Chapter-I
INTRODUCTION
Context, Concepts and Methodological Framework

...balance of nature can only be achieved by a conscious balancing of human society and nature-something that requires a revolutionary movement [Gail Omvedt, 1984:1867]

Political ecological conflicts are thus as much struggles over meaning as they are battles over material practices [Bryant, 1998: 87]

SOCIOLOGY OF NATURE-CULTURE ASYMMETRY

Socially unequal have increasingly been ecologically unequal in our times. In third world countries environmental problems, to that extent, are linked with unequal accessibility of resources and, thereby, poverty question. Apparently, social inequality and cultural differences surrounding environmental issues are pertinent in Indian context too (Banerjee, 2003). In corollary to this, post-colonial environmental justice in India under the modern nation-state created ecological refugees (William and Mawdsley, 2006).

A generic trend of subaltern politics crystallized in the form of environmental protests, emanated in rural and tribal landscape of India, have critically been responded to these questions in our times (Omvedt, 1984 and 1993; Guha, 1994, Baviskar, 1995; Singh, 1997; Gadgil and Guha, 1998, 2000 and 2007).
Added to this, there is a growing anxiety and resultant militant upsurge even by the students’ communities, as they saw, that the advocates of nation development would weak/victimize smaller and indigenous communities and right to live in their habitat (Sirmate, 2009:19). It is largely due the fact that the subaltermns were remained to be, at the receiving end/victims of all environmental problems (Martinez-Alier, 2002). This uneven development, no way, attributes to the setback of development per se. Instead, it was unintended consequence of a particular type of the development, for instance, forest conservation and clearance, river pollution, huge mutli-purpose dams and highway construction and so forth (Raghunandan, 2003:55). As these consequences adversely affected their daily-life, subaltern groups from the margins defended the environment for sustaining nature-culture relationships.

Given the critical insights from the spectacular environmental movements and their trajectories of protests in India, one could see that, there has been a collective resentment against the undesirable developments from different quarters. These collective expressions, indeed, created certain impetuses of epistemology that imprints the presence of environmental movements in the contemporary social science discipline. Labeling as ‘environmentalisms of the poor’ or ‘subaltern political ecologies’, they fundamentally challenge the dominant ways of framing environmental politics. Through times, these movements construct political agency through their discursive practices; that underlines the extent of unequal and unsustainable social and environmental relations of power. They are also continuously engaged in dynamic, productive and fissiparous geographies of antagonism and contestation over the nation-centred accounts of politics. Moreover, these collective practices put neo-liberal logic of the state, in the era of globalization, into a sight of contestation. Politico-ecological conflicts of these kinds, as it appears, are as much struggles over meaning as they are battle over material practices (Bryant, 1998).

1 www.liv.ac.uk (accessed on 3, June, 2009).
Normative dimensions of sociology in India, has slowed down its conceptual categories bringing home these new emerging challenges and narrow down to set a subject matter together, for instance, genesis of new social movements (NSM), discourses on ecological problems and above all, sustainability question in the process of development. Civil society groups, particularly voluntary associations, while shaping these discourses through purposive action, were attracted the imaginations of sociologist. A sizable number of practitioners of sociology started seriously engaging in action-oriented research with ethnographic sensibilities.

Critical engagements of the scholars located in these social spaces opened up a new vista for reflexive thought which radically alter the classical traditions of sociological theory, concepts and their methods (Singh, 2003:250). On the other side of the spectrum, global discourses on political ecology compelled humans to prioritize their needs by self-reflexive reasoning such as conservation, sustainable use and justice. At a time, when the world is grappling with disastrous consequences of man-made ecological problems, the synergy between ecology and social movements, in our times, become all the more significant. Hence, a harmonious nature-culture relationship can only be made by a conscious approach to balance human-society and nature; something that requires a revolutionary movement (Omvedt, 1984:1867).

While taking cue from these critical outlooks, in this study, our intention is to make sense of how construction of subaltern knowledge is systematically organized as a contested domain responding to existing dominant paradigms. In doing so, it would also generate counter discourses by learning from the praxis of contemporary environmental movements in India. True, although modernity project initiated with certain categories of dominant knowledge systems of the west during renaissance, eventually it overlooked subaltern discourses of the third world countries of the east. It was largely due to the western hegemony over knowledge with its wider application of science, and imposition of colonial, power. Hence, in the post-colonial
period, one could see, growing sensibility on marginalized group and alternative forms of knowledge system. Subaltern shorthand, certainly, was one among them that challenged the dominant techno-centric scientific assumptions of knowledge and thereby development. It, indeed, brought about new traditions of knowledge and practices among the post-colonial countries. To that extent, subaltern struggle, for instance, is redefining epistemology as alternative development by taking diverse cultural specificities and reflexivity that cut across the modern nation-state too.

Our enquiry, in this backdrop, to begin with, understand cultural practices of organized protests that are experimented by the subalterns in the margin of society and examine how these protest, particularly a set of environmental movements in India, for instance, began to shape counter discourses with their own terms and line of enquiry as a praxis of subaltern knowledge. Subsequently, we analyze how these context specific protests are articulating the mainstream movement scholarship as a reflexive domain and eventually challenging the dominant paradigms of knowledge in the post-development regime. As this study intended to examine the praxis of subaltern knowledge-empirically grounded and theoretical reflexive, we employ a case of Narmada Valley protest in India.

SUBALTERN KNOWLEDGE: Epistemological Domain

While broadening the visions of counter discourses emanated from the micro-protests, for instance, protests in the valley have global consequences too. While taking praxis of contemporary environmental movements in India, our approach here is to broaden the specificities with fundamentally three interconnected theoretical propositions and their empirical reflections. They are; subaltern epistemology, environmental quest and new ways of engineering collective protest.

Subaltern epistemology reframes both analytical power and domination in knowledge process as a transcending domain of praxis. This kind of epistemology would alter power through discursive practices by their own knowledge as well as
strategically employing knowledge of others. There is a particular way of rationalizing the world and life-world (both inner and outer cover). It is in this logic that the specificities of rationality, the political activity of subaltern, is conceptualized (Arnold, 2000:32). Hence, its agenda is political. In other words, praxis of subaltern knowledge locates power at the centre of the epistemological protocols and celebrates with heterogeneity of knowledge, than suspending voices from the margins. It also acknowledges the needs and aspirations of the subaltern by their own way of life, rather than that of the hegemonic classes.

