorporate gender concerns into the development paradigm. Mainstreaming *gender* interests into development thinking in a more holistic and effective manner translates into approaches that have been influenced by a number of factors. Social justice and equity arguments were complemented with arguments of economic efficiency. Moreover, welfare-oriented and equity

approaches were increasingly replaced and complemented with mainstreaming and efficiency approaches.

The GAD approach stems from WID/WAD thinking, but is more holistic in nature. GAD examines the dynamics of access to and control over the use of resources that women and men are engaged in various cultural and economic contexts. Women are viewed as active participants and agents in development rather than as passive recipients of resources and as reproducers. By identifying and addressing with women's unequal position in society, improvements in women's status are possible through (i) an analysis of gender relations, (ii) a consideration of obstacles that contribute to women's exclusion in the development process and (iii) male participation and commitment in altering women's position.

However, there were two main criticisms of the economic efficiency approach: first, mainstreaming women into development did not question development itself which may be contrary to women's interests and concerns and second, considering women's actual roles did not challenge the institutional structure through which these roles are allocated within society (Sen and Grown 1987). These criticisms led to yet another shift. A focus on women's empowerment emerged, which aimed to support measures that empower women to contribute to the development process and challenge the very socio-economic systems that perpetuate gender disparities (Sen and Grown 1987).

Using a GAD approach also implies that whilst some projects and/or programmes should not be planned specifically for women, others that incorporate a special component that targets women only could be considered.<sup>4</sup> Such a component may help to ease the structural constraints

---

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that because WID, WAD and GAD overlap in theory and are conceptually distinct, a development project cannot be placed within a single theoretical framework without some overlap.

and cultural barriers, which restrict women's equal participation and prevent them from becoming beneficiaries.

### **In-depth Look at Gender Analysis**

One way of documenting the process of change in empirical studies is through gender analysis. A gender analysis is a useful tool in examining the impacts of development on both women and men, and in developing policy and action towards gender equality. Gender analysis takes apart the familiar conceptual units (i.e., the community, household and family) and looks at the relations, distribution and control of resources within them. Focusing on gendered-division of labour within and beyond the households makes possible an assessment of gender differentiations in activities, resource ownership, use and control (Kabeer 1999; Moser 1993). For instance, women are more responsible for housekeeping, child care and other arduous and physically demanding chores (i.e., domestic and agricultural duties). In terms of the power, gender analysis would help us move from simply identifying gender gaps to investigating issues pertaining to participation, voice and autonomy.

Conventionally, gender analysis has been done using one or more of the following approaches: (i) the Harvard analytical framework, or the gender roles (or analysis) framework focuses on the more efficient allocation of resources in project implementation (Overholt et al., 1985), (ii) the Moser framework for project planning tends to focus on the concept of women's "triple" roles and on their needs (Moser 1993), (iii) the Longwe framework or women's empowerment framework for planning, monitoring and evaluation (Longwe 1991) and (iv) the social relations framework for project planning and policy formation (Kabeer 1994). The first three approaches tend to focus more on gendered-division of labour, and access to and control over resources and benefits. They tend not to address the underlying causes of



why such inequalities exist. The fourth goes beyond the identification of roles and resource allocation issue; the social relations framework considers the relationships between people, which are constantly changing and are re-negotiated. The sustainable livelihoods and involuntary resettlement framework (Chapter 4) helps to provide a context and holistic structure, in which roles, resource allocations and social relations may be investigated.

Gender analysis must go beyond division of labour. Banu (2001: 7) believes that division of labour is often used as a criterion for social stratification; it provides a narrow approach to understanding social inequality. As such, it is also important to analyse the extent to which women get prestige in terms of power they have. Whilst Indian women may be socialised to behave in a subordinate fashion, they are also taught how to employ their position in situations to help pursue their own goals. They are socialised to also use the prestige they have based on the power they have attained, whether culturally, economically or politically. For example, women gain a greater sense of power and prestige by giving birth to sons, which they are able to exert in their roles as daughters-in-law and/or wives. In the process, they gain more privileges than those women who are barren or have had only girls. An abundance of literature in the South asserts that whilst women are socialised to fit a certain subordinate profile, they nevertheless have enough bargaining power in the household to make familial decisions. This position and ability has little to do with their economic contribution and more to do with the different stages in their life cycle, culture and gender stereotyping (Bhogle 1999; Ganesh 1999; Kapadia 1999).

In order to carry out a gender analysis, it is necessary that the information be disaggregated by sex, which refers to the biological differences between women and men. This means that the information is differentiated on the basis of what pertains to women and their roles, and to men and their roles. There are some activities that women and men engage in that are based

on these biologically defined differences that are the same all over the world and throughout history (e.g., childbirth). Gender, on the other hand, refers to the socially constructed roles of females and males. It is the social differentiation between the two, which may be transformed by social changes and/or varied depending on socio-economic and cultural factors (Moser 1993; Mehta and Srinivasan 2000).

*Gender relations is "the relations of power between women and men which are revealed in a range of practices, ideas, and representations, including the division of labour, roles, and resources between women and men, and the ascribing to them of different abilities, attitudes, desires, personality traits, behavioral patterns, and so on" (Agarwal 1994: 51).*

Gender is central to how societies assign roles and responsibilities, and determine access to and control over resources—it is a crosscutting-issue that influences all social and economic processes. Men tend to enjoy a relatively better economic status than women and have greater access to productive resources. They generally own land—either legally or informally—and other productive resources. They are relatively more skilled than women, socially and politically more dominant, and culturally and traditionally not responsible for domestic work. Gender roles, thus, vary across the following three dimensions: from generation to generation (different roles between generations), from place to place (different roles specific to a country and culture) and from time to time (different roles at different times in their life cycles).

In conducting a gender analysis, women's lives encompass more than just domestic and childbearing responsibilities. Women balance a greater multiplicity of roles and responsibilities, and are a part of gender relations systems that are embedded in various institutions and reinforced daily. Moser (1993) categorises them as reproductive, productive and community management roles, which compete, complement and change over the life cycle of a woman. Together with external factors, power relations

surrounding these roles influence a woman's position within the household and society.

Whilst power relations are multidimensional, power relations pertaining to gender differences are reinforced and perpetuated within the household and beyond the realms of the family. Power here is broadly defined as "control over material assets [physical, human, financial], intellectual resources [knowledge, information, and ideas], and ideology [specific sets of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behavior]..." (Batiwala 1994: 129). In turn, those particular individuals or groups who are able to control or influence the distribution of the above resources have the power to govern social relations and determine their level of decision-making in both spheres. Moreover, anything that challenges how power is currently allocated will cause conflict. Therefore, empowerment may often lead to disharmony or heightened conflict if there is a re-allocation of power.

A woman's status is based on the power relations between and within genders. Women are different from men and other women within the household, in terms of social and economic power, prestige, access to and control over resources within and beyond the household (Adams and Castle 1994). Consequently, these factors may constrain a woman's decision-making abilities and actions. According to Agarwal (1994: 51), the relationships of power between men and women are "revealed in a range of practices, ideas, and representations, including the division of labor, roles, and resources between women and men, and the ascribing to them different abilities, attitudes, desires, personality traits, behavioral patterns."

Women, throughout their life cycles, encounter power struggles over access to and control over limited resources. According to Adams and Castle (1994), *between-gender* relations, inequalities of power influence a woman's decision-making ability due to differences in control over material resources,

i.e., ownership of and access to land, labour and capital. *Within*-gender relations, inequalities in access to and control over nonmaterial resources, i.e., leisure time, influence a woman's ability to make decisions. For example, a mother-in-law may be "entitled" to more free time and less labour in the domestic domain.

The status of a woman in the family is dependent on power relations, which are also influenced by cultural values, stereotypes and patrilineal structures (Ganesh 1999; Kapadia 1999; Bhogle 1999). Women are socialised and conditioned to accept and internalise

*Patriarchal structures of power reward 'good' women who conform to a narrow definition of their identities: obediently and faithfully fulfilling roles while confined among family, community and social requirements. Simultaneously the 'bad' women are punished: because they dare to step out of stereotyped roles (Sandhan Shodh Kendra 1996: 5)*

norms that discriminate against them. This socialisation often occurs within the family and senior women within them, are the primary agents of it (Ganesh 1999). By manipulation and negotiation, Indian women have been able to use their position to gain access to and control over economic and political resources, which help them achieve specific goals and make decisions. By relying on structural lags and ambivalences in patriarchal societies where kinship is patrilineal, Ganesh (1999: 236) believes that their capacity to adjust "does not consist of acceptance alone but includes the acquisition of negotiation skills." Schooling is thus seen as an important instrument of the socialisation process —"it has the potential to reinforce or change prevailing social attitudes towards gender" (Gorman 1999: 18).

Ganesh (1999: 250) describes patriarchy and patrilineal ideology in the following manner. Patriarchy "describes a society which at various levels, codes and expresses male dominance and in such a society kinship is usually, but not necessarily, patrilineal." One is not derived from the other. Patrilineal ideology is the "underlying set of beliefs and values which privilege the male line and promote dominance and power of male agnatic kin."

Cultural systems coupled with patriarchal structures reward those women who follow the stereotypes and punish those who cross the limits (Sandhan Shodh Kendra 1996). There is no simple way in which cultural values interact with activities people pursue. In fact, Koenig (1995: 36) emphasises that cultural values interact in a complex way with other social phenomena to produce behaviour patterns that cut across class, ethnic groups and individuals. On one hand, whilst women are socialised to accept certain norms that perpetuate discrimination against them, they, on the other hand, are also taught how to actively negotiate their position so that they are able to make decisions and achieve immediate goals.

*Appendix G*

TIMELINE OF GUJARAT'S R&R POLICY, 1987

Date	Event	Major Outcomes	Action
1894	Land Acquisition Act	Principle law for acquisition of private land in return for cash compensation	
1969	NWDT formed		
1978	NWDT Award	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Costs and benefits distributed – Gujarat responsible for R&amp;R in other states</li> <li>• ‘Oustee’ defined (includes males 18 years and older)</li> <li>• Minimum of 5 acres for each landed oustee</li> <li>• No provisions for landless oustees, encroachers, or oustees from Gujarat</li> </ul>	
1979	Two (2) GOG Resolutions passed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Did not refer to the NWDT Award</li> <li>• Minimum of 5 acres per <u>landholding</u> (each contains 2-3 families) <u>not</u> per family</li> <li>• Ousteas who received cash compensation used it to buy private land</li> </ul>	
1980	Construction on the SSP begins (early)		ARCH-Vahini’s first contact with Tribals (July)
1981	Government Resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rs.19 crores for rehabilitation of all oustees from 3 states directly involved</li> </ul>	
1983	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The World Bank takes an interest</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First group accepts official R&amp;R package</li> <li>• No provisions for encroachers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pledge to the World Bank for proper R&amp;R</li> <li>• Letter to Bank on behalf of the encroachers</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• T. Scudder visits the site</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recommendations related to encroachers and release of forest lands for tribals</li> </ul>	

Date	Event	Major Outcomes	Action
1984			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oustees began to organise</li> <li>• Rally on March 8, 1984</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amendment to Land Acquisition Act</li> <li>• Minister of Irrigation promised 5 acres to encroachers and sons (aged 18 years and older)</li> <li>• T.Scudder returns</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cash compensation is not enough to adequately rebuild lives</li> </ul>	
1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• World Bank refers to landless oustees</li> </ul>		Protest at dam site (January)
5-30-85	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• GOG Resolution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encroachers entitled to minimum 3 acres and maximum 5 acres</li> <li>• Did not specify land type and allocation process</li> </ul>	
11-1-85	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• GOG Resolution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Each oustee <u>family</u> entitled to 5 acres of irrigable land of choice</li> <li>• Right for oustees to determine to relocate individually or as units</li> <li>• 'move towards GOG Resolution 1979 through a back door approach' –ARCH-Vahini</li> </ul>	
1986			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organised Tribals</li> <li>• Fought with affidavits, letters and memos to the Bank</li> </ul>
1987	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• World Bank Mission</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Debate over the World Bank Loan Agreement</li> </ul>	



Date	Event	Major Outcomes	Action
12-4-87	• GOG Resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encroachers and sons (18 years and more) entitled to a minimum 5 acres</li> <li>• Minimum 5 acres of land of choice for oustees</li> <li>• Extends benefits to oustees who were displaced prior to May 1985</li> </ul>	
12-14-87	• GOG Resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Replaces previous GOG Resolution dated 30 May 1985</li> <li>• Encroachers receive 5 acres of land of choice</li> </ul>	
12-17-87	• GOG Resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Landless oustees receive 5 acres of land of choice</li> </ul>	
12-23-87	• GOG Resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Current R&amp;R Policy of Gujarat</li> <li>• Formal Victory for PAPs of Gujarat</li> </ul>	
1988	• Narmada Bachao Andolan is formed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-dam campaign born – support more in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ARCH-Vahini continue to assist in implementation</li> </ul>

GOG=Government of Gujarat; NWDT=Narmada Waters Dispute Tribunal; PAPs=project-affected persons; Rs.=rupees; R&R=resettlement and rehabilitation; SSP=Sardar Sarovar Project

Source: GOG (1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c, 1990); ARCH-Vahini (1988a, 1988b); Patel (1997).

## *Appendix H*

### INVOLVEMENT OF OTHER NGOS IN GUJARAT'S R&R POLICY PROCESS

#### **ANaRDe Foundation**

The ANaRDe Foundation (Acil-Navasarjan Rural Development Foundation) is an NGO that is actively involved in implementing rehabilitation provisions (e.g., credit and loan schemes). A Mumbai-based organisation, ANaRDe works to improve the conditions of marginalised populations by offering alternatives for employment through programmes targeted at micro-finance, small-scale industries and rural development. The Foundation started integrated rural development work in 1979 in five villages of Gujarat. As of 2002, it has expanded its base and currently works in over 15,000 villages all over India, including 16 states.<sup>5</sup>

ANaRDe's presence at our six study-sites is very prominent. With a focus on self-help groups (SHGs), ANaRDe, in collaboration with the Bank of Baroda, has been able to implement a savings and credit scheme for women at the resettlement sites. These micro-credit groups for women have been set up in five of the six resettlement sites.

The Foundation also conducts training classes in skills development for income-generating ventures (i.e., sewing and tailoring). Tuition is collected for the classes and resettlers are taught tailoring skills using sewing machines. After the course, resettlers are given the opportunity to purchase a machine at a subsidised price. A number of issues related to follow-up and machine

---

<sup>5</sup> This information is based on Karmayog (not dated).

maintenance still exist with such savings and training schemes, respectively. Nevertheless, a number of micro-credit groups have been successfully established and some resettlers have also become skilled tailors (Chapter 9).

### **Anand Niketan Ashram (ANA)**

Anand Niketan Ashram has been working in the area of resettlement since 1986 (Vir 1997). Established in 1949, ANA is located in Rangpur—a village situated near the dam site in the Narmada Valley. Shri Harivallabh Parikh (otherwise known as “*Bhaiji*”) has worked with tribal communities through continuing education programmes for adults, social reforms and voluntary cooperation. They have helped to form close to 40 cooperatives of various types since its 1949, especially in the areas of social forestry and irrigation.<sup>6</sup>

With the support of the GOG and other agencies, ANA planned a scheme for forming and strengthening Mutual Aid Co-operative Societies (MACs) and Sardar Sarovar Resettlement Associations (SSRAs) from 1991-1992.<sup>7</sup> These societies and associations were formed to undertake educational work and other economic and commercial activities for affected tribals. Their objective was to allow PAPs to engage in activities for their own socio-economic development. By 1994, about 54 MACs and SSRAs had been organised and registered and average coverage had increased to 68.5 families per MACs by 1996 (Vir 1997).

---

<sup>6</sup> According to the Canadian Co-operative Association, a “co-operative” is “an organization owned by the members who use its services. Co-operatives can provide virtually any product or service, and can be either a non-profit or for-profit enterprise” (Canadian Co-operative Association, not dated).

<sup>7</sup> The SSRAs were a project venture where the Canadian Co-operative Association provided financial and technical assistance, including monitoring and evaluation services to ANA (Vir 1997). It was a two-year initiative from April 1992 until March 1994, with an extension of one year without any additional funds. By 1992, the Ashram was active at some 30 resettlement sites (Morse and Berger 1992: 130).

The memorandum of understanding that was developed by ANA included five essential points for the primary MACSs (Vir 1997): relocation of PAPS; assistance in the construction of temporary sheds and dwellings (i.e., development of local infrastructure) at the new sites; allotment of the five acres of replacement land per household, including agricultural inputs; arrangements for education and vocational training for resettlers and promotion of savings, self-help social reforms and cooperation amongst PAPS. The most significant point focuses on resettlers' choice. ANA efforts continue in the R&R process; the Canadian Co-operatives Association in the MACSc and SSRAs, however, has ceased.<sup>8</sup>

*'...to help them [PAPs of all three states] resettle their households at the new sites allocated, on the basis of resettlers' choice' (Vir 1997)*

### **Rajpipla Social Service Society (RSSS)**

The Rajpipla Social Service Society is an NGO that has provided free legal assistance to the tribals and Dalits in the Narmada Valley region.<sup>9</sup> Located in Rajpipla (District of Bharuch), the late Jesuit priest Joseph Idiakunnel founded the Society in 1975. Leading to the revision of Gujarat's R&R policy, the RSSS also assisted the Narmada tribals in land-related matters through court action (Parasuraman 1999: 235).

Since its establishment, the RSSS has helped to set up 12 legal centres for tribals. Over 20 to 25 years, the RSSS has provided free legal aid to tribals in close to 35,000 to 50,000 cases (Uprety et al., 2000; Sholay.com 2000). The RSSS has also produced lawyers by educating the tribal youths: two out of the

---

<sup>8</sup> Few respondents from our survey remembered having any interactions with the ANA: less than one per cent recalled their presence in the Valley and about 2% remembered attending their meetings prior to resettlement.

<sup>9</sup> The RSSS is also involved karate training for tribal girls and boys. With an increase in atrocities against the tribal youths, the Society established a karate-training centre in 1996. Since then, about 2,000 tribal

first batch of 10 tribal graduates have become judges at district courts (Malekar 2000). The Society has also helped to set up an alternative judiciary system, which help the courts address and resolve disputes (land-related or otherwise) in a more timely fashion. Such a system includes *lok adalats*, a variety of tribunals and consumer courts: the number of disputes that have been filed in the courts has increased as literacy and the interference of political bodies in the *Panchayats* system are both increasing.

---

children have undergone intensive karate training, resulting in four black-belts who have competed in state and national competitions (Malekar 2000; Sholay.com 2000)

## *Appendix I*

### DETAILS OF DEVELOPMENT AND SAVINGS SCHEMES FOR WOMEN AT THE SIX RESETTLEMENT SITES

#### **The Savings Scheme by ANaRDe Foundation**

About 85% of women interviewed using the gender assessment questionnaire mentioned that their bank account was with the ANaRDe Foundation —a national non-governmental organisation that sponsors a plethora of rural development schemes in India. At the resettlement sites, ANaRDe, in collaboration with the Bank of Baroda, has set up bank accounts for groups of female resettlers in the new resettlement colonies. Respondents —both male and female —have confirmed the establishment of such schemes at each of their respective resettlement sites. Whilst the scheme has sustained itself more successfully at some sites (i.e., **Site B**), it has fallen through the cracks at some other sites (i.e., **Site D**).

This scheme consists of a group of 10 women with one or two *mukhiyas* (or leader of a group). Collectively, they hold an official bank account in the nearby town. The *mukhiya(s)* have a basic level of education, make the necessary deposits and request withdrawals and are responsible for the overall management of the funds. Whilst individual ANaRDe bank books are issued to each member of the team, an official Bank of Baroda book is issued to the group leader. The official Bank of Baroda account is a joint account of a *mukhiya* and another team member. Transactions, especially withdrawals, are made with the consent of the group and the joint-signature of the other team member. I was told that these leaders receive no incentives from the NGO to manage the accounts. The one female leader that I interviewed at **Site B** told me that because it is a guaranteed savings scheme,

she provides this volunteer service in the interest of the group (Anonymous 2001b).

This was the general description that I was able to obtain about the savings scheme. However, through an in-depth interview with a woman from Site B, I was able to gain insight into the specifics of the scheme as it pertained to Site B. For instance, this savings scheme has only been active for the past 3 months (since December 2000) where about 40 married women and four team leaders are currently involved. Moreover, I also discovered that the manner of deposit differs from site to site. For instance, women from Site B travel to the Bank to make transactions whilst those from Site D had ANaRDe workers come to the site to collect the deposits. As may be assumed, problems with follow-up have occurred in such instances where women do not physically make the transactions themselves (i.e., those from Site D). According to one female resettler, it has been two years since someone from the NGO has visited them again. This grievance was filed with the SSPA in March 2001.

Whilst a deposit must be made at least once per month, it may be made as frequently as desired by the group of 10 women. A minimum of Rs.25 to Rs.50 per woman per month is required for each deposit. However, in order for women to make this required minimum deposit, they need to have a steady source of income. Most are farmers in their own fields, and few partake in agricultural wage labour. Others earn cash as mid-day meal cooks for school children, or as *dais* (or traditional untrained birth attendants). A small percentage have control over the income they generate, and none has formal training in any of these areas of "specialisation." As such, I discovered that women tend to ask their husbands or other family members, or must rely on one another for a combined deposit.

About 32% of my female respondents save for clothing, food and/or future security; a greater percentage would like to save but are unable to

because of difficulties associated with locating the money for making deposits. In a society where women are mostly illiterate, lack training and skill and hold a low position in the social system, livelihood training programmes for woman need to be established so that savings ventures prove to be a more effective means to awareness and empowerment. It is clear from past studies that women gain more bargaining power and decision-making ability within the home if they have an independent source of income, and are able to maintain control over the cash they receive.