This reflexive thought process, in a sense, call for praxis as a tool for transcending the orientation of research from just research to action research (Chadha, 1999: 158, Kothari, 2002: 232). While foregrounding the new challenges of subaltern epistemology, Spivak (2000: 332) situates the emergence of subaltern consciousness, displaced to the global political sphere. Such discourses, as she argues, produced knowledge that can only be made data and subaltern will for globalization can be put together as justification for policy. In other words, in the magic of political economy, subaltern have increasingly become a subject matter for empiricism and agencies for organized charity in the era of globalization (Kunhaman, 2002).

In addition to these critical thinking, there are possibilities to search out subaltern-self and new beginning of local knowledge too. Research enquiry, in this context, on the emerging consequences of development and generic aspects of the discourses on environmentalism in the global south, to be began from the bottom layers of society. David Bohm (1996), in fact, locate tribal culture as a sight of participatory thought rooted in the movement of deeper natural order that tend to make 'dialogue' with wide range of human experiences. Needless to mention, through people's struggle, particularly in the developing societies, local movements strengthened their self-confidence on the question of how to conserve deep-seated traditional knowledge system to manage locally available natural resources. Sensitivity towards conservation, in fact, is foreground in the foundations of wisdom and
knowledge they have inherited from their ancestors. Continuous struggle enriched their critical understanding about the cultural meaning of life experiences with nature. Wide coverage of publicized protests and uprisings have contributed to shift the public perception of local people and their relationship with natural resources. That in turn, increased in awareness of the value of local knowledge (Leungaramsri et al. 1992). In other worlds, local protests, in our times, are appeared to be innovative (Oommen, 1990), the way they partake in the process of resource mobilization through discursive practices. No wonder, the real scientific exploration on ecology and its ‘sensitivity’ is precisely, born of every-day life struggles of the adivasis in the tribal landscape of India (Illaiah, 2009). Having said so, it is not to undermine other types of scientific exploration, as they are ‘strategically’ been incorporated to face emerging challenges posed by the risk society.

Sociological explanations on environmental questions assume very significant theoretical postulates in our times. Being a sub-discipline, environmental sociology reframes environmental question with its conceptual tools to make sense of empirical locations in the dialectical process of nature-culture relationship. In this context, following observations foreground:-

- Environmental problems were acknowledged as social reality in the sociological enquiry and consciously recognized as the fact that ‘certain’ laws of nature as social facts.
- Historical analysis and its complex terrain, gives new meaning to the sensitivity to ecological issues. Eco-spirituality, for instance, upholds the transience of selves, the living interdependency of all things and the value of the personal in communion (Ruether, 1992: 3). In other words, there is a striking trend of linking spiritual and moral domains of religiosity in ecology.
- Politics of recognizing eco-sensitivity as a new morality to modify human consciousness in our times. New morality, perhaps, opens up varieties of possibilities and alternative ways of thinking and acting towards eco-sensitivity.
- Environmental question in the sociological discipline demystify/deconstruct not only the myths of modernity, but also proposes a set of alternatives to reach out specificities of modernity too.
Yes, there are conceptual institutions of the politics of nature that regulate human behaviour as critical, reflexive and discursive practice. The logic behind is that, nature does not have moral or immoral strands by its own. One needs to understand the fact that unique discursive power of culture-nature dialectics generates discourses, for that matter counter discourses. No wonder, counter discourses have primarily been born of people's collective mobilization and their constant protest.

New ways of engineering social protest, popularly known as NSM, cherish democratic values through latent available structures of rationality. Local rationality to Nilsen (2004 a & b), for instance, tends to transform social practices structured by the specificities of cultural tradition. In other words, the approaches of NSM transform and celebrate everyday practices. Collective protests, in this context, strengthen multiple formulations. That means a new epistemology is underway to characterize critical, but collective engagements and approaches in the movement scholarship. For our analytical purpose, three types of collective actions; (a) instrumental, (b) strategic and (c) communicative, are being played each other in this study. The first approach, indeed, is technical in its orientation, leading towards progress so that desired goal can be realized. In the second domain, a set of procedures that were to be systematically organize discourse or for that matter, counter discourses. In the final stage, in a world of speaking and acting, is recognized as highest among all actions-a domain of emancipation.

Agents of double construct, society-science would be problematic with all these set of actions. Scholarship in movement studies, in our times, has increasingly become a contested sight for science-society relationship in general and ecological problems in particular. Collective protest and mobilization in the valley of Narmada, in the middle part of India, is flash point on these discourses that born of collective action at various levels. Discourses centred on the dam construction in the valley of Narmada need to be seen as double construct. In their collective representation and
protest on society-science paradigm, Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA), well known for its human rights and environmental protection world over, is reflected predominantly upon three society-science engagements:-

- **Epistemological**: technical explanations grounded on the empirical reflections in the valley of Narmada gave rise to new sort of knowledge terrain. Medha Patkar the leading activists of NBA has a point in it. As she says, one needs to have a broader conceptual framework to analyze the information and generate knowledge about a particular symbolic developmental project. It unfolds the critical understanding about the present development policy, its centralized nature that would not allow distributive justice to occur. This also led to make sense of how natural resources were over exploited. In fact the over exploitation of resources would take a new shape in the political economy. This resulted to shortcut our long-term scientific assessment for sustainable development (interview with Medha, 2004).

- **Social Sciences**: Moral science of society and its social ordering based on certain ethical point of view pull out concepts and historical roots to make sense of nature-society relationship and their power distribution in society. In a moral discourse, conventions of scientific, legal and regulatory discourses predominate. For moral discourse, environmental principle is a domain of collective, which bridges all disciplinary divides (Latour). In the context of Narmada, paradigms of development jeopardize human agency and reduce them the victims of the development as oustees and potential beneficiaries for compensation.

- **Science of Text**: It explains how reality is represented in different realms and how discourses were generated out of these representations. Movement has been parallel in several scientific processes, for instance, data collection, processing, analyzing and documentation of events. With one set of publications such as newsletter, leaflets, notices, posters, its literary work became thick material base of text. Its pedagogical experimentation, for instance, Jeevan Shala, shows the critical young minds learning to protests. Activists also carry relevant documents, as and when, the movement is in the forefront of protests in the villages or elsewhere. Virtual text (websites of Narmada developed by the friends of earth) was also maintained to create e-network with likeminded activists and agencies. Apparently, the generation next, starts referring these materials as a text and context for pedagogy (see appendix-1).

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2 NBA offices in Gujarat, Badwani and Mathachauk in Kandwa of Madhya Pradesh and Delhi Social Forum have systematically documented its events and activities.

3 In the university text-books, for instance, separate chapter explains the struggles spearheaded by the NBA and researchers are getting interested to engage to find out solution from their vantage point (see Narmada Samachar, July, 2005)
Needless to mention, NBA through its continuous struggle and its systematic approach over more than two decades heightened and tightened the critical and intellectual assessment of the national as well as global concerns of ecological problems (Guha, 20004 and Menon, 2006).