### **The Sewing Machine Scheme by ANaRDe Foundation**

This skills training scheme has also been initiated by ANaRDe Foundation at more than one site in my survey. For example, the scheme is fairly new at **Site B** but at other sites, the training has been completed and as a result, some individuals have invested in machines and local tailors have been trained.<sup>10</sup>

At **Site B**, this is the first scheme that has started since resettlement. Another tailoring scheme was designed, but it lasted only one month. This scheme was set up especially for males. However, they stopped attending as the incentive of Rs.500 stipend was promised but never materialised. After about a month, the tailoring classes ceased to exist. A similar stipend of Rs.500 has been promised to the women who are now engaged in the sewing classes. Additionally, the Foundation has promised machines at a 50% subsidy. Despite what the site has previously experienced and witnessed, the 30 women who are currently enrolled appear optimistic about the class, the stipend and the subsidised machines.

To enrol, participants must pay Rs.50 for the class. Whilst interest has been manifested amongst the women at **Site B**, supply and maintenance of

---

<sup>10</sup> Parasuraman (1999: 224) warns that the number of tailors that are generated is in proportion to the size of the site, as was the case in Parveta, a resettlement site in Gujarat.



machines limit the amount of practical experience all 30 women may gain. Out of four machines, only three are fully functioning. Based on a rotary, some women practice on the machines directly, whilst others prepare their stitching patterns ahead of time. The classes are held on site in one of the schoolrooms from two o'clock in the afternoon until half-past four in the afternoon. During this time, some women tend to take a break from agricultural work as the heat becomes unbearable. I mostly observed daughters and granddaughters of first-generation resettlers.

Similar schemes were implemented as early as 1992 at some of the sites. It is, however, unclear whether the ANaRDe Foundation was responsible for its implementation during the early 1990s, as field notes from 1993 do not cite the sponsoring organisation. For instance, in an interview that was conducted in 1993, a female resettler from Site C said that she and her daughters had taken part in a cooperative from Vadodara, which taught women how to operate sewing machines (Anonymous 1993b). At that time, approximately 25 women engaged in the training classes from the site for six months. The cooperative provided seven machines, which were placed in an empty tin shed that was used as a classroom. The classes were held every day of the week, except Sundays, from noon until 4 p.m. A stipend of Rs.100 per month was awarded to each woman who participated in these workshops and an examination was given at the end of the course. Two daughters of this resettler described the momentum that built up as a result of this training dissipated once the cooperative removed six out of the seven machines from the site. Machines were promised at a subsidised rate of Rs.100 and a number of women had paid the money, but no machines were delivered.

### **The Credit and Loan Scheme by ANaRDe Foundation**

About 7% of respondents indicated that they have taken advantage of a credit and loans scheme for agricultural purposes; a majority of them live at

**Site A.** From my conversations with these female resettlers, I discovered the basic structure of the scheme.

A local women's association sponsors the credit and loans scheme.<sup>11</sup> A *mabila mandal* are "traditional local organisation of women" that unite in celebration, sorrow or crisis (Das 2000). They are informal community-level associations of women that have successfully addressed daily gender inequalities of women, but also have the potential for creating entry points for women into the public domain. One resettler at **Site A** described the scheme and channels through which loans are requested (Anonymous 2001h).

There is one *mukhiya* who is responsible for the distribution of loans to other women at the site. At **Site A**, the group leader told me that she had received a loan of Rs.40,000 from the *mabila mandal*, which she has further loaned to about 32 women from the same site.<sup>12</sup> Each of these women has taken out a loan in the amount of Rs.1,000 for agricultural purposes. The repayment includes this amount, plus interest. A number of other female resettlers confirmed this amount (Anonymous 2001h). The *mukhiya* explained that the interest that is to be paid on this amount borrowed increases with the amount of time that passes. In turn, she then pays the *mabila mandal* interest on the Rs.40,000.

### **Other Schemes**

There are a number of other schemes that have been introduced at the resettlement sites since relocation first began. Some women recalled these schemes during my field research in 2000-2001, but more detailed description of these schemes was given to me during my 1993 field research.

---

<sup>11</sup> The name of the local women's association was not noted at the time of interviews.

<sup>12</sup> If 32 women have borrowed Rs.1,000 each, then only Rs.8,000 out of Rs.40,000 is left. When I inquired about this amount, the Mukhiya did not respond. The management of these loans is unclear.

In 1993, a resettler and her friends from Site A mentioned a scheme whereby a women's group from Dabhoi ran a cooperative that taught women how to make chalk (Anonymous 1993k). The training was conducted in a tin shed and was held in conjunction with a "day school" which looked after the preschoolers whilst their mothers partook in the chalk-making activities. In 1993, I learned that the classes were established in July 1993, and about 20 to 30 women had participated in these sessions, which were held every day from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m., except on Sundays. Each chalk machine made 100 pieces and women were not restricted to one aspect of its production. Whilst some women mixed the materials (oil and water with chalk powder), others filled the mixture into the machines, whilst still others would clean up afterwards. The duties rotated so that each woman learned each task. At the time, a resettler told me of the initial awkwardness felt in engaging in such sessions. Whilst there was no examination at the end of the training, a stipend of Rs.10 day was given to each woman. In August 1993, I was told that the workshops had stopped and that they were awaiting the return of the instructor.

During my research in 2000-2001, I inquired whether the instructor had ever returned and learned that there had been no follow-up.

## REFERENCES

- Adams, A., and Castle, S. (1994). Gender Relations and Household Dynamics. In: G. Sen, A. Germain, and L.C. Chen (eds), *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment, and Rights*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, pp.161-73.
- ADB (Asian Development Bank). (1999). *China Resettlement Policy and Practice —Review and Recommendations. Draft for Reviewing, Regional Technical Assistance Project*. Manila: ADB.
- ADB. (2001). *ADB HQ Staff Training in Resettlement Management. Module E: Reservoir/Hydropower Projects. Focus: Sharing Project Benefits*. 21 September. Manila: ADB. [Online: [http://www.adb.org/Documents/Manuals/Resettlement/resettlement\\_module\\_E.pdf](http://www.adb.org/Documents/Manuals/Resettlement/resettlement_module_E.pdf).]
- ADB. (2002). *Indigenous Peoples/Ethnic Minorities and Poverty Reduction: Viet Nam*. Manila: Environment and Social Safeguard Division, Regional and Sustainable Development Department, ADB.
- Agarwal, A., Narain, S., and Sen, S. (1999). *State of India's Environment: The Citizen's Fifth Report*. New Delhi: Centre for Science and Environment.
- Agarwal, B. (1988). Patriarchy and the 'Modernising' State. In: B. Agarwal, (ed), *Structures of Patriarchy: State, Community and Household in Modernising Asia*. Part of Series on: *Women and the Household in Asia*, Volume 2, L. Dube (series ed.). New Delhi: Kali for Women, pp.1-28.
- Agarwal, B. (1994). Conceptualising Gender Relations. *A Field of One's Own: Gender and Land Rights in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.51-81.
- Aggarwal, Y. (1992). Is Narmada Project a Disaster? *Free Press Journal* (21 August).
- Ahmed, I.I., and Lipton, M. (1997). Impact of Structural Adjustment on Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Review of the Literature. *IDS Working Paper No. 62*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies (IDS) and Poverty Research Unit, University of Sussex.
- Alagh, Y. K., and Hashim, S. R. (1989). *FACT AND FICTION: Sardar Sarovar Project*. Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Narmada Planning Group, Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited (NPG/SSNNL).

- Anonymous. (1993a). Personal interview with a Rathwa male resettler. Site D, Gujarat, 17 July.
- Anonymous. (1993b). Personal interview with a Tadvi female resettler. Site C, Gujarat, 23 July.
- Anonymous. (1993c). Personal interview with a Tadvi female resettler. Site B, Gujarat, 24 July.
- Anonymous. (1993d). Personal interview with a Tadvi male resettler. Site B, Gujarat, 24 July.
- Anonymous. (1993e). Personal interview with a Bhil male resettler. Site A, Gujarat, 25 July.
- Anonymous. (1993f). Personal interview with a Rathwa female resettler. Site A, Gujarat, 25 July.
- Anonymous. (1993g). Personal interview with a Tadvi female resettler. Site C, Gujarat, 26 July.
- Anonymous. (1993h). Personal interview with a Tadvi male resettler. Site C, Gujarat, 26 July.
- Anonymous. (1993i). Personal interview with a male Tadvi member of the host-village near Site B, Gujarat, 27 July.
- Anonymous. (1993j). Personal interview with a Tadvi male resettler. Site C, Gujarat, 11 August.
- Anonymous. (1993k). Personal interview with a Rathwa female resettler. Site A, Gujarat, 12 August.
- Anonymous. (1993l). Personal interview with a Rathwa male resettler. Site A, Gujarat, 12 August.
- Anonymous. (2000a). Sins of the Secular Missionaries. *The Economist* (29 January): 25-28.
- Anonymous. (2000b). SC gives the go-ahead for the Sardar Sarovar Project. *Times of India* (18 October).
- Anonymous. (2001a). Personal interview with a Rathwa female resettler. Site A, Gujarat, 17 February.
- Anonymous. (2001b). Personal interview with a Tadvi female resettler. Site B, Gujarat, 17 February.

- Anonymous. (2001c). Personal interview with a Tadvi female resettler. Site B, Gujarat, 20 February.
- Anonymous. (2001d). Personal interview with a Tadvi female resettler. Site C, Gujarat, 22 February.
- Anonymous. (2001e). Personal interview with a Tadvi female resettler. Site C, Gujarat, 26 February.
- Anonymous. (2001f). Personal interview with a Rathwa female resettler. Site A, Gujarat, 27 February.
- Anonymous. (2001g). Personal interview with a Rathwa female resettler. Site A, Gujarat, 27 February.
- Anonymous. (2001h). Personal interview with a Rathwa female resettler. Site A, Gujarat, 27 February.
- Appa, G., and Patel, G. (1996). Unrecognised, Unnecessary and Unjust Displacement: Case Studies from Gujarat, India. In: C. McDowell (ed), *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.139-50.
- ARCH-Vahini (Action Research Community Health and Development-Vahini). (1988a). *Sardar Sarovar Oustees Which Way to Go: Activists' Dilemma*. Mangrol-Rajpipla (Bharauch), Gujarat: ARCH-Vahini.
- ARCH-Vahini. (1988b). *Displacement in Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) Project: A Gujarat Experience*. Mangrol-Rajpipla (Bharauch), Gujarat: ARCH-Vahini (April).
- ARCH-Vahini. (1991). *Rehabilitation and Resettlement in Sardar Sarovar Projects: Are the Critics Right?* Mangrol-Rajpipla (Bharauch), Gujarat: ARCH-Vahini (30 April).
- Ashley, C. (2000). The Impacts of Tourism on Rural Livelihoods: Namibia's Experience. *ODI Working Paper* 128. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- Ashley, C., and Carney, D. (1999). *Sustainable Livelihoods: Lessons from Early Experience*. London: Department for International Development (DFID).
- Ashley, C., and Hussein, K. (2000). Developing Methodologies for Livelihood Impact Assessment: Experience of the African Wildlife Foundation in East Africa. *ODI Working Paper* No. 129. London: ODI.

- Asif, M. (2000). Why Displaced Persons Reject Project Resettlement Colonies. *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 10: 2005-08.
- Asthana, R. (1996). Involuntary Resettlement: International Experience. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31(24): 1468-75.
- Babbar, V.K. (2001a). Personal interview. Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency (SSPA) Office, Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat, 12 February.
- Babbar, V.K. (2001b). Personal interview. SSPA Office, Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat, 5 March.
- Banu, Z. (2001). *Tribal Women Empowerment and Gender Issues*. New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, Distributors.
- Barber, M., and Ryder, G. (eds) (1993). *Damming the Three Gorges: What Dam Builders Don't Want You to Know. A Critique of the Three Gorges Water Control Project Feasibility Study*. London: Probe International and Earthscan.
- Bardhan, A.B. (1973). *The Tribal Problem in India*. New Delhi: Communist Party of India Publications.
- Barrow, C. J. (1997). *Environmental and Social Impact Assessment: Introduction*. London: Arnold, a member of Hodder Headline Group.
- Barrow, C. J. (2000). *Social Impact Assessment: An Introduction*. London: Arnold, a member of Hodder Headline Group.
- Batliwala, S. (1994). The Meaning of Women's Empowerment: New Concepts From Action. In: G. Sen, A. Germain and L.C. Chen (eds), *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment, and Rights*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, pp.127-38.
- Baviskar, A. (1995). *In the Belly of the River*. Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Baviskar, A. (1997). Displacement and the Bhilala Tribals of the Narmada Valley. In: J. Drèze, M. Samson and S. Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.103-35.
- Baviskar, A. (2001). Cutting Off a Lifeline. *The Hindu. Folio: Earthscapes* (20 May). [Published in *Rivers* (1 July)].

- Baxi, U. (1989). Notes on Constitutional and Legal Aspects of Rehabilitation and Displacement. In: W. Fernandes and E.G. Thukral (eds), *Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation*, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, pp.164-70.
- Beall, J. (1995). Social Security and Social Networks Among the Urban Poor in Pakistan. *Habitat International*, 19(4): 427-45.
- Beall, J. (2002). Living in the Present, Investing in the Future: Household Livelihoods Strategies of the Urban Poor. In: C. Rakodi and T. Lloyd-Jones (eds), *Urban Livelihoods*, London: Earthscan, pp.71-87.
- Beall, J., and Kanji, N. (1999). Households, Livelihoods and Urban Poverty, Theme Paper Three, ESCOR Commissioned Research on Urban Governance, Partnership and Poverty, International Development Department, University of Birmingham.
- Bebbington, A. (1999). Capitals and Capabilities: A Framework for Analyzing Peasant Viability, Rural Livelihoods and Poverty. *World Development* 27(12): 2021-44.
- Behura, N. K. (1993). Tribes of India: Planned Development. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 68-78.
- Bessette, G. (2004). *Involving the Community: A Guide to Participatory Development Communication*. Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Center.
- Beteille, A. (1986). The Concept of Tribe with Special Reference to India. *Archives of European Sociology*, 37: 297-318.
- Beteille, A. (1998). The Idea of Indigenous People. Commentary. *Current Anthropology*, 39(2): 187-91.
- Bhalla, S. S. (1999). Going Wrong with Figures on Big Dam Way. *The Indian Express* (6 September).
- Bhasin, V., and Bhasin, M. K. (1997). Women's Status and Fertility Among Transhumant Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh. In: G. Pfeffer and D.K. Behera (eds), *Contemporary Society: Tribal Studies. Volume II: Development Issues, Transition and Change*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, pp.115-42.
- Bhatia, B. (1993). *Forced Evictions of Tribal Oustees Due to Sardar Sarovar Project in Five Villages of Gujarat*. Report submitted to the Gujarat High Court, 15 July.



- Bhatia, B. (1997a). Forced Evictions in the Narmada Valley. In: J. Drèze, M. Samson and S. Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.267-321.
- Bhatia, B. (1997b). Written correspondence [via E-mail]. London/Cambridge, 28 August.
- Bhogle, S. (1999). Gender Roles: The Construct in the Indian Context. In: T.S. Saraswathi, (ed), *Culture, Socialization and Human Development: Theory, Research and Applications in India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp.279-300.
- Bhushan, I., Bloom, E., Huu, N. H., and Thang, N. M. (2001). *Human Capital of the Poor in Viet Nam*. Manila: ADB.
- BIC (Bank Information Center). (2002). *BIC Project Factsheet #8: The ADB funded Samut Prakarn Wastewater Management Project in Thailand*. July update. Washington, DC: BIC.
- Boserup, E. (1970). *Women's Role in Economic Development*. London: London, Allen & Unwin.
- Boserup, E. 1990. "Population, the Status of Women, and Rural Development." In: G. McNicoll and M. Cain (eds), *Rural Development and Population: Institutions and Policy*, A Supplement to Vol. 15, 1989. *Population and Development Review*. pp. 45-60.
- Brandenburger, A. M., and Nalebuff, B. J. (1996). *Co-opetition*. New York, NY: Currency, published by Doubleday, a division of Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Incorporated.
- Brock, K. (1999). Implementing a Sustainable Livelihoods Framework for Policy-directed Research: Reflections and Practice in Mali. *IDS Working Paper No. 90*. Brighton: IDS, University of Sussex.
- Buvinic, M. (1986). Projects for Women in the Third World: Explaining their Misbehaviour. *World Development*, 14(5): 653-64.
- Canadian Co-operative Association. (not dated). About Co-operatives. [Online: <http://www.coopscanada.coop/aboutcoop/>].
- Carino, J. (2001). Review of Hydroelectric Projects and the Impact on Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Minorities. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*. Boston, MA: Cultural Survival.

- Carney, D. (ed) (1998). *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: What Contributions Can We Make?* London: DFID.
- Carney, D. (1999). Approaches to Sustainable Livelihoods for the Rural Poor. *ODI Poverty Briefing*, No. 2. London: ODI.
- Carney, D., Drinkwater, M., Rusinow, T., Neefjes, K., Wanmali, S. and Singh, N. (1999) *Livelihoods Approaches Compared*. London: DFID.
- Census of India. (not dated). *2001 Census of India*. New Delhi: Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs. [Online: <http://www.censusindia.net>]
- Cernea, M.M. (1985). Involuntary Resettlement: Social Research, Policy and Planning. In: M. M. Cernea (ed), *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development*, First edition, New York, NY: Oxford University Press for the World Bank.
- Cernea, M.M. (1988). Involuntary Resettlement in Development Projects: Guidelines in World Bank-Financed Projects. *World Bank Technical Paper*, No. 80. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Cernea, M.M. (1993). Anthropological and Sociological Research for Policy Development on Resettlement. In: M.M. Cernea and S.E. Guggenheim (eds), *Anthropological Approaches to Resettlement: Policy, Practice and Theory*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 13-38.
- Cernea, M.M. (1996a). Understanding and Preventing Impoverishment from Displacement: Reflections on the State of Knowledge. In: C. McDowell (ed), *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.14-32.
- Cernea, M.M. (1996b). *The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations*. Keynote Address presented at the International Conference on Reconstructing Livelihoods: Towards New Approaches to Resettlement at University of Oxford, Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford, 9-13 September.
- Cernea, M.M. (1997). Hydropower Dams and Social Impacts: A Sociological Perspective. *Environment Department Papers*, Social Assessment Series No. 044 (January). Washington, DC: Social Policy and Resettlement Division, Environmentally Sustainable Development, The World Bank.
- Cernea, M.M. (1999). Why Economic Analysis is Essential to Resettlement: A Sociologist View. In: M. M. Cernea (ed), *The Economics of Involuntary*

- Resettlement: Questions and Challenges*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, pp.5-49.
- Chambers R. (1983). *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. Sussex: Longman Group Ltd.
- Chambers, R. (1988). Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Key Strategy for People, Environment and Development. In: C. Conroy and M. Litvinoff (eds), *The Greening of Aid: Sustainable Livelihoods in Practice*. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., in association with The International Institute for Environment and Development, pp.1-17.
- Chambers, R. (1997). *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Chambers, R., and Conway, G. (1992). Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. *IDS Discussion Paper*, No. 296. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.
- Chant, S. (1997). *Women-beaded Households: Diversity and Dynamics in the Developing World*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Chen, M.A. (1991). *Coping With Seasonality and Drought*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Cleaver, F. (1999). Paradoxes of Participation: Questioning Participatory Approaches to Development. *Journal of International Development*, 11: 597-612.
- Coleman, J. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (Supplement): S95-S120.
- Colson, E. (1971). *The Social Consequences of Resettlement*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- CSS (Centre for Social Studies). (1997). Resettlement and Rehabilitation in Gujarat. In: J. Drèze, M. Samson and S. Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.215-35.
- CSS. (2001). *Annual Report 2000-2001*. Surat: CSS, South Gujarat University. [Online: <http://www.centreforsocialstudies.org/arcss.htm>].
- Das, B. (1982). *Studies on Rehabilitation of Submerging Villages: Vadgam*. Surat: CSS, South Gujarat University.