PRAXIS OF SUBALTERN STRUGGLE: Empirical Location

Today, Narmada means not simply a river flowing in the middle part of India; instead it has become a controversial sight for a set of discourses on the question of nation-building, generic elements of new epistemology for eco-sensitivity. Moreover, it also heightened the value of global citizenship and promised lessons of a reflexive domain for possible alternative development. This was possible only due to the struggles waged by the people in the valley of Narmada coupled with the constant support of civil society and the academic community. Struggles in the valley of Narmada followed a systematic approach to highlight and articulate cumulative deprivation of people. Apparently, there has been shifting manifestations in constructing the fate of the people in the valley too.

The identity of people in fact, are getting tightened from simple life-style to the symbol of resistance/conflict over natural resources (Baviskar, 1995), to human rights (Jayal, 1998), against the mega dams projects to displaced/oustees (Oommen, 2006); to ecological refugees (Mawdsley, 2006), and claiming global citizenship (Shukla, 2009). These multiple constituencies to organize people of the valley, led to strengthening and tightening collective action (Dwivedi, 2006) both in and outside of the valley. However, the movement and its collective mobilisation, through time, graduated to critically debate these conceptual categories and their methodological protocols to reach out to their problems as well. Extent of activist's secular and non-violent credo with their multi-disciplinary approach to deal nature-culture relationship, perhaps, make movement in the valley of Narmada distinct from other parallel movements in India. The movements, along with its continuous struggle, get

4 The Hindu, 27 Nov. 2007.
actively engaged in the alternative strategies of development—Navnirman—a project of reconstruction, from local to global. One of the monthly newsletters clearly depicts its constructive programs as:

...through Jeevan Shala (the life-school), the micro-hydel project, the training and action related to health, water projects, PDs, EGS and Panchayat Raj-too is on! We continue to be active in alliance building of people’s movements challenging globalization and liberalization, Enron and Coca Cola and contribute to policy making-national and international, like the World Commission on Dams, to the extent possible.

Empirical base of collective, as Latour explicates, predominantly conjoins several disciplinary domains in the study area. In this regard, geography becomes an experimental field (laboratory). People were not merely being anthropocentric, but politically charged individuals as well. Ecology, in fact, is not to be seen in static, but is in dynamic and attributive. Finally, collectivity as a dialogical process represents logic of reflexive modernity. In fact, expressions of expert opinions, voice against large dam project in expense of huge social and environmental cost, collective protest and bitter experience of the project affected people, for instance, become part of knowledge description in the controversial Narmada Valley project.

Apparently, activists too have ethical stand point, when studies were carried out on the protest and alternative strategies. To make sense of value frame work, the researcher to be required descriptive, yet analytical discourse on development and pursued the agenda of equitable and sustainable. It is towards this end, people’s struggle world-over are struggling for. In fact, the Independent Review team for the Narmada controversy appointed by the World Bank acknowledged this shared wisdom. The review team observed that:

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5 Narmada Samachar, is a monthly newsletter published by the NBA that regularly updates all the constructive programs led by the Narmada Nav Nirman Abhiyan (NNNA)
6 Cited in leaflet on an invitation to join the commemoration of 20 years of Resistance and Reconstruction, 2005
7 In a letter, comments written by Medha Patkar to Maggie Black’s book, n.d. obtained from NBA Office Badwani, (Dec. 2006)
there has been a rich exchange in the literature based on past experience of large dams and irrigation schemes...more expressions of expert opinion in books and articles inform this debate. But it is not adequate exclusively among professionals. Although it does include engineers, economists, environmentalists and lawyers, it goes beyond them to include others such as non governmental organizations and of course, the people affected by the project, all of whom have experience and knowledge share (IRM, 1992:212)

A point needs to be noticed that knowledge has been gathered from several sources ranging from experts, bureaucrats, to the people affected by the project and activists. As we discuss, at great length, intervention of academic communities with diverse disciplinary background too, played crucial role in creating global discourse as disciplinary particularism.

People from various background and nationalities, particularly youth, reaching out to the valley of Narmada for voluntary work and participate in struggle to understand the issues in which people are fighting for. As a result, they learn, how to organize non-violent, dignified way of protests against distributive powers, strategic action for initiating policy changes and alternative ways for development (Narmada Samachar, July, 2005).

No doubt, the issues of Narmada valley has been interconnected with set of concepts and categories, for instance, human rights, environmental protection, indigenous people, and above all, proposition for alternative development that are being debated and understood at the local level.

EMPIRICAL LOCALE OF THE STUDY

To foreground experiential reality and their reflections in our analysis of environmental movement, we present the case of protest that spread around in the Valley of Narmada, particularly the *Narmada Bachao Andolan* (NBA), Save Narmada Movement. NBA is known as people's movement fighting against the construction of mega-dams on the River Narmada has already been symbolized as global struggle for social and environmental justice for more than two and half decades. The movement questioned and challenged all logical arguments behind the construction
of huge dams as part its popular developmental credo in the post-independent India, based on certain universalistic principles of humanitarian values under democratic process.

There are two dominant views on the issues of Narmada Dam from a developmental perspective. At the outset, the proponents of the dam claim that this plan would provide large amounts of water and electricity, which are desperately required for the purposes of development. However on the other side, the opponents of the dam, spearheaded by the NBA, questions the very base of the plan and believes that the whole project is unjust and iniquitous. Moreover, the cost-benefit analysis is grossly inflated in favour of building the dams. It is believed that the construction of dams over the Narmada River is causing large scale abuse of human rights and displacement of many poor and underprivileged communities like Dalit and Adivasis. As an alternative to huge dams, the movement believes that water and energy can be provided to the beneficiaries as well as the victims through adopting alternative technologies and planning processes to deliver socially just and economically viable and environmentally sustainable projects.

What is significant of this sort of movement study from the discipline of sociology, indeed, was to question the dominant theories of development of the post-colonial India at one level and shed light on how our world to be organized collectively with eco-sensitivity. Although, various discourses on economic, cultural, ecological, and political erasure are engendered by the construction of the dams in Narmada, NBA began to articulate the language of resistance and engaged in constructive development alternatives by employing each of these discourses carefully. Thus, articulation of resistance against uneven development proved to be a crucial counterpoint to the material expressions of struggle (Routledge, 2003:243).

Life line of more than twenty five years of a movement and its consistent struggle is proved to be recognizing a critical 'symbol' for those who were threatened.