- Das, B. (1983). *Studies on Rehabilitation of Submerging Villages: Mokhdi*. Surat: CSS, South Gujarat University.
- Das, M. (2000). Mahila Mandals in Gender Politics. *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 9 [Online].
- Das, M. (2001). Of Myths and Legends. *The Hindu. Folio: Earthscapes* (20 May). [Published in *Rivers* (1 July)].
- de Wet, C. (1988). Stress and Environmental Change in the Analysis of Community Relocation. *Human Organization*, 47(2) [Online].
- de Wet, C. (2002). Improving Outcomes in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement Projects. In: M. Couldrey and T. Morris (eds), *Forced Migration Review*, Issue 12 [Dilemmas of Development-Induced Displacement], pp.6-9. Based on a final report prepared for DFID: *Final Report to the Department for International Development on ESCOR-funded Project No R7644: Addressing Impoverishment and Resistance and Improving Outcomes in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement Projects*. Oxford: University of Oxford.
- DFID (Department for International Development). (2001). *Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets*. [Online: [www.livelihoods.org/info/info\\_guidanceSheets.html#6](http://www.livelihoods.org/info/info_guidanceSheets.html#6).]
- Dhagamwar, V. (1989). Rehabilitation: Policy and Institutional Changes Required. In: W. Fernandes and E. Ganguly-Thukral (eds), *Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation*. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- Dhagamwar, V. (1992). A Long Long Way From Home: The Search for a Rehabilitation Policy. In: E. Ganguly-Thukral (ed), *Big Dams, Displaced People: Rivers of Sorrow, Rivers of Change*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp.187-97.
- Dixon-Mueller, R. (1993). *Population Policy and Women's Rights*. London: Praeger Publishers.
- Dorcey, T., Steiner, A., Acreman, M., and Orlando, B. (eds). (1997). *Large Dams: Learning From the Past, Looking at the Future. Workshop Proceedings. Gland, Switzerland*. Cambridge and Washington DC: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) and the World Bank.
- Downing, T.E. (2002). Creating Poverty: The Flawed Economic Logic of the World Bank's Revised Involuntary Resettlement Policy. In: M. Couldrey and T. Morris (eds), *Forced Migration Review: Dilemmas of*

- Development-Induced Displacement*, Issue 12 ['Dilemmas of Development-Induced Displacement'], pp.13-14.
- Drèze, J., Samson, M. and Singh, S. (eds) (1997). *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*. Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dube, S.C . (1977). *Tribal Heritage of India*. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
- Dwivedi, R. (1999). Displacement, Risks and Resistance: Local Perceptions and Actions in the Sardar Sarovar. *Development and Change*, 30: 43-78.
- Eckholm, E. (1979). *The Dispossessed of the Earth: Land Reform and Sustainable Development*. Washington, DC: Worldwatch Institute.
- Economic and Political Weekly Editorial. 2002. Women's Education: Continuing Neglect. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37(29).
- Elson, D. (1995). Male Bias in the Development Process: An Overview. In: D. Elson (ed), *Male Bias in the Development Process*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp.1-28.
- Elwin, V. (1959). *A Philosophy for NEFA*, (Second Edition). Shillong: North East Frontier Agency.
- Eriksen, J.H. (1999). Comparing the Economic Planning for Voluntary and Involuntary Resettlement. In: M. M. Cernea (ed), *The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: Questions and Challenges*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, pp.83-146.
- Escudero, C. (1988). *Involuntary Resettlement in Bank-Assisted Projects: An Introduction to Legal Issues*. Washington DC: Legal Department, The World Bank.
- Express News Service. (1999). SSP Medical Cell Starts Work Today. *Indian Express* (28 April).
- Farrington, J., Carney, D., Ashley, C., and Turton, C. (1999). Sustainable Livelihoods in Practice: Early Applications of Concepts in Rural Areas. *ODI Natural Resource Perspectives*, No. 42. London: ODI.
- Fearnside, PM. (1993). Resettlement Plans for China's Three Gorges Dam. In: M. Barber, and G. Ryder (eds), *Damming the Three Gorges: What Dam Builders Don't Want You to Know. A Critique of the Three Gorges Water*

- Control Project Feasibility Study*. London: Probe International and Earthscan, pp.34-58.
- Fernandes, W. (1991). Power and Powerlessness: Development Projects and Displacement of Tribals. *Social Action*, 41(3): 243-70.
- Fernandes, W. (1993). Indian Tribal and Search for an Indigenous Identity. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 33-42.
- Fernandes W. (1994). *Development-Induced Displacement in the Tribal Areas of Eastern India*. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- Fernandes, W. (1999). An Introduction. In: W. Fernandes (ed.), *The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill 1998. For Liberalization or For the Poor*. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- Fernandes, W., and Naik, N. (1999). *Development-induced Displacement in Goa 1965-1995: A Study of Its Extent and Nature*. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute and Panaji and Indian National Social Action Forum.
- Fernandes, W., and Paranjpye, V. (eds) (1997). *Rehabilitation Policy and Law in India: A Right to Livelihood*. New Delhi and Pune: Indian Social Institute: and Econet, pp.15-17.
- Focus Group Discussion. (1993a). Discussion held with 15 Tadvi female resettlers. Site B, Gujarat, 24 July.
- Focus Group Discussion. (1993b). Discussion held with 5 Rathwa male resettlers. Site A, Gujarat, 14 August.
- Focus Group Discussion. (2001). Discussion held with 25 Tadvi female resettlers. Site B, Gujarat, 19 February.
- Focus on the Global South (2002). *The Samut Prakan Wastewater Management Project Inspection Process*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University
- Fowler, F. J. (1990). *Standardized Survey Interviewing: Minimizing Interviewer-Related Error*. London: Sage Publications.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Forward by Richard Shaull. London: Penguin Books.
- Friedmann, J. (1992). *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Limited.

- Gandotra, M.M. (1989). Fertility, Mortality and Contraceptive Prevalence in a Tribal Population. In: S. N. Singh, M. K. Premi, P. S. Bhatia and A. Bose (eds.), *Population Transition in India*, Vol. II., New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, pp.267-74.
- Ganesh, K. (1999). Patrilineal Structure and Agency of Women: Issues in Gendered Socialization. In: T.S. Saraswathi, (ed), *Culture, Socialization and Human Development: Theory, Research and Applications in India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp.235-54.
- Ganguly-Thukral, E. (1992). Introduction. In: E. Ganguly-Thukral (ed), *Big Dams, Displaced People: Rivers of Sorrow, Rivers of Change*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp.7-28.
- Ganguly-Thukral, E. (1996). Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: Locating Gender. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31(24): 1500-03.
- Gazelius, H., and Millwood, D. (1988). *NGOs in Development and Participation in Practice: An Initial Inquiry*, Stockholm: Department of Anthropology, University of Stockholm.
- George, J., and Sreekumar, S.S. (1993). Conceptual Framework for Tribal Development. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 79-82.
- Ghurye, G.S. (1963). *The Scheduled Tribes*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Gill, M. (1995). Resettlement and Rehabilitation in Maharashtra for the Sardar Sarovar Narmada Project. In: W.F. Fisher (ed), *Working Towards Sustainable Development? The Damning of the Narmada River in Western India*. New York, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- GOG (Government of Gujarat). (1984). Government of Gujarat Resolution No. NPG-1084 748=1K: 15 April.
- GOG. (1985). Government of Gujarat Resolution No. RHB-1085-D: 1 November.
- GOG. (1987a). Government of Gujarat Resolution No. RHB-1087 (66)/D: 4 December.
- GOG. (1987b). Government of Gujarat Resolution No. RHB-7087 (23)/D: 14 December.
- GOG. (1987c). Government of Gujarat Resolution No. RHB-7087 (76)/D: 17 December.

- GOG. (1990). Government of Gujarat Resolution No. RHB-7088 (67)/D: 19 June.
- GOG. (1992). Government of Gujarat Resolution to establish the Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency (SSPA): 5 December.
- GOI (Government of India). (1978). *The Report of the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal With Its Decision: In the Matter of Water Disputes Regarding the Inter-State River Narmada and the River Valley Thereof Between The State of Gujarat, The State of Madhya Pradesh, The State of Maharashtra, The State of Rajasthan*. New Delhi: GOI.
- GOI. (1994). *Draft National Policy for the Rehabilitation of Persons Displaced as a Consequence of an Acquisition of Land Acquisition*. New Delhi: Ministry of Rural Development.
- GOI. (2004). *National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation for Project Affected Families—2003 (NPRR—2003)*. New Delhi: Ministry of Rural Development, Department of Land Resources (F. No, Acq. 13011/4/2003-LRD). Published in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary Part-I, Section I (17 February).
- Goldsmith, E., and Hildyard, N. (1984). *The Social and Environmental Effects of Large Dams*. San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.
- Good, B.J. (1996). Mental Health Consequences of Displacements. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31(24): 1504-08.
- Gopal, G. (1992a). *Gender and Resettlement in India*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Gopal, G. (1992b). *Participation of Women in Involuntary Resettlement in Selected Asian Countries: Operational Issues and Guidelines*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Gorman, S. (1999). Gender and Development in Cambodia: An Overview. *Working Paper No. 10*. Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute.
- Goyal, S. (1996). Economic Perspectives on Displacement. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31(24): 1461-67.
- Gray, A. (1996). Indigenous Resistance to Involuntary Relocation. In: C. McDowell (ed), *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.99-122.



- Grootaert, C. (1998). Social Capital: The Missing Link? *Social Capital Initiative Working Paper*, No.3 (April). Washington, DC: Social Development Family, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network, The World Bank.
- Grootaert, C. (1999). Social Capital, Household Welfare and Poverty in Indonesia. *Local Level Institution Study Working Paper*, No. 6 (April). Washington, DC: Social Development Family, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network, The World Bank.
- Grown, C.A., and Sebstad, J. (1989). Introduction: Toward a Wider Perspective on Women's Employment. *World Development*, 7(7): 937-52.
- Guggenheim, S.E., and Cernea, M. M. (1993). Anthropological Approaches to Involuntary Resettlement: Policy, Practice and Theory. In: M. M. Cernea and S. E. Guggenheim (eds), *Anthropological Approaches to Resettlement: Policy, Practice and Theory*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp.1-12.
- Gutman, P. (1999). Distributional Analysis. Contributing paper prepared for the World Commission on Dams Thematic Review III.1: Economic, Financial and Distributional Analysis. Arlington, VA.
- Gutman, P.S. (1994). Involuntary Resettlement in Hydropower Projects. *Annual Review of Energy and the Environment*, 19: 189-210.
- Hakim, R. (1997). Resettlement and Rehabilitation in the Context of the 'Vasava' Culture. In: J. Drèze, M. Samson, and S. Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.136-67.
- Hall, A. (1992). From Victims to Victors: NGOs and the Politics of Empowerment at Itaparica. In: M. Edwards and D. Hulme (eds), *Making a Difference: NGOs and Development in a Changing World*, London: Save the Children and Earthscan Publications Limited, pp.148-58.
- Hall, A. (1993). *Making People Matter: Development and the Environment in Brazilian Amazonia*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London.
- Hall, A. (1994). Grassroots Action for Resettlement Planning: Brazil and Beyond. *World Development*, 22(12): 1793-810.
- Hall, A. (2000). Written correspondence. The London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 5 May.

- Hansen, A., and Oliver-Smith, A. (eds) (1982). *Involuntary Migration and Resettlement: The Problems and Responses of Dislocated People*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Harriss, J., and De Renzio, P. (1997). An Introductory Bibliographic Essay. In: J. Harriss (ed), 'Missing Link or Analytically Missing? The Concept of Social Capital', *Journal of International Development*, 9(7): 919-38.
- Herz, S. (2004). ZERO TOLERANCE? Assessing the Asian Development Bank's Efforts to Limit Corruption in its Lending Operations. Washington, DC and Bangkok: BIC and Towards Ecological Recovery and Regional Alliance.
- Holmes, S.A. (1993). India Cancels Dam Loan From World Bank. *The New York Times* (31 March).
- Hoon, P., Singh, N., and Wanmali, S. (1997). *Introduction, Overview and Sustainable Livelihoods Concepts, Principles and Approaches to Indicator Development*. A Discussion Paper. Prepared for Workshop on Sustainable Livelihoods Indicators, 21 August 1997. New York, NY: United Nations Development Programme [Online: <http://www.undp.org/sl>]
- Hopke, H.M. (1992). An Experiment in Empowerment. In: R. Kumari (ed), *Women in Decision Making*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing.
- Hoskot, R. (2001). Looking for the River. *The Hindu. Folio: Earthscapes* (20 May). [Published in *Rivers* (1 July)].
- ICID (International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage). (not dated). Dams and Stakeholders. [Online: <http://genepi.louis-jean.com/cigb/ici.pdf>]
- ICOLD (International Commission on Large Dams). (1998). *World Register of Dams*. Paris: ICOLD.
- IDP (Internally Displaced People) Projects (The Global IDP Project of the Norwegian Refugee Council). (2000). India Lacks National Law or Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation. [Online: <http://www.db.idpproject.org/Sites/IdpprojectDb/idpSurvey.nsf/wViewCountries/A5FCACE42B020C48C12569AD0039F114>].
- India Abroad News Service. (2000). New Group Supporting Narmada Dam. *The Business Standard* (20 March).

- ILO (International Labour Organization). (2000). *Recent Developments in the ILO Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples* [Online, last updated 20 October 2000: [http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/norm/whatare/standards/ind\\_tech.htm](http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/norm/whatare/standards/ind_tech.htm)]
- ILO (International Labour Organization). (2001). *Decent Employment for Women in India. Technical Cooperation* [Online, last updated 29 June 2001: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/decl/technical/country/overview2.htm>.]
- Iyer, R.R. (2000). Troubled Waters: No Justice for Narmada Displaced. *Times of India* (10 November).
- Jain, A. (1994). *Sardar Sarovar Project's Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation: A Resettler's Dream or Nightmare?* Bachelor of Arts Honors Thesis in Anthropology at Brandeis University, Waltham, MA.
- Jain, A. (1997). 'Involuntary' Resettlement: *Locating the Right to Participate. Gujarati Oustees Displaced by the Sardar Sarovar Project*. Masters of Science Dissertation in the Faculty of Economics (Development Studies) at the London School of Economics and Political Science, London.
- Jackson, C. (1996). Rescuing Gender From the Poverty Trap. *World Development*, 24(3): 489-504.
- Jackson, C. (2002). Disciplining Gender. *World Development*, 30(2): 497-509.
- John, M. (2001). Interpreting Narmada Judgment. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36(32).
- Joshi, V. (1983). *Submerging Villages*. New Delhi: Ajanta.
- Joshi, V. (1991). *Rehabilitation—A Promise to Keep: A Case of SSP*. Ahmedabad: Gandhi Labour Institute-Tax Publications.
- Joshi, V. (1997). Rehabilitation in the Narmada Valley: Human Rights and National Policy Issues. In: J. Drèze, M. Samson and S. Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.168-83.
- Joshi, V. (1998). Rehabilitation is Possible at Big Dams. Proposal/Note sent via Email to Secretariat of World Commission on Dams (28 August).
- Kabeer, N. (1994). *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. London: Verso.

- Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment. *Development and Change*, 30: 435-64.
- Kapadia, S. (1999). Self, Women and Empowerment: A Conceptual Inquiry. In: T.S. Saraswathi (ed), *Culture, Socialisation and Human Development: Theory, Research and Application in India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp.255-76.
- Karmayog. (not dated). ANaRDe Foundation. [Online: <http://www.karmayog.com/ngos/anarde.htm>].
- Keeley, J., and Scoones, I. (1999). Understanding Environmental Policy Processes: A Review. *IDS Working Paper, 89*. Brighton: IDS, University of Sussex.
- Keeley, J.E. (2001). Influencing Policy Processes for Sustainable Livelihoods: Strategies for Change. *Lessons for Change in Policy and Organisations, No.2*. Brighton: IDS, University of Sussex.
- Koenig, D. (not dated). *Women and Resettlement*. Washington, DC: Department of Anthropology The American University. Mimeo.
- Koenig, D. (1995). Women and Resettlement. In: R.S. Gallin, A. Ferguson, and J. Harper (eds), *The Women and International Development Annual*, Volume 4. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, in cooperation with the Women and International Development Program at Michigan State University.
- Koenig, D. (2001). Toward Local Level Development and Mitigating Impoverishment in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement. In: C. de Wet (2002), *Improving Outcomes in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement Projects*. In: M. Couldrey and T. Morris (eds), *Forced Migration Review*, Issue 12 [Dilemmas of Development-Induced Displacement], pp.6-9.
- Koenig, D., and Diarra, T. (2000). The Effects of Resettlement on Access to Common Property Resources. In: M.M. Cernea and C. McDowell (eds), *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*, Washington, DC: The World Bank, pp.332-64.
- Korten, D.C. (1987). Third Generation NGO Strategies: A Key Role to People-Centred Development. *World Development*, 15/Supplement: 145-59.

- Kothari, S. (1996). Whose Nation? Displaced as Victims of Development. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31(24): 1476-85.
- Krishnan, P.G. (1985). Constitution and Tribal Welfare. *Cohin University Law Review*, 9(1&2): 45-66.
- Lassailly-Jacob, V. (1996). Land-Based Strategies in Dam-Related Resettlement Programmes in Africa. In: C. McDowell (ed), *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.187-99.
- Longwe, S. (1991). Gender Awareness: The Missing Element in the Third World Development Project. In: T. Wallace and C. March (eds), *Changing Perceptions: Writings on Gender and Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacAndrews C. (1979). The Role and Potential Use of Land Settlements in Development Policies: Lessons From Past Experiences. In: P. Muller, M. Cernea, A.J. Jansen and R. Gasson (eds), *Sociologia Ruralis*, 19(2/3): 116-134.
- Majumdar, D.N. (1961). *Races and Cultures of India*. New York, NY: Asia Publishing House.
- Malekar, A. (2000). The Other Side of Midnight. *The Week* (13 August). [Online: <http://www.the-week.com/20aug13/life8.htm>].
- Marsden, D. (1990). The Meaning of Social Development. In: D. Marsden and P. Oakley (eds), *Evaluating Social Development Projects, Development Guidelines*, No. 5 (Series Editor, Brian Pratt), Oxford: Oxfam, pp.16-26.
- Mathur, H.M. (2000). Involuntary Resettlement and Voluntary Organisations: A View from India. Paper presented at the Fourth International Conference of the International Society for Third-Sector Research, Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, 5-8 July. Mimeo.
- Mathur, H.M., and Marsden, D. (1998). Introduction and Overview. In: H.M. Mathur and D. Marsden (eds), *Development Projects and Impoverishment Risks: Resettling Project-Affected People in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Mayo, M., and Craig, G. (1995). Community Participation and Empowerment: The Human Face of Structural Adjustment or Tools for Democratic Transformation. In: C. Mayo and G. Craig (eds), *Community Empowerment: A Reader in Participation and Development*, London: Zed Books, pp.1-11.

- McCully, P. (1996). *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*. London: Zed Books.
- Mehta, A. (1993). Personal Interview. ARCH-Vahini, Mangrol-Rajpipla (Bharauch), Gujarat, 20 July.
- Mehta, L. (1992). *Tribal Women Facing Submergence: The Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) Project in India and the Social Consequences of Involuntary Resettlement*. Masters Thesis in Sociology. Vienna: University of Vienna.
- Mehta, L. (2000). Women Facing Submergence: Displacement and Resistance in the Narmada Valley. In: V. Damodaran and M. Unnithan-Kumar (eds), *Post-Colonial India: History and Culture*. Delhi: Mandras.
- Mehta, L., and Srinivasan, B. (1998). Gender and Dams. Email submission/ correspondence and Conference Proposal to A. Steiner at the World Commission on Dams, 10 August.
- Mehta, L., and Srinivasan, B. (2000). Annex 2: Balancing Pains and Gains. A Perspective Paper on Gender and Dams. In: W. Adams, *The Social Impact of Large Dams: Equity and Distributional Issues*, Paper prepared for the World Commission on Dams (WCD), WCD Thematic Review, Social Issues I.1.
- MESAS (Multinational Environment and Social Assessment Services). (1996). Resettlement Policy in India. [Online: <http://www.his.com/~mesas/resindia.htm>].
- Mishra, R. (2000). Personal interview. ARCH-Vahini, Mangrol-Rajpipla (Bharauch), Gujarat, 10 October.
- Misra, K.K. (1993). Tribalism and National Integration. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 43-49.
- MOHFW (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare). (1998a). National Family Health Survey 2: Household Questionnaire. New Delhi: GOI.
- MOHFW (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare). (1998b). National Family Health Survey 2: Gender Questionnaire. New Delhi: GOI.
- Molyneux, M. (1985). Mobilisation Without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua. *Feminist Studies*, 11(2): 227-54.

- Morse, B., and Berger, T. (1992). *Sardar Sarovar: Report of the Independent Review*. Ottawa: Resource Futures International, Inc.
- Moser, C.O.N. (1993). *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*. London: Routledge.
- Moser, C.O.N. (1996). Confronting Crisis: A Comparative Study of Household Responses to Poverty and Vulnerability in Four Poor Urban Communities. *Environmentally Sustainable Development Studies and Monograph Series*, No. 8. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Moser, C.O.N. (1998). The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies. *World Development*, 26(1): 1-19.
- Mougeot, L. (1990). Hydroprojects Development and Population Resettlement in Brazilian Amazônia. *Latin American Studies Occasional Paper*, No. 51, *Amazonian Paper*, No. 1. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.
- Nam Theun II Hydroelectric Project. (not dated). "Safeguards Resettlement." [Online: <http://www.namtheun2.com/safeguards/nakresettlment.htm>]
- Narayan, D. (1999). *Bonds and Bridges: Social Capital and Poverty*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- NCA (Narmada Control Authority). (not dated). [Online: <http://www.ncaindia.org>].
- NCA (Narmada Control Authority). (2005). Status Report as of 31 March 2005. [Online: [http://www.ncaindia.org/news\\_index.htm](http://www.ncaindia.org/news_index.htm)]
- Oakley, P. (1997). Making Participation Work. Address delivered at the Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science, Cumberland Lodge Conference 1997 on Participation and Empowerment at Cumberland Lodge, The Great Park, Windsor, Berkshire, 15-17 January.
- Oakley P., and Marsden, D. (1984). *Approaches To Participation In Rural Development*. Geneva: ILO.
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). (1992). *Guidelines for Aid Agencies on Involuntary Displacement and Resettlement in Development Projects*. Paris: Development Assistance Committee, OECD. [Online: <http://www.oecd.org/pdf/M00002000/M00002340.pdf>].