8 For more details see www.narmada.org/abriefintroductionnarmadaissue.htm
by displacement owing to development projects. In fact, consistent pressure of the movement disturbed the logic of the state apparatuses and its functioning. But, the state cannot become a silent spectator, prior to the displacements, on crucial areas such as rehabilitation policy or to explore possible alternatives. These sort of development, as the movement sees, created huge crisis and tensions in agrarian society and its economy due to the wrong policies of the state and destroyed most of our rivers for constructing dams, 'the temples of modern India'. The dominant discourses on development, in this context, simply mean that the large-scale displacement. No doubt, this becomes an instrument before the mainstream political parties for their political leverage too. Contrary to this, the protesters in the Valley of Narmada have fundamentally questioned the top-heavy model of development as it has completely been suspended the discourses on human rights (Jayal, 1998). One of the adherent supporters of the movement, Arundhati Roy was of the view that the existing discourse of development is not humanitarian. Instead it completely blacked out the political ideologies of the masses assuming they know very little about development. As against this, strength of the people's movement, as she says, resides at the core of the very same people with little knowledge, are coming out with passionate opinions through their own life experiences—an alternative voice of development and a quest for survival in their home land.

There are two important questions needs to be treated differently in this context. First, whether huge developmental projects for instance construction of big dams are the final destination/solution of our development costing mass displacement of marginalized people like Dalits, Adivasi and deteriorating ecology and habitats of the river belt. Second, whether the language of protest led by the people's movement on the quest for survival, is acknowledge by the institutions of modern state (specifically parliamentary democratic process), that supposed to safeguard citizenship.

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10 *The Hindu*, 29, April, 2006.
PROBLEM OF STUDY

This study is embarked upon to understand the subaltern protests, specifically by looking at one set of collective protest in the Valley of Narmada, a controversial environmental movement in India in our times. For the last two and half decades, the people affected by the Sardar Sarovar mega-Project (SSP) one of the largest and most contentious of the large dams being constructed in the Narmada River Valley in India (see the map No. 1.1). The SSP was planned to build up 30 large, 135 medium and 3000 small dams on the river and her tributaries which would led to submerge 40,000 hectares of land including about 13,000 hectares of forest land (see the map No. 1.2). An official estimates state that at the full height (138.68 meters) of the dam, will affect 245 villages 7000 families in 1979. But later on official figures went on to 41,000 families.

The 'oustees' as the affected people are popularly known as the Narmada Bachao Andolan. NBA has been questioning many critical issues, for instance, mass human displacement, human rights violation, ecological degradation. With refreshing ideas, for example indigenous resources of reason, naturalism and humanism rejuvenated, the collective protest led by the victims of this developmental project eventually began to encounter with established/privileged knowledge claims. To begin with the movement was against the very construction of dam by raising ecological concerns and livelihood of the subaltern communities of the Narmada Valley. Eventually, the critical voices of the movement gained momentum even among the public and academic sphere. As a result of mass protection of the oustees, an independent review committee had to be instituted by the World Bank under the leadership of Bradford Morse (former chair of UNDP) to address the problems of rehabilitation including better standard of living for oustees after displacement. Having found the failure these grounds, the World Bank withdraw its financial support for the dam and irrigation project in 1993. This was the land mark in the history of Narmada Movement.
Map No. 1.1 Sardar Sarovar Project Area

Courtesy: www.narmada.org
Map No. 1.2: Location of the proposed 30 big dams on the Narmada River

Courtesy: www.narmada.org
Followed by this, the Supreme Court of India intervened in this matter after filing a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) by the NBA and the court stayed the dam construction on the basis of serious social and environmental implications due to the dam and questioned the viability of dam construction. However, in 2000 a final judgment permitted to further construction of dam as per the Award of the Tribunal only pari passu with the implementation of the relief and the rehabilitation cleared by the Relief and Rehabilitation of Sub-group (Narmada: 2004). The final verdict of the court can be interpreted such a way that the ecological concerns and the huge displacement of the subaltern groups are not been taken into account of the institution of the modern state, instead the construction of dam was highlighted, as a life line of development. In other words, the citizens of the country increasingly become the marginalized subaltern under the nation state due to the wrong policies of the state. From the point of view of the affected people, victimization was necessitated by the state that pushed the movement into completely jeopardy as its birth of resistance as counter discourse resulted into birth of displacement. This diverted the attention of the movement from their aggressive campaign for ecological protection and fight against the mega project like constructing huge dams to resettle the issue at the earliest by asking better rehabilitation packages. As a result, the ecological concern of the movement slowly graduated to mainstream discourses which led to negotiate with the state institutions like the Supreme Court for/with different reason.

Understanding the trajectory of this movement and its constant dynamism would help us to draw a lesson on the praxis of the NSM in terms of its art of mobilizing people at one level and, challenging/negotiating with the modern institutions on the other. In this regard, NBA made use of available knowledge both local as well global from different sources to be heard their voices even at the corridors of state institutions. The movement, even could move on to the World Bank, and pressurized for reviewing the project. In addition to that, the way in which the language of protest articulated by the victims of the SSP at the different
hegemonic domains in general, led to create sensitivity among the protestors and the concerned authorities to negotiate with their everyday tyranny. In fact, the role played by the collective effort of the NBA has been landmark in the history of new social movements in India.

Taking cue from the classical sociological discipline (for instance Marx, Weber and Durkheim), one could find that there is little attention paid on the question of how modern scientific developments are causing the environment adversely which created ecological refugees. In other words, ecological concerns have not yet brook large in the traditions of thought incorporated into sociology (Cassell, 1993: 286). Hence, people's mobilization for environmental protection and their habitat hardly been explored in the discourses of sociology in general from a praxiological point of view. But from the ground reality, one could see that the long-standing struggles led by these oppressed groups to change the material base and quest for the existence in their homeland brought about a new voice of subaltern shorthand in our times. Nonetheless, it is pertinent that the discipline of sociology and its epistemological realm to be looked at the philosophical underpinnings of praxis. This would rather allow recollect missing organic linkages of fragmented subaltern groups in India due to the historical mistakes under the theoretical permutations of post-colonial studies.

Although the Subaltern Study School carried out a brilliant scholarship as historiography writing from below, it also participated in the post-colonial discourses and overlooked certain groups within the subaltern. It was with the same groups, who were the victims of traditional order, are increasingly becoming the victims in the name of developments in our times. To address this contradictory epistemological permutation, there is a need for developing new approaches and methods by looking at these struggles at the praxis level. A study of this kind is a modest attempt to trace out the hermeneutic voices of the subalterns within the subaltern. It also in fact interrogates the binary opposition between colonial and
post-colonial discourses to draw the philosophy of praxis at the core of contemporary social movements led by these subalterns. In doing so, precisely writing from below, the subaltern perspective needs to be interrogated with its strength of multiple views and perspectives.