- Oliver-Smith, A. (1991). Involuntary Resettlement, Resistance and Political Empowerment. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 4(2): 132-49.
- Oliver-Smith, A. (1996). Fighting for a Place: The Policy Implications of Resistance to Development-Induced Resettlement. In: C. McDowell (ed), *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.77-97.
- Oliver-Smith, A. (2001). Displacement, Resistance and the Critique of Development: From the Grassroots to the Global. In: C. de Wet (2002), *Improving Outcomes in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement Projects*. In: M. Couldrey and T. Morris (eds), *Forced Migration Review*, Issue 12 [Dilemmas of Development-Induced Displacement], pp.6-9.
- Overholt, C., Anderson, M., Cloud, K., and Austin, J. (1985). *Gender Roles in Development Projects: Cases for Planners*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary. (1989). Second Edition. [Online: [www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com).]
- Oza, K.K. (1996). Is Sardar Sarovar Financially Viable? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31(29): 1921.
- Pandey, B. (1996). The Role of NGOs in Effective Resettlement and Rehabilitation of the Displaced. In: A.B. Ota and A. Agnihotri (eds), *Involuntary Displacement in Dam Projects*. New Delhi: Prachi Publications.
- Pandey, D. (1995). *Empowerment of Women: Participatory Action Research Approach*. A Report of the Khailand Development Project. Mhasla Tahsil, Raigad District, Maharashtra. Bombay: Research Centre for Women's Studies, Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Women's University, sponsored by the Government of the Netherlands.
- Pandey, G.D. (1989). A Study of Couple Fertility in a Tribal Population of Madhya Pradesh. In: S.N. Singh, M.K. Premi, P.S. Bhatia and A. Bose (eds.), *Population Transition in India*, Vol. II., New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, pp.245-56.
- Paranjpye, V. (1988). *Evaluating the Tehri Dam*. New Delhi: Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH).
- Paranjpye, V. (1990). *High Dams on the Narmada: A Holistic Analysis of the River Valley Projects*. New Delhi: INTACH.



- Parasuraman, S. (1997). The Anti-Dam Movement and Rehabilitation Policy. In: J. Drèze, M. Samson and S. Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.26-65.
- Parasuraman, S. (1999). *The Development Dilemma: Displacement in India*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Incorporated in association with Institute of Social Studies.
- Parekh, T. (1993). Personal interview. ARCH-Vahini, Mangrol-Rajpipla (Bharauca), Gujarat, 11 July.
- Partridge, W.L. (1993). Successful Involuntary Resettlement: Lessons from the Costa Rican Arenal Hydroelectric Project. In: M.M. Cernea and S.E. Guggenheim (eds), *Anthropological Approaches to Resettlement: Policy, Practice and Theory*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp.351-74.
- Pasayat, C. (1997). Literacy Situation Among Tribal Females in Orissa. In: G. Pfeffer and D.K. Behera (eds.), *Contemporary Society: Tribal Studies. Volume II: Development Issues, Transition and Change*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, pp.228-34.
- Pasteur, K. (2001a). Changing Organisations for Sustainable Livelihoods: A Map to Guide Change. *Lessons for Change in Policy and Organisations, No. 1*. Brighton: IDS, University of Sussex.
- Pasteur, K. (2001b). Policy Processes. What are they, and how can they be influenced in support of Sustainable Livelihoods? Brighton: IDS, University of Sussex.
- Pasteur, K. (2001c). Tools for Sustainable Livelihoods: Policy Analysis. Brighton: IDS, University of Sussex.
- Patel, A. (1983a). *Studies on Rehabilitation of Submerging Villages: Kadada*. Surat: CSS, South Gujarat University.
- Patel, A. (1983b). *Studies on Rehabilitation of Submerging Villages: Turkbada*. Surat: CSS, South Gujarat University.
- Patel, A. (1988). The Resettlement Problem. *Indian Express* (1 October).
- Patel, A. (1997). Resettlement Policies and Tribal Interests. In: J. Dreze, M. Samson and S. Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.26-65.

- Patel, A. (2000). Personal interview. ARCH-Vahini, Mangrol-Rajpipla (Bharauch), Gujarat, 10 October.
- Patel, A. (2001). Resettlement in the Sardar Sarovar Project: A Cause Vitiated. *Water Resources Development*, 17(3): 315-328.
- Patel, C.C. (1991) *Sardar Sarovar Project—India. What It Is and What It Is Not*. Gujarat, India: SSNNL.
- Pathy, J. (1992). The Idea of a Tribe and the Indian Scene. In: B. Chaudhuri (ed.), *Tribal Transformation in India. Volume III: Ethnopolitics and Identity Crisis*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, p.49.
- Patkar, M. (1999a). Informal discussion. School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, London, 26 November.
- Patkar, M. (1999b). Progress versus Democracy: Democracy and Dam Building in India Today. A talk given at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London, 26 November.
- Patwardhan, A. (2000). Dams and Tribal People in India. Contributing paper prepared for Thematic Review 1.2: Dams, Indigenous People and Vulnerable Ethnic Minorities. [Online: <http://www.dams.org/kbase/thematic/tr12.htm>.]
- Penz, P. (2000). Development Displacement and Ethics. In: M. Couldrey and T. Morris (eds), *Forced Migration Review*, Issue 12 [Dilemmas of Development-Induced Displacement], pp.4-5.
- Permpongsacharoen, W. (1998). Editorial —Dispossession. *Watershed*, 4(1): 2-3.
- Pettersson, B. (2002). Development-Induced Displacement: Internal Affair or International Human Rights Issue? In: M. Couldrey and T. Morris (eds), *Forced Migration Review: Dilemmas of Development-Induced Displacement*, Issue 12 [Dilemmas of Development-Induced Displacement], pp.16-19.
- Putnam, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone —The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Raj, P.A. (1990). *FACTS —Sardar Sarovar Project*, Gandhinagar: SSNNL (November).

- Rakodi, C. (1999). A Capital Assets Framework for Analyzing Household Livelihood Strategies: Implications for Policy. *Development Policy Review*, 17: 315-42.
- Ramachandran, V. (1987). Village Rehabilitation and Resettlement: The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations. A Case Study. Washington, DC: The World Bank. [Online].
- Ramanathan, U. (1996). Displacement and the Law. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31(24): 1486-91.
- Rao, V., and Woolcock, M. (2003). Integrating Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches in Program Evaluation. In: F. Bourgingnon and L.P. Da Silva (eds), *Tool Kit for Evaluating the Poverty and Distributional Impact of Economic Policies*, Washington, DC and Oxford: World Bank and Oxford University Press.
- Rathgeber, E.M. (1990). WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 24: 489-502.
- Ray, N. (1973). *Nationalism in India*. Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University.
- Razavi, S. (1999). Gendered Poverty and Well-Being. *Development and Change*, 30(3): 409-33.
- Reddy, I.U.B. (1993). Impact of Industrialisation on Tribal Life. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 63-67.
- Rennie, J.K., and Singh, N.C. (1995). *Participatory Research for Sustainable Livelihoods: A Guidebook for Field Projects*. Canada: International Institute for Sustainable Development.
- Resettlement Site Visit. (1993). Visit to a resettlement site in Maharashtra, 13 July.
- Rew, A. (1996). Policy Implications of the Involuntary Ownership of Resettlement Negotiations: Examples from Asia of Resettlement Practice. In: C. McDowell (ed), *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*, Oxford: Berghahn Books. Part of Volume 2: Harrell-Bond, B. and Zetter, R. (eds), *Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, pp.201-21.
- Rew, A., Fisher, E., and Pandey, B. (2000). Addressing Policy Constraints and Improving Outcomes in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement Projects. A review prepared for ESCOR and the Research Programme on Development-Induced Displacement and

Resettlement organised by the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford. Swansea, Wales: Centre for Development Studies, University of Wales Swansea.

- Roy, A. (1999a). *The Cost of Living*. London: Flamingo.
- Roy, A. (1999b). The Greater Common Good: The Human Cost of Big Dams. *Frontline*, 16(11): 4-29.
- Roy-Burman, B.K. (1993). Tribal Development in World System Perspective. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(3&3): 27-32.
- Roy-Burman, B.K. (1995). "Indigenous" and "Tribals" Peoples and the U.N. and International Agencies. *Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies Paper*, No. 27. New Delhi: Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies
- Sah, D.C. (1996). Report No. 22. Monitoring and Evaluation of Resettlement and Rehabilitation Programme for Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) Project. October 1995 – March 1996. Surat: CSS, South Gujarat University.
- Sah, D.C. (1997). Report No. 24. Monitoring and Evaluation of Resettlement and Rehabilitation Programme for Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) Project. October '96 – March '97. Surat: CSS, South Gujarat University.
- Sah, D.C. (1999). Selectivity and Bias: Recent Reporting on Sardar Sarovar Project. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(51): 24-36.
- Sahay, M. (1993). Health Status Of Tribals in India. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23 (2&3): 172-78.
- Sandhan Shodh Kendra. (1996). *Empowerment through Mahila Sanghas: The Mahila Samakhya Experience*. Jaipur: Sandhan Shodh Kendra.
- Sanvi, S. (1993). Personal interview. Narmada Bachao Andolan, Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat, 13 August.
- Sarkar, P.K. (1999). Preserving Character of Prehistoric Narmada. *India Abroad* 30(7). New York, NY: India Abroad.
- Scoones, I. (1998). Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis. *Working Paper*, No. 72. Brighton: IDS, University of Sussex.
- Scudder, T. (1991). A Sociological Framework for the Analysis of New Land Settlements. In: M.M. Cernea (ed), *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development*, Second edition. New York, NY: Oxford University Press for the World Bank.

- Scudder, T. (1996). Development-Induced Impoverishment, Resistance and River-Basin Development. In: C. McDowell (ed), *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.49-74.
- Scudder, T. (1997). Social Impacts of Large Dams. In: T. Dorsey, A. Steiner, M. Acreman and B. Orlando (eds), *Large Dams: Learning From the Past, Looking at the Future. Workshop Proceedings. Gland, Switzerland*. Cambridge and Washington, DC: IUCN and The World Bank, pp.41-68.
- Scudder, T., and Colson, E. (1982). From Welfare to Development: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis of Dislocated People. In: A. Hansen and A. Oliver-Smith (eds), *Involuntary Migration and Resettlement: The Problems and Responses of Dislocated People*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp.267-87.
- Sen, A. (1981). *Poverty and Famines: an Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sen, A. (1990). Gender and Cooperative Conflicts. In: I. Tinker (ed), *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, Chapter 8.
- Sen, G., and Grown, C. (1987). *Development Crisis and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*. New York, NY: Monthly Review.
- Sengupta, A. (1999). Delivering the Right to Development: ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) and NGOs. *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 9 [Online].
- Sequeira, D. (1993). *Gender and Resettlement: An Overview of Impact and Planning Issues in World Bank-Assisted Projects*. Paper prepared for the Bankwide Resettlement Review, Mimeo, 15 January.
- Sharma, A. (2000). New Group Claims Medha Patkar's Pie. *The Asian Age, Gujarat Age* (19 March). [Online: <http://www.asianage.com/asianage/19032000/detguj06.htm>.]
- Sharma, B. (2005). Oustees of Indira Sagar Dam: Saga of Harsud. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48(1): 27-29.
- Sharma, B.D. (1993). Resolving the Deepening Crisis in Tribal Areas. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 20-26.