OBJECTIVES
This study is intended to locate the praxis of contemporary movements from the discourses of post-colonial critique to carve out an organic linkage of every day struggles of different kind. This led the subordinate masses to change their life conditions, quest for social existence and above all larger question of the critique of the nation building process in the post-colonial India. This kind of approach perhaps, give rise to a new ways to search out alternative paradigm of thoughts to unfold the emergence of multiple identities and their voices. In this study, in fact, we would limit ourself into the domain of praxis, to make a fresh look at the subaltern movements within the larger conceptual reference of the critique of subaltern studies as well. Nonetheless, there is a need to understand new strategies and approaches of these struggles of suffering/exclusion from the mainstream socio-political and cultural domination that are framed their goals with new theoretical orientation.

Although subaltern discourses in this study here we employ would encounter with the project of post-colonial theories propelled for new epistemology and a philosophy from below, philosophy of praxis, in fact, would take beyond the binaries of these colonial and post-colonial discourses. The discourse on praxis in the terrain of sociology of knowledge has a striking link wherein humans are the perpetual generators of new descriptions of knowledge. In other words, cognizance of the centrality of human nature can be located in the process of ‘becoming’ and a vital component for social transformation. It is this sort of praxis that would become a location of the dialectics of knowing as Sartre (1968) would try to argue and a scholarship to begin with. In this backdrop, studying a movement with comparative methodological frame of reference would give reflexive lesson on how a normative language of struggle graduated from and led by these subaltern masses, and unfolded
layers of contestation with several agencies. Keeping these key objectives in mind, this study would probe into following research questions:-

- Locating social movements at the core of praxis of sociology of knowledge for organizing particular way of scholarship, this study would focus on how collective protests generate new descriptions of knowledge?

- Studying an environmental movement, for instance, Narmada Bachao Andolan, experimental bit of this analysis directs to interrogate the dominant discourses of developmental agenda of the nation-state and how these struggles waged by the victims of development unfold possible alternative strategies?

- How far alternative strategies and practices have constantly been negotiated/challenged in the terrain of nation state, location of new social movements and domains of organized disciplines in addressing development induced socio-ecological problems?

**SOCIOLGICAL RELEVANCE OF THIS STUDY**

As we discussed earlier, knowledge is purely a constituted and collective praxis, and it is deeply rooted in the trajectories of historicity. Controversial issues in social science disciplines, for instance, binary of subjectivity vs. objectivity or philosophy vs. practice can be avoided in the sociological discourses in our times, once we brought about the philosophy of praxis at the centre of the subject matter. To put in other words, the sort of scholarship we produce has not yet been usable for those who leads social movements. Although we conjointly produced sociology of social movements with different orientation, but hardly developed sociology for social movements, which led to a tremendous knowledge gap (Oommen, 2006:269). In fact, NSMs in India and their socio-political and cultural location led to new epistemology of studying society.

Environment movements, for instance, are construed by multiple pressures
of the trajectories of tradition, colonialism and postcolonial preoccupation coupled with discriminatory developmental agenda of the nation-state. In addition, authenticity of post-coloniality is constritive for histories of gender, women's right group, tribal and subordinate caste movements (Sarkar, 2005:3). Such an affirmation by the underprivileged among the colonized often used the resources, ideas from western-colonial modernity. Distinctive cultural specificities get integrated into the sociological imaginations, if they were understood in social structural compulsion as they were culturally produced. In fact, scholarship in the new social movements’ studies, interpretation of subjective meaning of culture is getting strengthened as the studies foreground in experiential realities. In this context of experiential domain, the actors’ intention would also get transformed. In other words, ‘personal is political’. With this conviction, one can unfold many histories and trajectories instead of homogenous, unilinear progression.

A study of this kind would shed light on the ground realities found in the environmental movements. Although, the subaltern shorthand followed by Gramscian intellectual tradition, commensurate with writing histories from below by using post-colonial text, often it fell into the binaries of colonial vs. post-colonial discourses. It overlooked the language of subaltern among the subaltern. As a critique, Simon During (1998:3) held the view that post-colonial theory signifies something remote from self-determination and autonomy. He is of the view that by deploying categories such as hybridity, mimicry, ambivalence, which laced colonised into colonising culture and, it became a reconciliatory instead of critical to anti-colonial resurgence. In addition, some of the scholarships were critical to subaltern study schools as well. For instance, peasant movements in the princely states in India during the colonial rule what Hira Singh (2003) characterizes, were the colonial mode of historiography.11

11 As singh argues the postcolonial unity of India as a single nation state incorporating the princely states covering two-fifth of the territory and a quarter of the population that remained
Albeit accepting its fabulous contribution to interrogate the question of peasant insurgency, Subaltern Studies often failed to accomplish its own objective—to restore the agency of peasants and peasant movements in colonial India. This failure was intrinsic to the theoretical, albeit it has ideological, predilections. As a matter of fact, agrarian relations, its power structure, its value systems under the princely states were beyond the direct control of the colonial state and they deserved to be studied in their own right. Princely states of India, in fact, were practically ignored the historical discourse on colonial India (Singh, 2003: 22-23). Scholarships by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha, Gail Omvedt, Hira Singh etc. shed light on divergent opinion in this regard. Moreover, writing historiography of our time is not merely meant for stating the memories; instead it was largely on what lesson we could learn from the past to create a new history—a politics of praxis. In this backdrop, to make more realistic and practical, discourses on praxis, our analysis, perhaps, redefine epistemology and ontology in the discipline of sociology and way out from the binaries of colonialism and post-colonialism.

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of study is to examine the praxis of subaltern knowledge while analyzing contemporary environmental movements in India. Empirical reflections for this study, are largely drawn from the collective protest spearheaded by the people of Narmada valley popularly known as Narmada Bacho Andolan against one of the largest and most controversial dams being constructed on the Narmada River. True, Narmada is no more empirically a free flowing river in the middle part of India, but it has become a symbol of controversial site for a set of discourses, such as huge human displacement, submergence of eco-systems and human rights violation, that are discursively played out in and outside of the valley. The way issues of cumulative deprivation and humiliation articulated by the movement with the support of several groups and agencies, created a momentum in the history of outside the direct control of the colonial state has not been captured in the colonial and postcolonial historiography of India.
environmental movement in India. Eventually, along with protest, the movement began to experiment alternative strategies of development to challenge the hegemonic-state centric dominant paradigm of development. It is in this context, the praxis of the movement protests and creative engagement becomes significant to learn with new methodological insight on how nature-culture relations are organically linked in the everyday struggle. Organization of this study was based on largely the reviews of literature on the topic concerned, field experience and dialogue with scholars working on this issue. Field observation was done during December 2006, June-July 2006.