- Shankland, A. (2000). *Analysing Policy for Sustainable Livelihoods. Research Report 49*. Brighton: IDS, University of Sussex.
- Shepherd, A. (1998). *Sustainable Rural Development*. London: Macmillan Press, Limited.
- Sheth, P. (1991). *Sardar Sarovar Project: Dynamics of Development*, Ahmedabad: Vikas Bharati, Institute of Policy Studies, Research and Futurology.
- Shihata, I.F.I. (1993). Legal Aspects of Involuntary Population Resettlement. In: M.M. Cernea and S.E. Guggenheim (eds), *Anthropological Approaches to Resettlement: Policy, Practice and Theory*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp.39-54.
- Sholay.com (2000). Tribal Girls and Boys Learn Karate for Self-Defence. [Online, 17 March 2000: <http://www.sholay.com/stories/march2000/17032000.htm>].
- Singh, A.K. (1993). Status of Tribals in India. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 3-13.
- Singh, A.K., Jayaswal, M., and Hans, A. (1993). Understanding the Health of Tribals. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 179-96.
- Singh, A.M. and Rajyalakshmi, C. (1993). Status of Tribal Women in India. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(4): 3-18.
- Singh, K.S. (1993). Reflections on the Current Debate Concerning the Indigenous Peoples. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 14-20.
- Singh, S. (1997). Introduction. In: J. Drèze, M. Samson and S. Singh (eds), *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, Oxford and Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.1-25.
- Singh, S., and Ohri, R. (1993). Educational Status of Tribal Women in India. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(4): 66-70.
- Sinha, B.K. (1996). National Policy for Rehabilitation: Objectives and Principles. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31(24): 1453-60.
- Sinha, R.K. (1993). Contribution of Indian Tribals to Modern Civilization. *Social Change: Issues and Perspectives*, 23(2&3): 51-58.
- Smith, L.G. (1993). *Impact Assessment and Sustainable Resource Management*. Harlow: Longman.

- Smulovitz, C., Walton, M., and Petesch, P. (2003). Notes on Evaluating Empowerment, Presented at Workshop on Measuring Empowerment: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives, World Bank, Washington, DC, 4-5 February.
- Squire, L. (1991). Introduction: Poverty and Adjustment in the 1980s. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 5(2): 177-185.
- Srinivasan, B. (1999). Gender and Displacement. A talk given at the School for Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London, 26 November.
- SSNNL (Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Limited). (not dated). History and Planning. [Online: <http://www.sardarsarovardam.org/history.htm>].
- SSNNL. (2005a). Status of Rehabilitation and Resettlement Work in Gujarat. Summary Progress, Position as on 31 December 2004 [Online, 19 February 2005: <http://www.sardarsarovardam.org>].
- SSNNL. (2005b). Status of Rehabilitation and Resettlement Work in Gujarat. Summary Progress, Position as on 30 June 2005 [Online: [http://www.sardarsarovardam.org/current\\_status2.htm](http://www.sardarsarovardam.org/current_status2.htm)].
- SSPA. (Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency). (not dated). SSPA Village Profiles: Site F. Vadodara, Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (1993). *Sardar Sarovar Project: R&R Action Plan (1993-97) for Project-Affected Persons [in Gujarat]*. Revised Action Plan prepared in February 1992. Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (1999). SSPA Village Profiles: Site B (updated on 28 February 1999). Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (2000a). SSPA Village Profiles: Site D (updated on 10 January 2000). Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (2000b). SSPA Village Profiles: Site E (updated on 9 February 2000). Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.

- SSPA. (2000c). SSPA Village Profiles: Site A (updated on 15 February 2000). Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (2000d). SSPA Village Profiles: Site C (updated on 15 February 2000). Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (2000e). Submitting The Progress Report About R(3)-A and R(3)-B of Productive Assets Related to R&R. Letter correspondence from Commissioner of (Rural & Development) to Commissioner (Rehabilitation) and Chief Executive Officer, 30 September 2000. Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: SSPA.
- SSPA. (2000f). Weekly Tour Programme. Provided on 13 November 2000. Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (2001a). List Showing the Rehabilitation Site [Taluka-District Wise]. Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (2001b). Monthly Progress of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) at Various Elevations of Sardar Sarovar Project. Vadodara, (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (2001c). *Sardar Sarovar Project — An Appraisal of the Resettlement and Rehabilitation Programme (Updated Status up to 21-12-2000)*. Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Office of the Commissioner (Rehabilitation), SSPA.
- SSPA. (2001d). Sardar Sarovar Punarvasavat Agency, Education Cell, Education Programme 2000-2001. Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat: Education Cell, SSPA.
- Stewart, F. (1985). *Basic Needs in Developing Countries*. London: Macmillan.
- Sundar, N. (2001). Tribal Tribulations: “Mainstream” Parties Call the Shots. *Times of India* (25 January).
- Thakker, H. (1993). Personal interview. Narmada Bachao Andolan, Vadodara (Baroda), Gujarat, 18 August.
- Thomas, A. (1992). Non-Governmental Organizations and the Limits to Empowerment. In: M. Wuyts, M. Mackintosh and T. Hewitt (eds),



- Development, Policy and Public Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.117-46.
- Todaro, M.P. (1977). *Economics for a Developing World: An Introduction to Principles, Problems and Policies for Development*. London: Longman.
- Turton, C. (2000). Sustainable Livelihoods and Project Design in India. *ODI Working Paper*, No. 127. London: ODI.
- UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women). (1991). *Women: Challenges to the Year 2000*. New York, NY: United Nations.
- Uprety, A., Tiwari, D., Vijayalakshmi, B.E., Malekar, A., and Najmi, Q. (2000). The Alternative Judiciary. *The Week* (30 July). Kochi, Kerala: Malayala Manorama Publications. [Online: <http://www.the-week.com/20jul30/life2.htm#1>].
- Vaswani, K. (1992). Rehabilitation Laws and Policies: A Critical Look. In: E. Ganguly-Thukral (ed), *Big Dams, Displaced People: Rivers of Sorrow, Rivers of Change*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp.155-68.
- Verghese, B.G. (1998). Large Dams in India: Experiences and Lessons Learnt. Submission sent via Email to S. Khagram, 20 August. Delhi: Centre for Policy Research.
- Vir, D. (1997). Tribal Resettlement and Development through Co-operatives: A Case Study. *Asia: Coop Dialogue*, 5/1: 33-39. [Online: <http://www.wisc.edu/uwcc/icc/orgs/ica/struc/Regional-Offices1/Regional-Office-for-Asia-and-Pacific1/Asia---Coop-Dialogue--Vol-5--No--11/Tribal-Resettlement-and-Development-thro1.html>].
- Vishwanath, L.S. (1982). *Studies on Rehabilitation of Submerging Villages: Hanf and Pandheria*. Surat: CSS, South Gujarat University.
- Wallich, C. (2001). ADB Dissemination Workshop on World Commission on Dams Report: Dams and Development. Keynote Speech by Christine Wallich, Director, Infrastructure, Energy, and Financial Sectors Department-West, ADB, Manila, 19 February.
- Waters, W. (2001). Personal communication, The World Bank, Washington, DC, 20 November.
- Waters, W. (2002). Telephone discussion, The World Bank, Washington, DC, 13 June.

- WCD (World Commission on Dams). (2000). *Dams and Development: A New Framework for Decision-Making. The Report of the World Commission on Dams*. London: Earthscan Publications Limited.
- Whitehead, J. (1999). Statistical Concoctions and Everyday Lives: Queries from Gujarat Resettlement Sites. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34/28.
- Whitehead, J. (2000). Monitoring of Sardar Sarovar Resettles: A Further Critique. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4 November [Online].
- Whitehead, J. (2002). Repopulating the Landscape: Space Against Place in the Narmada Valley. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 6 April [Online].
- WHO (World Health Organization). (1946). Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization. The International Health Conference, New York, 19-22 June 1946. Signed on 22 July 1946 by the representatives of 61 States (Official Records of the WHO, no.2, p.100) and entered into force on 7 April 1948. [Online, 5 August 2002: <http://www.who.int/about/definition/en/>].
- Woolcock, M. (2001). The place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes. *ISUMA Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, 2 (1): 11-17.
- World Bank. (1990). *Operational Directive No. 4.30. Involuntary Resettlement*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- World Bank. (1996). *Resettlement and Development: The Bankwide Review of Projects Involving Involuntary Resettlement, 1996-1993*. Washington, DC: Environmental Department, The World Bank.
- World Bank. (1998). The World Bank Policy on Indigenous Peoples. Approach Paper for Revision of Operational Directive 4.20. Regional Consultations—Orissa, India. 9 September 1998. Organised by Rashtriya Gramin Vikas Nidhi, Bhubaneswar and the World Bank, India.
- World Bank. (2000). Involuntary Resettlement: The Large Dam Experience. *Précis*, No. 194 (Winter). Washington, DC: The World Bank, Operations Evaluation Department. [Based on *Involuntary Resettlement: Comparative Perspectives* by Robert Picciotto, Edward B. Rice and Warren Van Wicklin, published by Transaction Publishers for the World Bank].
- World Bank. (2001a). *The World Bank Operational Manual, Operational Policy 4.12. Involuntary Resettlement*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. [Online: <http://wbld0018.worldbank.org/Institutional/Manuals/OpManual>].

[nsf/toc2/CA2D01A4D1BDF58085256B19008197F6?OpenDocument\]](http://www.worldbank.org/india/operational-manual/4.12-involuntary-resettlement).

World Bank. (2001b). *The World Bank Operational Manual, Bank Procedure 4.12. Involuntary Resettlement*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. [Online: <http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/Institutional/Manuals/OpManual.nsf/toc2/19036F316CAFA52685256B190080B90A?OpenDocument>].

WWF (World Wildlife Fund). (2000). A Place for Dams in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? A WWF International Discussion Paper. Geneva: WWF International. [Online: <http://www.panda.org/livingwaters/pubs/damsreport-dl.html>].

Xaxa, V. (1999a). Tribes as Indigenous Peoples of India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(24).

Xaxa, V. (1999b). Transformation of Tribes in India: Terms of Discourse. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(24): 1519-24.

Young, K. (1992). Household Resource Management. In: L. Ostergaard (ed), *Gender and Development: A Practical Guide*. London: Belhaven.

Zaman M.Q. (1990). Land Acquisition and Compensation in Involuntary Resettlement. *Cultural Survival Quarterly: Land Resources—The Finite Frontier*, 14(4): 63-6.

#### **Online Web Links for Maps:**

<http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/gujarat/h3s1101.htm>

<http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/gujarat/h3s1102.htm>

<http://www.narmada.org/maps/map.gif>

<http://www.narmada.org/maps/ssp.cmd.area.jpg>

<http://www.narmada.org/maps/ssp.project.area.jpg>

[http://www.calicutnet.com/currentaffairs/map\\_of\\_the\\_region.htm](http://www.calicutnet.com/currentaffairs/map_of_the_region.htm)