KEY CONCEPTS
To structure the study with theoretical reflections, certain key concepts were employed and schematically discussed in different chapters. They are as follows:

PRAXIS: a critical domain of reflexivity
Social science discourses, in our times, in general and the discipline of sociology in particular quite often begins with enquiries of the practicalities of social organization. These are the critical enquiry that perpetually generates reflexivity, a space for dialogue and possible practices (praxis). Ever since, one could observe, the same themes have been debated in the classical sociological discourses. From a methodological point of view, both dialogue and practice, which are essential for scholarship and knowledge production. Praxis, conjoining dialogue with practice is a theoretical derivation of Marxist interpretation by Gramsci (2004:402) that unfolds a creative dialectic with culture and ideas for social transformation.

Praxis is defined as free, universal, creative and self-creative activity through which man creates and changes (shapes) his historical, human world and himself. To Marx, theory is inseparable from praxis (Dodd, 1999:28). Demystifying the narrow view of Marxism as a discourse of materialism, Gramsci reframed Marxism in a new terrain of practical materialism exemplifies materiality of praxis and the praxis-
mediatedness of reality. According to Gramsci, great conquest in the history of modern thought is represented by the philosophy of praxis. It was possible due to the concrete historicisation of philosophy and its identification with history. However, Bertolt Brecht went on to argue that the notion of truth itself, to be begun with, a question of praxis (Haug, 2001:74).

As a social epistemology, Jesse Shera perceives praxis as knowledge to carry out intelligible action. According to him, conception of knowledge in society is conjoined with action- a critical and rational understanding of knowledge - praxis. To him, knowledge is more than an object of cognition; instead subjected to filtering society's accepted value system (Budd, 2002:93). Philosophy of praxis in fact takes a reciprocal unilateral position contrasting materialism and idealism repeatedly appearing even more advanced moment of history. As a matter of fact, Antonio Labriola viewed that philosophy of praxis is nucleus of historical materialism, integral to social and historical being and ending up every form of idealism. In other words, it recognizes empirically existing things as reflexive, reproductive, imitative, consequences of presupposed thought. Intellectual revolution to succeed historicisation of physical nature simultaneously accompanies the intellectual revolution in the process of making human history as objective truth. The latter proposition certainly strives for making objective truth to explore the centrality of human nature as process of becoming (Haug, 2001: 69-70). In so doing, philosophy of praxis traverses from the reign to necessity to reign of freedom.

From a dialectical perspective, philosophy of praxis is not only a conscious loaded contradiction. Instead the philosopher himself understood her subjective position within the social group that forms sources of knowledge for action (Gramsci, 2004: 402-405). This very action would lead to a collective political praxis to establish a new historical reality (Salamini, 1981:7). Therefore, Sartre (1968: 5) held the view that every philosophy is practical, even as first appears to be the most contemplative. In this context, philosophy would tend to raise a level of consciousness, is born of the movement of society, and acts further upon the future
Dialectics of grasping, to Sartre, is unique in situating the problems in a particular social context. Such a specific technique of 'dialectical knowing', has been taken seriously both at the individual praxis of the investigator and at the particular praxis which is being investigated. Hence dialectic of knowing is appropriately brought into the discipline of sociology, as it keeps on continuing studies on social structure, historical experience and individual praxis. Both of these domains i.e., the investigator and the theme are being investigated (being and knowing) can provide a kind of consciousness for developing a new philosophical anthropology as well (ibid, 338).

Studying praxis in the discipline of sociology reveals certain inherent questions, for instance, why some theories were discovered, after some time accepted or rejected as changes taken place due to variety of factors. The scientist community on the other hand sees sympathetic or hostile to them, instead of putting them into the trajectories of naturalization and dogmatic assumptions. Further, certain social structures that are vital in determining the genesis of the concepts is hardly be interrogated whilst we scrutinize the very base of scientific development. In this regard, cognitive faculties (sociologically constructed structures) of the human endeavor and its demonstrational effect on social progress need to be explored from a historical point of view. Laudan (1977:197) would precisely call this effort as a cognitive development of sociology of science.

Finally, when we examine the theoretical permutations of NSMs, a fresh approach is required. In addition, its theoretical reflections are subjected historically and politically well informed. In other words, it can be argued that social action is conditioned by the actor's own frame of reference through a constant negotiation with social environment and context specificities that perhaps lead to crystallization

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12 This includes her socio-economic heritage as well as her individual genius or personal biography.

13 It captures the history of a people, for instance. Present day India, its mode of thought, its economic development, its mind and present social structure.
of identity and assertion. It is equally to be remembered that, as meaning and action has been derived from a context that implicitly is understood by the actors and their actions, hence there is little room for preoccupation and self-will in the collectivity of praxis.

**SUBALTERN DISCOURSE: an alternative epistemology**

The term 'subaltern' emanates firstly from the scholarship of Antonio Gramsci, exemplifies subordination in terms of class, caste, gender, race, language and culture. It is used to express the centrality of binary opposition of dominant/dominated relationships in the history writings. As analytical and critical shorthand, subaltern discourse opens up some theoretical possibilities what unfold different interlocking principles of socio-economic divisions and political cultural domination. Antonio Gramsci, however, deals this issue with a set of discourses that are well integrated with the idea of hegemony and praxis. For Gramsci, subaltern, by necessity, is reformist for a critical engagement with affirmation and consciousness. This sort of political praxis enables the subaltern to become ideologically, culturally and politically hegemonic to strive for a new social order (Salamini, 1981:13).

At the outset, following Gramsci, a new scholarship began to write on the politics of labouring population of subaltern classes and groups in South Asian. Depending upon the extent of consciousness of the traditional organizations such as kinship and territoriality or class associations, subaltern masses tried to mobilize as a discrete entity (Guha, 1982:4). The aim of the subaltern studies, Guha defined as an effort to promote a systematic and informed discussion of subaltern themes to rectify elitist bias of much research and academic work. In the initial periods, scholarship was aimed at, to reconstruct varied trajectories and modes of consciousness of the movements of subordinate groups in India as an autonomous sphere and critical agency for transformation. Since then, the category subaltern traversed into new perspectives and metaphors to interrogate dominant knowledge, state, modernity etc. One of the critiques was that, of course, romanticisation of the past too. In addition to that, given the broader scheme of theoretical shape, Gyan
Prakash (1994:1476) locates this sort of scholarship in tune with a vigorous post-colonial critique, which charts out interdisciplinary scholarship arising out of the dialogue between power and knowledge.

A sort of historiography, we deal here is distinct from conventional history writing as it continued to establish a thesis of formulating single pattern and preservation. Instead it deals knowledge as an epistemological act and a threshold which suspend continuous accumulation of knowledge. In doing so, it forces to enter into a new time, cut off from its empirical origin. Although the analysis traverses from the search for silent beginnings, never ends to tracing back the original precursor. This results in searching for a new type of rationality and constructions (Foucault, 1972:4). As the history continues to be re-activated, it becomes a development of internal dynamics, a hard work of freedom and a continuous sense of consciousness of the deepest conditions (ibid, 13). This new expression of history would unfold multiple meanings that are deep-seated in the indigenous cultural resources. This new beginning to Stewart and Strathern (2005:15) is an epistemological switch, which reconstructs and discovers more and more missing linkages in which history itself appears to be abandoning the irruption of events in favour of stable structures14. In this backdrop, history is not merely remembrance of the past; rather what we learned from dialectics of our experiences ours with past is more important. Taking cue from these reflections, subaltern discourses inaugurate a new epistemology with fresh meaning of history and historiography.

POST-COLONIALISM: challenging the dominant categories of knowledge

As we know that the dominant discourses of knowledge under the modernity project has constantly been debated and questioned and then eventually, led to the emergence of alternative discourses with the one set of post-modernist and post-

14 History works within and tries to defines the documentary materials on unities, totalities, series, and relations
structuralist scholarship. In the third world countries, it reflected in the form of post-colonial writings. Post-colonialism, indeed, enabled a diversity of studies both subjects of enquiry and theoretical positions which are bewildering in various forms. Post-colonial theory locates fundamentally a construction of third world modernity as the product of anti-colonial, anti-eurocentric political knowledge based on experience. It expressed a radically different epistemology in academics, as against institutional site of knowledge globally dominated, hitherto, by a set of knowledge criteria of the West (Sartre, 2001: xxiii). Post-colonialism, in its literal sense, is not just coming literally after colonialism; instead, it is seen as a flexible site for contesting colonial domination and, thus the legacies of colonialism. As Loomba argues (1998:12) such a position would allow us to include people geographically displaced by colonialism and incorporate the history of anti-colonial resistance in the wake of imperialism and the domination of western culture. The language of post-colonialism is presumably free from centralist approach and propagate the ideas such as de-centering, plurality, hybridity and dismantling of authority, the way post-modernism traverses.

Post-colonialism, thus, as a critical category which suggests that it is from those who have suffered the sentence of history-subjugation, domination, diaspora, displacement-that we learn our most enduring lessons for living and thinking. However, there is a growing conviction that, along with affective experiences of social marginality, the sufferers of colonialism transform critical strategies to confront their every-day life (Bhabha, 1994:72). In other words, it can be argued that, post-colonialism precisely recourse for recognizing identities, voices and situations that were not granted by the colonial powers of else where, instead they are perceived and defined by the subalterns themselves.

Moreover, post-colonial discourses in the literary movement questions all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. It is because, there is a continuity of pre-occupation throughout the historical process initiated by european imperial aggression (Trivedi and Mukherjee,
2000:8), despite the fact that there was a great deal of excitement and confusion surrounded in the very field of postcolonial scholarship throughout the world (Loomba, 1998). It is viewed that any sheer binary opposition between colonizer or colonized or between races under post-colonialism undue enormous cultural and racial differences within which each of these categories and crossovers between them. A point needs to be highlighted that there is a possibility of subaltern alternative epistemological location in it as it tries to reiterate the significance of cultural/racial differences, regardless of their different ideological positions than reducing itself into merely a colonial, post-colonial dilemma.

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: paradigm for subaltern voice

Critical theorists in Western Europe repositioned their attention towards new social movements such as feminist, peace, environment, gay and lesbian and students' movements in the seventies. NSMs also appeared to be people's dissatisfaction with social and political institutions of advanced capitalist societies. It embraces different values, organisational structures and tactics in their effort to bring about cultural and political change. There are two elements, which are crucial in understanding the trajectories of NSMs. First, of course, transition from the industrial society to the post-industrial discourses with reflexivity and transcendental subject. Second, reactionary to the promises of Eurocentric modernity. Very specifically, the latter proposition colonizes the life world with the domination of state apparatus and market regulations due to the pressure of globalization. It is in this context, generic aspect of NSMs become significant world over.

In social movement studies, Alain Touraine (1998) has a point of departure. As he argues, grass-root social movements, in our times, are reaching out to the actor/life world in the post-societies with a set of practical and critical consciousness. According to him, social movements are to be studied on the following three questions. First, how are, collectivity of actors engaged in a social management of cultural resources. Second, what are the practices of actors, and how their relation to
the state. Final conjecture was the questions of nexus between the social movements and its larger issues of democratization of political process (Touraine, 1998:158). Possibly, that is what T.K. Oommen (1990) would try to conceptualize movement as an ever ending trajectory of mobilization to institutionalization and its discourses. It is in this trajectory that a movement eventually moves from the periphery to the centre.

It is to be noticed that, with the one set of discourses on post-modernity, there are writings on contemporary ethnographic practices that articulate emergence of NSMs. This articulation, gives new meanings to social actions of the ‘marginal’ people, movements and social forces. Further, a close examination of the ‘marginal’, eventually forms new subject positions to counteract the prevailing modes of domination in society and gives rise to accommodating different voices and resistance to domination (Smith, 1992:496). So it is clear that the contemporary struggles are not merely for material gains, but equally for new meaning, for instance, community, sub-nationalism, search for one’s own roots and regional identities. Art of resistance of the contemporary movements are the articulation of identity with new meaning. From a methodological point of view, this led the development of new theories in the movement studies.

The characteristics of NSMs, by and large, are balanced with socio-cultural factors than socio-political, as it strives to create new cultural identity of the people who represent in it. Hence, political mobilization and identity construction of these movements take place out side of the state-institutional apparatus. As a result, initiatives, that are taken by the NSMs largely with a conviction that what they can do by themselves, instead of waiting for the state to respond. Focusing on developmental issues, partly due historical reason coupled with consciousness of deprivation, these movements transforms existing conditions through reflexive action. This transition, to Oommen (1990:30) is an instrument of movement to carry forward from periphery of the system to its centre. For him, these are conscious
effort on the part of humans to mitigate their deprivation and to secure justice. In fact, it is the phenomenological explanations of every-day activities that sought out a theoretical model in the terrain of NSM discourses.

Accommodating new voices to these subjective experiences in the discourse of social movements, to Touraine (2000) is quest for personal freedom in which individuals are not mere individual rather convergence of collective social actors. Similarly, for Sartre realization of freedom is achieved through a constant state of action (transcendence). That means, personal is political. Development of western democracies, for instance, has witnessed this constant state of action accompanied and influenced by numerous social movements and their protest activities in our times. This trend, perhaps, even takes a more distinct form in the future (Dieter and Friedhelm, 2002:7). However, Avijit Pathak (2004:44) would argue that the NSMs interrogate the fundamentals of aggressive/eurocentric modernity and a new sensitivity that underlines the question of reciprocity, harmony and interconnectedness. To him, NSMs articulate voices of the victims of development, the voices of marginalized people etc. This kind of discourse, according to Pathak delineates a meaningful sociological discourse.

Movement activism in India, in fact, is served the constituencies of disadvantaged sections of society, to which these movements over the years claimed to be represented for. The kind of social issues they take up, for instance, are denial of human rights on several developmental concerns in different circumstances over the years. In fact, the language of protests, critical understanding about development, victimization, self-assertion etc. has been reflective domains for social scientist to explain how movements are to be understood. No doubt, the beginning of NSMs in the third world and their articulation of sufferings and the language of assertions, are radically changing the epistemological base of science and knowledge system in the movement scholarship. As a result, one may see alternative knowledge that is foreground in NSMs. Therefore, NSM scholarships began to recognize these cultural
specific changes that are slightly different from the conventional mode of protests (Plotke, 1995:113). No wonder, discourses on environmental movements in India, has been one of the dominant/urgent paradigms in the social science to search for alternative epistemology for critical thinking and map out new vistas of development.

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS: contesting popular developmental discourse

All over the world, people from local to global level have directly been victimized by the depletion of natural resources. Those fight against the short-lived developmental activities initiated by the modern state apparatuses are organized to raise the voice against the over exploitation of natural resources. Although, the voices were silenced in the initial period, eventually become critical once the external agencies like media, civil society and social activists taken up this issue very seriously into the public arena world over. These multiple, but diverse voices gave birth to institutionalization of social movements by articulating the significance of restoring natural resources and adopting alternative views of development and modernization. With the onset on discourses on globalization, micro-environmental movements world over are today linked with larger struggle for a clean planet with a global vision, ‘Think Global and Act Local’ (Guillen, 2001).

Departing from the conventional approaches of social movements based on ethnic, class, gender differences, NSMs take advantages of refreshing discourses on the public sphere. Its newness attracted voices of the people from different part of the world regardless of class, creed, colour or gender for a common cause called protection of our environment. Along with a common identification, scholars began to treat these movements as people’s movement instead of calling them as environmental movements (Pawar, Patil and Salunkhe, 2005). In other words, as the colonization of life world by the rational institutions of modern times have totally neglected the organic nexus between men and nature. Foregrounding discourse on eco-sensitivity, led by the mass protest in the tribal and rural settings, gave birth to an
idea that the people do have right over natural resources directly, without the interference of modern institutions. These movements, for instance, radically challenge the dominant development discourses led by the state as the large scale human displacement and ecological degradation is taking placed as the consequences of the very development. Yet, the language of articulating protest of the victims is precisely a language of subaltern discourse, which fundamentally challenges the whole understanding of dominant knowledge domains. And certainly it voyages alternative views of development agenda as well.

**METHOD**

**Data Collection and Organization**

To begin with, literature for this study basically drawn from text books, journals, (both printed and e-journals), reports, research papers, government documents. Subsequently, to examine the history and wider discourses on the movement, printing materials, photos, posters, newspaper clippings, slogans of NBA were collected from the offices of NBA in Badwani, Kandwa, and New Delhi. Printing materials include, palm lets, new letter, notice, invitation, personal writings etc. I have visited some of the submerging villages such as Ekalwad, Badal and Kakarana in the valley of Narmada. In Ekalwada I have visited with the NBA leader Medha Patkar to attend a public meeting and in Badal I stayed with the children of *Jeevan Shala*. I have participated in the protests and meetings led by the NBA in New Delhi, Bhopal and Kandwa. Visiting project affected villages, meeting people who are uprooted from their habitat, interacting with children of *Jeevan Shala*, local leaders who frequently visit in the NBA offices and attend protests, activists, college students who participated in the activities and study the movement trajectory, enriched my field experience. Yet another set of information gathered in dialogue with scholars, doing research on movements and environmental movements, in New Delhi and Mumbai. Field observation was done in December 2006, and June-July 2007 in the project affected areas, protests venues and NBA offices.
Field observation eventually began to a meaningful theoretical reflection for writing chapters, particularly when I read my field diary at the time of confusion. Information collected from different sources classified and organized systematically for writing chapters. Both citation and interpretation from the literature, would feel, can strengthen the theoretical arguments too. Dialogue with scholars clarify my doubts and helped me to link the association of events and their theoretical reflections. Pilling of disciplinary research on environmental issues centred of Narmada protest, in fact, strengthen the argument of a thesis on how discourse is discursively produced in the world of academia. However, in the field observation I could learn that, obviously, the affected communities were 'forced' to demand for rehabilitation as the dam construction is almost completed. Interestingly, although the same groups rejected the very rehabilitation stating that proper rehabilitation is impossible with sound empirical evidences from various studies in the initial stage of the movement. This becomes a dialectics of confusion in my research work throughout.

STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTERS

This study is broadly divided into five chapters. To begin with, the introductory chapter gives context, concepts and methodological framework of the study. The second chapter deals with theoretical reflections on the questions of science, society, subalternity and New Social Movements. Third chapter, in fact, examines how environmental movements redefine concepts, categories and knowledge. Subsequently, fourth chapter unravels to the praxis of environmental movements in India by capturing certain discourses, methods and practices. Fifth chapter narrates how the subaltern voices in the valley of Narmada become inscriptions of new epistemology. Finally, the last chapter gives conclusion of the study followed by annexure and bibliography.
Titles of the chapters are as follows:

CHAPTER-I
INTRODUCTION:
CONTEXT, CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER-II
SCIENCE, SOCIETY, SUBATLERNITY AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

CHAPTER-III
ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS:
REDEFINING CONCEPTS, CATEGORIES AND KNOWLEDGE

CHAPTER-IV
PRAXIS OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA:
DISCOURSE, METHODS AND PRACTICES

CHAPTER-V
SUBALTERN VOICES IN THE VALLEY OF NARMADA:
INSCRIPTIONS OF NEW EPISODEMOLOGY

CHAPTER-VI
CONCLUSION:
LIMIT OF DISCOURSES AND DEVELOPMENT PATHOLOGY

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY