Let those who are affected raise their own voices...
They have to reach out to the law,
perhaps the law will never reach to them... [Videh Upadhyay]

'subaltern politics' which represent
'another long history, that of resistance to the established
order by those who have been the objects of
oppression' [Corbridge, 2000]

It is true that environmental questions generated critical idiom on the developmental paradigm of the nation-states world over. Through times, it appealed for alternative models of development by taking cue from the vast reservoirs of thought process, from local to global institutional infrastructure, resulted to mass protest for just use of scarce natural resources. A constant dialogue between the state apparatuses, people's movements and above all, scholarly engagements has been underway in our times in India, when the micro-protests and their constructive approaches of development challenged the existing dominant paradigm of development. Subaltern voices in the Valley of Narmada, is one among them and it is these voices, increasingly become an inscriptions of new epistemology in the history of environmental struggles in India.

1 Videh Upadhyay is a lawyer in the Supreme Court and the co-founder of Enviro-Legal Defence Firm (ELDF)
Movements construct a *place*-an epistemological sight of struggle-which reflects subaltern strategies of localization for community consciousness and alternative thinking. The *place* is also a contested domain for the presentation of ecological diversities, and integrity and renewal of place (local) based theory and practice (Escobar, 2001: 144). It is in this context, protests against the Narmada River valley project in the middle part of India, as a *place*, exerted contestation over different apparatuses of the state. These apparatuses are constituencies of various ministries, judiciary on the one side and alliances between the domains of knowledge claims, adivasi protest and people’s organizations like Narmada Bachao Andolan on the other. Activism in the valley has historically been important as it has succeeded in mobilizing Adivasi communities who were not politically active, then and there (CSE, 1999:163). It equally attracted academic communities to conceptualize on several ground about the project, its socio-cultural impact, technical feasibility, cost-effectiveness so on and so forth. In other words, Narmada slowly and gradually has captured the imagination of many actors and agencies in the course of time.

Narmada Valley protest, indeed, indicates the conflict over natural resources, which unfolded several facets. To begin with, at the existential level, it became a focal point on, how the local people were caught in between the threat of destruction of their entire life-supporting system and the promises of development, as and when, the state apparatus, Non Governmental Organization and activists group set an agenda to *speak for them*. At the national and international arena, this became a symbolic struggle for local autonomy against forced displacement. However, the collective protests spearheaded by the NBA, began to reflect on a wide range of critical questions got crystallized in these conflicts. Gradually it became a mass movement, when it received support from several agencies. It included both national and international non-governmental organizations, engaged in several aspects of human life such as environment, human rights, development, religion, housing, agriculture, energy, and indigenous people’s rights. Because of these discursive
mobilizations across the board, network and collective action for a common cause, one could see an emerging relationship between the micro and macro process, between local communities, activists and intellectuals.

It is in this background, the issues of Narmada Valley was bound to be debated widely in the public sphere than any World Bank-funded project as the very project has been subjected to the largest river development scheme in the world causing huge human displacement and environmental destruction (Fisher, 1997:6 and Baviskar, 2006:243). The popular slogan which transcends the global reach of the Narmada movement is inscribed as:-

No matter who you are
Where you come from or
What language you speak,
We are united in this struggle for,
Human rights and human dignity

While analyzing the entire mobilization through different sets of efforts and strategies made by the actors and agencies who are interconnected each other, with diverse ideological positions, Ranjit Dwivedi (2006: 153) of the view that the protest in the Narmada valley was a collective action. Collective action involves, to Dwivedi (ibid) and Shukla (2009), not only the actors who are affected by the project, instead external actors linking local issues with larger political goals and visions as very much part of global citizenship.

Revolutionary praxis would always take a cue from the voices of the subaltern, the most oppressed strata of society which underlines an urgent restructuring of political process. This political restructuring does have two theoretical attributes. First, grass root level mobilization and resistance by the subaltern groups at sub or supra-national level has been crucial in New Social

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Written in a small photo depicting the struggle led by NBA was found at the NBA office, Badwani, Dec. 2006
Movement scholarship. A critical scrutiny of the idea of nation-state and its hegemony over political economy, never been represented for the subalterns and their cultural-economy. Now most importantly, with the advent of neo-liberalism functionally the idea of nation is in fragile. Second, post-modern views of popular front widened a theoretical space to organize new forms of hegemony by using critical resources and perspectives unfolded by the subaltern studies school under the broader theoretical rubrics of post-colonial scholarship (Beverely, 1998: 308).

By acknowledging these theoretical possibilities, we locate our analytical tool to see how subaltern voices of the Narmada Valley as a form of discourse, generated out of every-day experiences and struggles. Moreover, how it eventually became new descriptions of knowledge/politics. Although the approaches of subaltern scholarship trying to unfold the silence of history and subjugation of culture, through times its experimental bit is slowdown into the everyday experiences and struggles that tend to register new discourse as a criticality of praxis. The Struggle spearheaded by the NBA in the Narmada Valley is reflected upon the voices of Advisis, the subalterns. From this perspective of the subaltern,

...pre-colonial, colonial and nationalist state has scarcely altered-the state dominates and the adivasis are made subordinate. The difference is one of degree. Within that relationship of domination/subordination, there have been times when resistance has been overt, events of insubordination that have been acknowledged in official records. But most part, people have had to submit, their resentment summed up in the words of.....The state is a thief (Baviskar, 2006:84).

Situating Subaltern as an analytical category caught between trajectories of the past (burden by tradition) and post-colonial developmentalism, perhaps, provide a theoretical insight to make sense of the protest in the valley of Narmada. Moreover, the element of subaltern voice in the valley is very critical as it has been spontaneous, cultural and radical in its methods of protests and collective action for social change. The discursive voices and practices of subaltern generated out of everyday struggle in the Valley brought about a stand point of alternative strategies
of development as a new epistemology. In so doing, one can also register the way in which the dominant knowledge forms are constructed and imparted structurally by the silence, absence or impossibility of the representation of subaltern. The point we are trying to elaborate here is that the people's struggles are not merely to protest against the established institutions, but also critically engage themselves in constructive approaches for sustainable development. As a critical and reflexive domain, these sorts of constructive approaches, indeed, underline the essentialities of praxis in the movement studies. Conjoining protest with constructive approaches of the Narmada Valley struggle in our times would necessarily imprint new description of epistemology.

There are three stages of theoretical approaches followed in this chapter based on empirical reflections. In the first section, genesis of the movement from its mobilization to institutional stage is discussed in detail. To begin with, it gives a historical overview of the subaltern struggle and, then traverses to locate the protest in the valley of Narmada. In this scheme, a brief outline of the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) is explained to assess its benefits claims as well as its unintended consequences. In fact, Narmada movement was, precisely, responding to the SSP and its unintended consequences. It articulated the problem of adivasis who are largely affected by the project. In the movement trajectory, the role of NBA is very significant as it generated new discourses through discursive practices both in and out side of the valley. With the support of both national and transnational non-governmental organizations, NBA Alarmed the voice of the Narmada valley people at the global level.

The second section addresses the question of how discursive practices of several kinds at different layers of the movement generated discourses. The discourses, initially, in the Narmada valley, was to be negotiated for better resettlement and rehabilitation of the project affected people. However, in the later stage, movement activists found proper rehabilitation of all affected people is
impossible. Moreover, the movement unearthed counter-fact to falsify the claims made by the project authorities. In this regard, legitimate claim of benefit-cost analysis was severely criticized. In fact, the benefits of the project were not meant for farmers; instead, it was for the elite land-lords and the capitalist class in the urban areas. By producing counter facts and arguments, and stiff resistance from the project authorities from time to time, compelled the movement to take anti-dam stand. The anti-dam movement discourse received wider currency as it attracted movements and agencies outside of the Narmada valley too. When the mobilization of the movement spread outside of its limited geographical circle, anti-dam strategy apparently moved against the logic of development process in the larger context. As a result of getting mass support from several likeminded forums and groups, movement slowly began to radicalize its protest and in turn criticize the very logic of developmental paradigm of the nation-state.

The final stage of this chapter deals with how both movement and its discourses in the Narmada valley become an epistemological sight for a new discipline. Making a new discipline, universities, research institutions, government departments, NGO and above all consultant groups have conducted several studies on Narmada valley from their own vantage point. Carrying out research, existing methodologies employed on the field areas were found obsolete and the field eventually guided the scholars to frame new methodology. The transcendental phase of the NBA is itself become a source of knowledge, as it carries discourses on the Narmada valley from local mobilization to collective organization both nationally and internationally. In the disciplinary domains of the protest, there are two types of knowledge generation found, i.e. from above and below. First, systematic investigation and knowledge production through different committee reports, studies of the World Bank and Jury politics. They were precisely being operated from above. Second, constructive programs initiated by the activists of the movement such as location mobilisation, Jeevan Shala experiment in the valley, alternative pedagogy reflected upon the knowledge from below through critical praxis. Of course,
academics shuttled between these two, to make these discourses more meaningful when they moved ahead of the disciplinary straight jackets of their own. At last but not least, the emerging epistemic community as group of intellectuals drawn from diverse background and disciplines world-over has been a new phenomenon. Their presence in the international arena to raise the voices of the genuine issues and regulating policies are also crucial in this regard.

BIRTH OF A MOVEMENT: from mobilization to institutionalization

In this session, we outline mobilization process as a historical process of the subaltern struggle over the question of how the meanings of human-nature relationship are defined and redefined. As a matter of fact, those who participate in it are not merely objects; instead, they are subject of reflections and criticality. This is true, while one unravels into the trajectories of subaltern protests. This gave birth to collective memory as a mobilization strategy. Collective memory is a terrain simultaneously constituted by and constitutive of the discursive practices of movements as they struggle over hegemony in terms of giving direction to the future development of the social organization of human practice (Nilsen, 2004a). There are various oppositional ways of being and doing to counter the received wisdom that characterizes counter hegemonic elements. In this regard, local groups use specific skills and knowledge as local rationalities\(^3\) to confront dominant social group in a particular space and time, or in a particular conflict over a particular issue. More specifically local rationalities lie at the subaltern needs and evoke capacities that are hitherto been silenced by the hegemonic apparatuses (Nilsen, 2004b:2).

Mobilization strategy takes place at several levels to organize local people for a common cause. Hence, battles of everyday-life are assumed to be significant when it conjoined with rights over natural resources which traditionally been held with the subaltern groups. It is in this context, subaltern struggles exhibit an enduring form of

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\(^3\) Local rationality means informal characteristics about the way people make sense and engage with the world that is capable of being generalized and taking on a life of its own.
protests by recalling historically discursive community assertion and consciousness that are basically different from other types of social protest spearheaded by the mainstream of society. It is the subaltern groups in the margins, despite the euphoria of modernization and development, who are continued to be lived close to nature. As a result, their socio-cultural and political life becomes organically linked with eco-system.

Subaltern Struggle: An Overview

A point, at the outset, needs to be highlighted is that the struggles waged by the subaltern groups are not new to Indian history; instead it has deeply been imprinted in a long historical time. In corollary to it, these struggles have not been part of the mainstream academic discourses in the history writings for quite some time. An attempt has been made here to trace the missing linkages of subaltern struggles at the margin to make sense on, how the present forms of protest and collective actions are shaped and reshaped in our times. Well, to begin with, from a historical point of view, it has been argued that the subaltern groups have been ecologically ethical (Rahul, 1999), the way their social institutions were organized and in turn regulate their every-day practices. Jhum or shifting cultivation, for instance, was an ideal form of agriculture in India, especially in the tribal settlements, than other forms of agricultural practices. These traditional practices showed that how cultural traits of the primordial communities are being organically related with nature and its changes.

In the colonial period, British, in fact, tried to abandon Jhum cultivation as these traditional practices have not yield commercially viability for revenue generation as same in Europe after agricultural revolution. Through time, colonial hostility to jhum gained momentum which added impetus to the commercialization of forests as well. The new restrictions inculcated an acute sense of cultural loss, when the commercialization of the forest was accompanied by the penetration of non-tribal landlords and money lenders who exercise domination on the indigenous people (Dube, 1951: 189-90; Hardiman, 1987: 88-98; Gadgil and Guha, 2007: 151-
154). In other words, the moral economic systems, traditionally been practiced by the adivasis communities, were forced to convert into profit driven political economy in the colonial period. At times, the oppressive colonial policies of these sort evoked adivasis' life-supporting system, that led to react against the fundamental questions of land and forest on which, they are traditionally been dependent for their livelihood (Xaxa, 2008; Karan, 1994; Jain, 1991). The struggles, they spearheaded, which symbolizes on how the subaltern groups have been fighting for their existence in historical times as their life situations were threatened by the external forces.

The conflict became acute, when it comes to the forefront of the subaltern questions with the post-colonial state-apparatuses. The power and authority of the state over resources on the one hand, and the uprooting of moral authority of community ownership over resources on the other, complicated the nature-culture relations of subaltern communities. But it doesn't mean that the traditional hierarchies and exploitations were exceptional. Instead, they were parallel in operation. There are movements, indeed, against the feudal land-lords, money lenders and who demanded free labour as and when the latter unable to pay exorbitant interest against their loans imposed by the former. On the other side of the spectrum, relations with the state were shown indifferent in their orientation and logic. During the colonial period, for instance, British began to exploit Indian forests for industrial development and trade expansion. Extent of extraction of natural resources from the forest area, led to the deep inroad to the subaltern communities and their habitats. As a result, they loss their traditional occupations and forced to work for extremely low wage rate. Subsequently, they were forced to evocate forests area for outsiders, to harness the land revenue for the ruling class (Burman, 2000:320-323). Colonial policy reserved forest enabled colonial masters and forest officials to hold more power on the forest products. This apparently resulted into phenomenal growth of malpractices among the petty forest officials. Knowing the destructive colonial policies over natural resources and eco-system communities and
its cumulative exploitation, subalterns revolted and challenged the commercial and profit oriented logic of British hegemony.

With the collapse of the colonial structure and the establishment of sovereign state, resource use policies were continued, as the colonial policies well integrated with the aspirations of the elites of India. Revival of the village economy for the development of Indian society based on Gandhian line has totally been jeopardized by India’s first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. In fact, Nehru through his planning model gave priority for industrialization and modernization as a key area of economic development and social transformation. These policies were adversely affected the tribal social settings as the complex scheme of land classification led to detribalization of tribal forests and land, despite the fact that Nehru’s tribal policy underlined tribes’ right over land and forest uses. Planning process, however, devaluated the complex but integrated life-style of adivasi communities and their collective life style. Development thesis based on the economic reductionism, for instance, defines how adivasis are to be displaced and how to be compensated. It reflected Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (subsequent amendment in 1984), which empowered the state for compensation in terms of cash. This, in fact, virtually led to reduce rights and interests of the primordial communities into monetary terms. The new act eventually strengthened the power of the state to displace people in the interests of the public purpose. Most importantly, the act recognized individuals for compensation, as a result, collective or community and hereditary rights of the adivasis become redundant. Adivasis’ right over the forest, in turn, renders to grudging concessions granted by the state or outright denial of tenure or access.

In the name of development, the next target was to harness the water resources and hydropower generation by constructing multipurpose big dams. As the latest report shows, there were 4291 dams planned in the river valleys of India, out of it 3596 have been built and 695 are under construction (Agarwal, Sen and Narain, 1991) and quite surprisingly 97 percent of mining activities are exclusively
undertaken in the forest and Adivasi settlements. As a result, through time, forest cover has enormously been declined from 40 percent in 1854 to under 8 percent in 1990. The worst sufferers obviously will be the adivasi communities whose life-systems are completely depended upon the forest for centuries.

Most importantly, one of the neglected costs of the big dams is the social and human consequences of displacement. It is certain that mega-projects would require the displacement or forced uprooting of substantial populations, particularly for river valley projects which entail large-scale submergence. The logic behind these projects was to largely benefiting the plains, plains people, and their industries, than the people in the rural and tribal settlements. It is true, that the displacement issues are associated with high risk factor; its implications vary according to the characteristics of the human settlements and their social organizations. When it comes to the marginalized communities and groups such as adivasis, women and Dalits, it has been much more traumatic and devastating. It is because of the fact that these groups have traditionally been settled in these remote hills and river valleys for years. Interestingly, food gathering, farming and life styles are a product of living in harmony with their environment for ages. Experience has shown that their displacement is an irreversible process leading to their near total annihilation. Being mostly landless and small farmers and compelled to do menial jobs for the dominant sections, displacement threat invariably push them to the towns, where they become fragmented groups like pavement dwellers, landless, underemployed and above all cut off from their community life (Hemadri, 1999, Bhaskaran, 2004).

Although displacement effect has variously been estimated, according to Saxena the then secretary, Ministry of Rural Development, Govt. of India, there were 40 million persons were displaced due to development projects. Nearly 62 percent of the population displaced either belonged to Scheduled Caste or Schedule Tribe category, despite the fact that they constitute only 24.5 percent of the total population of India. It clearly indicates the fact that the worst victims of
development induced displacements are marginalized communities. Among the tribal population, though they constitute eight percent of the total population, 47 percent of them have been threatened by displacement (Patwardhan, 2000: 131). Apparently, there is no data gathered to assess status of the downstream of population in the river valley projects in India.

Landlessness is another crucial developmental tragedy, in which, the adivasis facing acute problems in the post-independent India. It is true that, ever since, there was no conception of private property in their collective memories. In fact, the National Sample Survey 44th Round in 1988-1989 shows that about 20.5 percent were landless among adivasis as against 16.3 percent general category. It also highlighted the comparison among different adivasi communities. In the central part of India, for instance, among the Bhils, 52.4 percent in Gujarat, 45.5 percent in Madhya Pradesh and 62.4 percent in Maharashtra were reported to be landless. Gond of Madhya Pradesh was relatively better position than Bhils as 45 percent of them hold above 2.03 hectares of land. In the north-eastern region, Tripura (13.8 percent) fell into the highest landless category. However, majority of them belonged to land owning between one and four hectares, was not estimated to be very significant.

An over view of the subaltern struggle from a historical point of view, as we narrated above, indicate the fact that the issues of adivasis communities are multi-fold. In a modern social setting, relation with the state and its apparatuses, the crisis of dominant developmental model embodied with high risk factor, question of environmental protection livelihood and human rights. Obviously, these are the critical questions become new challenge when it comes to the every-day life of subaltern groups. Growing awareness among the communities about these intricacies gave rise to a wide range of protest all over the country. The rise of movement spearheaded by these groups, in the post-independent India, needs to be seen in the light of these critical response towards upheavals of developmental aspects in which

they were cornered as the brunt of destructive development. The movement started in the Narmada Valley has been central to this trajectory. In the next session, we would narrow down our analysis to the generic and mobilization strategies of people in the Narmada valley.

**Locating the protests in the valley of Narmada**

The process of mobilization and protest began in the valley of Narmada in the mid 1980s at a time when trade union and social actions groups entered into the dam affected adivasis communities of the state of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat. Mobilization, to begin with, was centered on the conflict between the state and society relationship over the use of forests resources. More specifically, absence of legal protection for customary rights of the forest dwellers in the valley became an easy way for local officials, such as police and forest rangers, to dictate their own raj on adivasis' produces and forests resources.

For instance, age old customary practices of the adivasis on the use of land and forests resources for their livelihood were end up as criminal act in the eye of the state and its apparatuses. In order to escape from the criminal charges and fear of

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5 For instance, home-made liquor has been central to adivasi culture during religious festivals. Adivasis believed that their deities were extremely fond of daru and toddy. Daru was considered that it was *food of god*. Drinking during the act of worship was seen as intoxication by the divine spirit than from the liquor itself. Rituals connected with life-cycles like at the time of birth, marriage and death drinks were also served. However prohibiting village-based manufacturing of *daru* and allowing Parsis to install centralized distillery units through colonial policies turned out to be customary practices of adivasis becoming criminal act. In fact, for British and Parsis, it was a large revenue generating source (Hardiman, 1987: 99). Similarly, among the adivasi communities, men and women themselves decide their marriage alliances and it was customary practice that woman comes to live with the man and his family. It is common phenomena that police officials call the man's parents and ask them that whether the girl came to their house of her own will or not. To prove this, the family has to pay bribe either in kind or cash (Nilsen, 2004a:5).

6 Cultivators from Nevad fields (encroached cultivated land), for instance, can be evicted or their produce can be confiscated at any time. Losing Nevad, for adivasis, is a calamity of their life supporting system. One can overcome from this problem, only after paying a fine. The Forest Department is an authority over them. This power has consistently been abused by the officials to extract steady private profit from the poor peasants.
brutal assault, adivasis were forced to pay bribes in terms of cash or kind. Through times, giving and taking bribes had become common features in the daily-life of the people. In other words, people of the valley were subjected to coercion and exertion to an extent, in which, these practices became regular phenomenon. It fundamentally raises a critical question on how the micro-institutions of the state and its apparatuses hegemonise and legitimize its domination over adivasi communities and their resources through its coercive, as illegal. As and when the state monopolized its domination over the forest as well as reservation of forest for commercial use, obviously it violates the customary rights of adivasi communities. The rule of the game by the state was very clear in this context, i.e. defining the rule in binary terms; what is legal and illegal (Hardiman, 1987; Nilsen, 2004a and Baviskar, 2006).

This deprived condition start changing drastically from 1980 onwards, when a transformative phase of confrontation between the officials and the victimized communities were mediated by the urban educated activists taken place. The process started when two activists (Khernraj and Amit) experienced in community development activities in an NGO sector arrived and start engaging with the people of Alirajpur in Madhya Pradesh. Their intension was to mobilize and organize the groups facing multiple deprivations. Interacting with people, they came to know that adivasis were exploited by the contractors who undertaken developmental projects by paying wage below the legal minimum. The first instance of confrontation, in this context, was to demand minimum wage and to agitate against exploitation. Then onwards, they organized people from village to village against corrupt state officials. In an incident, without any reason, a villager had been picked up by officials and severely beaten up. The same thing happened when the activists went to intervene in such a situation. This resulted into mobilize villagers and a heavy protest was taken in front of the tehsil office; notices were circulated in and around on the injustice done to the villagers and activists by the government officials. When it became news everywhere and the same was noticed by the government, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh responded quickly and suspended six forest guards who were reported to be assaulted innocent adivasis and activists. Thereafter, there was strict instruction given by the higher authorities to the forest officials on how to deal these problems. As a result, villagers were, at first, advised to lodge complaint, if such things happened again (Nilsen, 5).
These elementary levels of mobilization enabled the activists to establish base in the villages. On the contrary, it was confidence building mechanism among the adivasi communities to assert themselves as well.

Here the mobilisational strategies and transformative stages through conscientisation is elaborated from socio-anthropological perspective as it has been very crucial on, how convergence has been taken place between outside activists and the adivasi communities in the valley. It is true that public-space at the valley was virtually absent at the initial stage\(^8\) (Parasuraman, 1999); however there was a constant effort made by the activists and the village communities to disseminate information and right for equitable uses of the scarce resources available with the state. Interestingly, in order to make their activities very effective, the activists learned the local dialects (Bhilori and Pauri) and Gujarati. They continuously travel and conduct field work in the valley extensively to mobilize people in their respective villages as well as between the villages. Network abilities and articulation of local problem in local terms, enabled the activists to organize villagers.

Knowing the fact that mobilization strategy at the ground level has its own dynamism particularly to make people themselves aware about their problems and possible local level solution. They could overcome it by limited locally available resources, but certainly limited possibilities for broader structural features. Kelly, D. Alley (2006) conceptualized these sorts of local mobilization as *public anthropology*. As Kelly argues, there is a growing necessity of using anthropological perspectives, methodologies and theories to communicate more effectively outside the ambit of academia, and participate in problem solving. This makes anthropology discipline more relevant in the context of local level resource mobilization. The knowledge

\(^8\) When activists arrived in the valley, it was observed that none of the governmental infrastructures such as educational institutions, primary health care systems, and other social and economic provisions that supposed to be provided to them are not in place. Due to the absence of proper transportation facilities, the school teachers, health personnel and other service providers prevented to work with the people of the valley (Parasuraman, 1999:232-233).
generated out of this process provided descriptions of lived local worlds and focused attention to local/indigenous knowledge. It is observed that the mobilization at the initial stage was basically centered on how the discursive practices of the activists and adivasi communities conjoined together to transform these practices as a discourse from their every day tyranny.

At the transformative stage, local issues were articulated with political intent backed by the cultural past of the adivasis life style, especially linking nature with culture. To transform themselves, adivasis groups had to forge their decisive narrow primordial cleavages and start mingling with other groups. Primordial collectivities such as kinship ties, lineages groups and some times the entire villages had shown unity and integrity. But at the same time they tried to distance themselves from the dominant culture of the bizzaria traders and repressive attitude of state officials. In order to assert themselves, they often recall their traditional modes of political organizations endorsed by local symbols and ritual practices and even local heroes. Translating their memories of the past glory and tradition of struggles into folk songs and dances with the rhythm of traditional music, the cultural past became political weapon for communicative action. As a result of collective mobilization with new understanding of identity consciousness, they could understand who their exploiters are and how are they exploited (Baviskar, 2006: 179-184).

These micro-level mobilization and transcendence of adivasi consciousness with the active support of activists gave new insight to the people in the valley. First, protest and resistance is proved to be a key weapon of the weakest to assert politically. Second, articulating customary rights over the use of forest resources and intervening in the everyday tyranny particularly, confronting with the officials. In addition, activists from outside eventually became trustworthy for the valley people, although earlier it was not the same case. Finally, claiming citizenship guaranteed by

9 Differences based on caste were found among Bhil and Bhilala tribe and intermingling was not allowed.
the nation-state and special provisions enshrined in the constitution under Scheduled Tribe category, underlined the subalternity in the larger frames of nation-building process.

Admittedly, mobilization by articulating cultural symbols, citizenship rights, constant protests and confrontations gave birth to an organizational structure of Khedut Mazdoor Chetna Sangath (KMCS) in the valley. There were critical questions remained to be answered whilst one explains a trajectory from mobilization to protest and its furtherance (Oommen, 1985: 56). It is particularly with regard to the characteristics of the movement participants, the goals pursued and it nature, and means employed. In the first two cases, it is hardly any instance to elaborate. Following factors would explain; first, mobilization has not been taken out by the villagers themselves, instead by the outsiders from the valley. As a result, in the later stage issues concerned on the question representation became critical. Unable to explain this complex trajectory and defining goals were also fallen into the same problem.

When the local is understood with a context of specific anthropological wisdom, in our times, has become sensitive in both inner lives of the subjects as well as the outer nature of political economy. At times when technological changes making death of distance in every field of life, specific cultural trait would not remain isolated entities, instead they get exposed globally. But it is sure that their implications are unpredictable in a world of complexity. It in this context of globally interconnected world, the local to be studied and understood, according to Veena Das (1996), not only as regional or national, but also in global. Perhaps a reflexivity of the anthropological wisdom to redefine its field in light of empirical reflections, from organized local level practices of adivasis in the valley, make anthropology nearer to sociology as a disciplinary domain of dynamism and alternative modernity. Yes, the conflict centered, on the Sardar Satovar Project in the valley and Narmada movement against the project for more than two decades, is testimony to this. Our
effort, in this contest, not only to be focused on the urgent issues of displacement and rehabilitation of the displaced from the valley, but also reverberated globally with the active support of several agencies within India and abroad. The next session, to begin with, gives a brief outline of the project and its sociological features of geography as a social space. Followed by it, we discuss how movement in the Narmada Valley strengthened and graduated from its initial stages of local level mobilization to the global level.

**SARDAR SAROVAR PROJECT: A Brief Outline**

Narmada is the longest west flowing river in Central India, and fifth longest river in the South Asian peninsula. It originates from Amarkantak, in Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh (MP), at an elevation of about 2,700 feet from sea level. Traveling a distance of more than 965 km, the Narmada river passes through about 35 km long natural border between MP and Maharashtra, and a 40 km long natural border between Maharashtra and Gujarat. It then flows for an additional distance of about 160 km through Gujarat and finally enters the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay), and drains into the mouth of Arabian Sea.

The Narmada Valley Project consists of the Narmada Sagar Complex (NSC) in Madhya Pradesh and the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) in Gujarat primarily for multipurpose dam for providing irrigation, drinking water and power generation. On the Narmada River, the state governments of Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat have planned to build two giant dams at Punasa and Navagam respectively. NSC was planned for annual irrigation to an area of 1.69 lakh ha, and to generate 1,000 mw of power in Madhya Pradesh. However, SSP was planned for annual irrigation to 17.92 lakh ha, drinking water to 4720 villages and 131 towns in Gujarat and irrigation to 0.73 lakh ha in Rajasthan. This project is envisaged to generate about 1,450 mw power to be shared by Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat in the ratio of 57:27:16 respectively. These two giant projects comprised to construct 30 major, 153 medium and 3000 minor dams in the Narmada River. In addition to these
speculative promises, damming Narmada River has been accompanied by huge human as well as environmental cost too. As the height of the dam was fixed at 455 feet to create a reservoir, it will lead to submerge about 37,590 hectares of land in three states, if the project gets completed (Morse et. al, 1992). It is estimated that 245 villages of all three states and will submerge and 40,727 families will be displaced (see table no. 5.1). A large proportion of population belonged to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled tribe communities, historically been deprived, have been the most suffers of this mammoth project. As against, 270,000 potential oustees, 47 percent were reported to be Scheduled Caste (11.5%) and Scheduled Tribe (35.5%)<sup>10</sup>.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Submerging Villages</th>
<th>Families</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fully</td>
<td>Partially</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>192</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>245</strong></td>
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*includes, 6140 families affected for very short duration in back water effect.

NARMADA MOVEMENT: Critical Response to the Dam Project
People of subaltern communities in India in general and adivasis in the Narmada valley in particular are known for their collective resistance. These growing resentments were basically against the outsiders, who tried to indulge into their way of life and customary rights, of the adivasis, over forest resources as we elaborated in the earlier sessions. But, at the same time one could see that how their strength become weakness slowly with the colonial domination in the beginning and hegemony of the state in the post-independent India in the later stage. Apparently, what the challenge they face today is the extreme; thread of displacement in the name of development.

<sup>10</sup> Figures from the department of Environment and Forest, 1981 census.
Although the people of Narmada valley knew the consequences of displacement due to dam projects, there was no positive indication that would fight against for better rehabilitation, and for that matter they would go to an extent to oppose the entire logic of constructing dams on Narmada River as it has been seen the later stage. Instead, in the initial stage, they start clearing land in the upper reaches of the valley to be settled in the future as and when their present habitats get submerged (Parasuraman, 1999:232). Some of them believed that whatever the government gives, they will accept (interview with Patkar, 2004:116). In other words, passive response of the valley people in this sort was largely due to poor institutional structures/civic amenities in place to communicate and share information about the projects. Therefore, potentially affected communities and groups were unaware about the future consequences of the project. It resulted to the state apparatus to dominant over the affected communities with its developmental logic.

A perceptible gap between the affected communities with unknown to their fate in future and overwhelming developmental agenda of the state become apparent when people start receiving information on the implications of the dam through different sources. Apparently, since 1980, there has been unhealthy relationship between the government and people and the activists. The process has undergone through different trajectories from confusion, confrontation and accomplishment till 1993 when the World Bank decided to withdraw support for Narmada project. In other words, it can be argued that the threat of displacement created a space for new social collectivity of displaced people and activists for mobilization (Judge, 1997).

The birth of Save Narmada Movement, to begin with, was to address the problem of resettlement and rehabilitation of people being displaced by the dam project. However, in the later stage the movement shifted its attention exclusively from resettlement issues to preserving environment and ecosystem of the valley by questioning the logic of developmental paradigm being followed by the nation-state. The next session we try to elaborate particularly these movement trajectories from 1980 onwards under new social movement paradigm wherein several actors and
actions groups organized together to articulate the issue from diverse perspectives. Thanks are due to their multiple strategies of mobilization and complex social networks, which brought about the Narmada campaign popular world wide.

Articulating the Protest
In the early phase of 1980s the affected communities, due to the dam project in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, were totally confused. There was no data available on how many were to be displaced and no idea about the plans for resettlement. All three affected states deal the issues of resettlement and rehabilitation differently, as the displacement impact and availability of resettlement provisions were different in these states. The only message, conveyed to the people in the valley, was that the dam will be built and the affected would be rehabilitated. Unaccountability of officials and hiding information, whenever they meet people, to a large extent added to more confusion and ambiguity. Precisely, resettlement provisions for those who were affected by the project were left largely in the dark side on their losses on the one side and rights on the other. In fact, Parasuraman examines this ambiguity due to:-

The lack of uniformity in government policies, and the inability of the three states to collaborate in the development of a coherent policy caused a great deal of confusion among the people and among the officials responsible for R&R work. The World Bank added to the confusion by neglecting to assess properly, in the early stages of the project, the magnitude of the displacement and the R&R capacity of the state. To complicate matters further, the Gujarat government started shifting people even before R&R policy issues had been settled. The tribal people in all three states were not informed about their status, or about how and then they would be displaced. Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh governments did not complete the surveys of submerging villages and thus lacked clear data on the magnitude of displacement and its consequences (Parasuraman, 1999: 235).

This underlines that essentially the issues of rehabilitation has not been taken up seriously by the project authorities. Secondly, lack of information about the projects and its wider social and ecological consequences to the affected people in the project area aggravated situation. Added to that, it was communicated to the
oustees that only registered landowners were eligible for rehabilitation. Landless people, who have encroached land, and whose land become tapu, and major sons, were not eligible for rehabilitation packages. Knowing the conditions of the adivasis will be worse due to the dam project, press and written media become instrumental in making an initial conscientisation among both the project affected and proponents of the project. As a result, from 1984 onwards there was an attempt to provide rehabilitation for all by the state. This was largely due to the sweeping awareness generation among the villages and systematic articulation of the problem by the outside activists came to the valley from the metropolitan cities of India.

Mobilization centred on the issues of the Narmada valley project began in 1980s with a group of volunteers start traveling to the valley and stay with local people. In 1983, Kalpavriksh, a Delhi based environmental group with the Hindu College Nature Club had undertaken a detailed study in the Narmada valley and it highlighted certain serious concerns over the degradation of environment and false promises in resettlement issues etc. Another set of group, in the aftermath of the Bhopal Gas Disaster, set up a team including journalists, professionals, film makers and social activists known as Campaign against the Indira Sarovar (CAISA) went on to stay in Harsud town. They also brought about a study based on a visit to the area to be submerged by the SSP titled 'In Sorrow and Anger'. This study revealed that what were informations communicated to the villagers by the concerned authorities, if so, how far these information were accurate. Expectedly its conclusion was that the villagers were ignorant about the implications of dam, their livelihood and existence.

11 Among the oustees of Maharashtra, landless household fully dependent on agricultural wage labour, according to the availability land, it was decided to allot one acre of land.

12 It was the first detailed empirical study conducted on the Narmada valley on the implications of SSP. It raises fundamental question such as the inadequacy of planning and implementation, problems of catchment forest area and submergence of forests and wild life, agricultural and grazing land, cultural sites, and above all the unintended consequences of huge displacement and its risk associated with rehabilitation (Kothari and Bhartari 1984:907-920).
In 1985, Medha Patkar, an action researcher, engaged in the activities of the Ahmedabad-based NGO Society for Social Knowledge and Action (SETU) arrived in Nandurbar to conduct a survey of the affected communities. Traveling through the valley and contacting people in the villages, her first and foremost observation was that of the adivasi communities lacking information about the project and its impacts. Acknowledging the complexities of the problems and the helplessness of the villagers, Medha along with others, decided to stay back in the project threatened villages to organize villagers against the dams. The team found there was a need for an organizational structure while they start discussing issues with regular meetings held in the village settlements. ARCH-Vahini, an NGO working on health and environmental problems, started negotiating with the World Bank to get attention of the plight of the people who are affected by the project. Based on the study conducted by the World Bank in 1983 and its major findings on the inadequacy of resettlement plans, International NGOs such as Oxfam and Survival International in the UK and the Environmental Defence Fund in the USA took up the issue very seriously. They started lobbying with the World Bank. As a result, the Bank gave directions to the Government of India and the riparian states on the status of resettlement plans for SSP.

Parallel to this, demonstrations and protest were also underway during the same period along with the consolidation of issues rehabilitation. In Gujarat, for instance, ARCH-Vahini led a protest against the authorities with a slogan of rasta roko (stop work on the rock fill dykes). It petitioned in the Gujarat High Court and the Supreme Court of India to get justice and seeking legal support of the genuine cause of the project-affected people. In Maharashtra, these problems were primarily articulated by the activists of SETU in Ahmedabad. With the charismatic leadership of Medha Patkar, the activists of SETU worked among the adivasi settlements and helped the villages to organize committees at different layers stretching from village, block to tahsil level to institutionalize their mobilizational strategies.
This organizational form led to the birth of *Narmada Dharangrasta Samiti* (NDS) in 1986 consisting of the activists from SETU and the people from the project affected villages. NDS appealed to the government of Maharashtra to release degraded forest land for the resettlement of the affected people, if at all adequate revenue land was not available. This was the beginning stage to consolidate protests. This not only confined in the valley, but slowly moved towards cities throughout in Maharashtra with a slogan of 'first rehabilitation and then the dam'. Spatial mobilization of protest in the cities led NDS to get tremendous support from the sympathetic groups and NGOs. This wider social network for mobilization helped them to lobby with authorities. NDS also gained support whenever direct action is undertaken or at the time of crisis.

However the story of Madhya Pradesh was fluid and the main protest here was against the Narmada Sagar Project (NSP) located at Punasa in the Khandwa district in the middle part of the state. Orientation of the activists and NGOs in this region were shaped by their enriched field experience. This resulted into propagate appropriate technologies for alternative development. In the western part of the state, the mobilization was phenomenal as the activists groups had actively been working with the tribal groups. As we earlier discussed, the Khedut Mazdoor Chetna Sangath (KMCS), spearheaded several protest against the exploitation of the officials and right over land and control over the forest resources. The participants of KMCS were also actively involved in the survey led by the Multiple Action Research Group (MARG), an NGO in Delhi. The objective of survey was to capture the perception of people about what intricacies of existing rehabilitation packages are and what extent they are satisfactory for affected communities.

As the study reveals, there was a misconception by the project authorities on the rehabilitation question on the one side and the confusion among the affected
Based on the outcome of the survey, KMCS confirmed its initial activities on displacement and rehabilitation. Information were communicated to the affected communities on the extent of forest loss, number of villages likely to be submerged, resettlement provisions as per the terms of the Tribunal award and the state's agreement with the World Bank for the dam project. Meanwhile the Planning Commission sanctioned the project to be commenced. When Ministry of Environment was instituted as separate department by the government of India, both NSP and SSP were to be given the environmental clearance from the ministry. In 1986 the ministry issued a note, which strongly disapproved the two projects in their present form after inadequate studies on the environmental impact on the project area. As a result, ministry advised to conduct detailed field survey on environmental issue. It also commented that modifications are to be made in the projects itself to minimize environmental damage. However, in 1987 a conditional environmental clearance was given by the ministry, even before field surveys were to be finished. But an assurance was given to the ministry that the field surveys would be furnished by 1989.

Discriminatory attitude of the state to go ahead with the project and less information about the project among the affected people created extreme confusion and this resulted to strengthen the movement. In addition to this, there was a serious doubt about the state's capabilities and its willingness to implement the policies as it failed to find large quantity of land for rehabilitation. Therefore, it was clear that the proper rehabilitation, to all project affected people by the state, under any circumstance is simply impossible. Similarly, entry of environmental activists, both national as well as international NGO's with their new ways to assess environmental cause due to the dam projects, criticized the government for its failure to assess

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13 The study revealed the fact that none of the affected villages were given official notice by the state about displacement and land acquisition according to the land acquisition rule. Most of the villages were remained ignorant about their rights. Villagers get information from several sources, for instance, when the personnel from Central Water Commission who marked the reservoir level and some from sadhus (sanyasis). But, in no point of time authorities were talking about the dam construction.
environmental costs involved in it. They contended that without sufficient studies on environmental and its social impacts and one cannot frame action plans to undertake any remedial measures. These two serious contentious issues soon articulated by the movement in its popular slogan, Koi nahin hatega! Baandh nahin banega! (No one will move! The dam will not be built). Total opposition to the SSP on the ground of human and ecological consideration declared by a collective of organizations of the dam affected communities in the Narmada Valley gave birth to Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) on August 18, 1988.

Narmada Bachao Andolan and its discursive practices

Birth of NBA was different from the earlier mobilization, as it turned out to be radicalizing the movement process, a variety of combination and permutation. The style of functioning of NBA has discursively been articulated by the activists through their life experiences with the project affected people in the valley. Such an ethnographic account in the valley symbolized NBA struggle against a set of organically linked, interconnected social problems such as displacement threat, inequality, destruction of natural resources or violation of peoples right to livelihood. In addition to that, organizational thrust of its militant struggles was based on sustained non-violent mass action, organized struggle and critical analysis of the developmental issue in totality (Sangvai, 2000:4-5).

NBA, in the initial stage, was a collective of local level organizations such as the NDS, the NGNS and the Narmada Asargrasta Samiti (NAS) in Gujarat. Subsequently, the movements strengthened when NBA expanded its base into different organizational settings such as NGOs, environmental and human rights activists, scientists and academics worked together to resist the dam project in totality. If the city based NGOs were entrusted to participate disseminating information about the movement through press briefing, newsletters and films, collecting funds for the valley, rural based mass based organizations send their
representatives to the valley to participate in the campaigns at the village level\textsuperscript{14}. NBA formed a national coordination committee which constitutes representatives from all over the country. Globalization of protest on Narmada cause and the World Bank rejection of funding for the Narmada Project was also proved the fact that how NBA articulated its issues globally with its wider network and supports extended by the international NGOs.

In fact, complete objection against the commencement of project implicitly shows how social movement politics, through times, are radicalized and well organized its conflict to encounter their opponents. This dialectical space often became a critical site of contesting knowledge domain and find out possible alternatives. To that extent, NBA too spearheaded a new confrontational phase for learning, an important terrain of knowledge production. Total opposition, for instance, is not just a question of inadequate rehabilitation measures or that matter impractical policies. Instead, the discourses went ahead to critically scrutinize the paradigms of development model, pushing out large sections of subaltern masses in the name of ‘great nation good’ and over exploitation or degradation of natural resources. It is in this inappropriate proposition of the development model; NBA found is injustice, particularly to the people of the valley.

The anti-dam stand taken-up by the NBA played a crucial role to articulate the problems of dispossession and raise voice to the project affected people. Through times, NBA received mass support from action groups, environmental and social movements in India and abroad. In fact, Harsud Rally in 1989 was a clear testimony to the fact that, it was the first major mass rally to be held on environmental question in India. The rally brought together a coalition of over 20,000 participants including affected people, representatives of NGOs and activists group from different part of the country. The day also witnessed a gathering of

\textsuperscript{14} In the field observation I found that in Badwani and Kandwa some of the activists from rural areas staying back with the NBA.
public figures, film stars, Swami Agnivesh, Anil Agarwal, Gandhians like Babe Amte and Sunderlal Baguguna. With the Hursud rally, NBA start getting tremendous support from the militant groups, the peasants of Nimar and urban intelligentsia for its mobilization against destructive development and displacement. This new network of diverse groups and their mobilization gave a new meaning to base the Andolan. As a result, it transcended several primordial social strata such as rural-urban, caste, class and tribe (Subramanian, 1997).

The campaign rally, in fact, underlined its larger political intent. As it states; people, struggling for against past or proposed displacement and environmental degradation by massive developmental projects came together show of strength. It was, rather, a message to the politicians and the planners. People are no more prepared to be watchdogs in mute desperation project after destructive project is heaped on them in the name of development and progress (cited in Dwivedi, 1997:13). Conceptualizing the characteristics of new social movements in India, Gail Omvedt (1993: 269-70) held the view that the success of the Harsud campaign lies at its ability to drawn attention from different social movements to have a dialogue for common issues and unite the struggle against destructive development projects.

The campaign ended with a formation of Jan Vikas Andolan (JVA), Movement for People's Development. The JVA, to begin with, questioned the development paradigm of the nation-state followed in the post-independent India. It contended that development is designed to narrow down for the benefits of elite at the cost of a very large population who are brunt to be displaced, dispossessed and continued as marginalized. Therefore, JVA argued that the present form of development is anti-people and destructive to nature. Coinciding with these critical general reflections, NBA stood against the formulation of development in the Narmada valley project led to a wider space for generating discourses on Narmada issue. In other words, Harsud rally made an epistemological shift of the Andolan’s strategies and programs (Dwivedi, 1997: 13). The JVA with the support of the
Andolan (although Andolan played crucial role in it) brought about a month long Jan Vikas Sangharsh Yatra (Struggle March for People's Development) covering protests around the developmental projects such as Tehri, Subarnarekha and Bargi from December 25th 1990 to January 31st, 1991. The march was finished by deciding to physically stop work by peaceful means at the dam site to pressurize the government to review the SSP.

This was a test base for the Andolan on the ground of what extent it got support from the valley and outside the valley. Surprisingly, it witnessed more than 8000 people actively participated in the march for six continuous days, covering a distance of 200 km, before it was stopped by the police at the Gujarat boarder. Although different strategies, like hunger strike and revolutionary statements against the project by the movement leaders, adopted the march was to be withdrawn on January 31st, 1991, by taking a pledge on 'Hamara Gaon mein Hamara Raj' (Our Village, Our Rule). What is to be significant here onwards that the strategy of the NBA was translated into a radical agenda into pragmatic measures and collective action for self-reliance. It initiated development of villages by taking up constructive activities such as soil conservation, irrigation works, health training and adult education. It precisely shifted the movement towards institutional characteristics as Andolan focused on alternative strategies of development in its pragmatic terms and self-governance practices.

The next strategy of protest, of the NBA, shifted to Manibeli, the first village in Maharashtra was to be submerged in the monsoon season of 1991. With new slogan 'dubenge par batenge nahi' (we will drown, but not move), the Andolan formed a group of Samarpit Dal who would themselves drawn in the rising water level in the river. Although the rise of the water table was not high enough to be engulfed, Manibeli Satyagraha brought about larger public debates and campaigns15 as the state

15 Rallies and dhamas were held in Bombay, Delhi, Bhopal and Baroda in support of the Manibeli Satyagraha.
through its coercive power (police force) to evict the Manibeli residents. International community acknowledged this incident with passing a resolution. The resolution states that:

At the hand of about 800 police, the coercive actions in progress since March 26th can only be viewed as forcible to evict Manibeli residents. This runs counter to the resolution adopted by the United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights, in its 43rd session in Geneva, on August 27th, 1991. This resolution declares that forced evictions are a gross infringement of human rights and internal law. Flagrant human rights violations associated with the recent events in Manibeli include the deprivation self-determination, police intimidation and harassment, beating and arrests (Environmental Defense Fund, 199216).

Monsoon satyagraha episode was kept on going, but the subsequent Satyagraha at Manibeli and Vadagam in Gujarat in 1992 could make such impacts. However, Andolan shifted again to intensify its campaign through national and transnational NGOs. Meanwhile the leaders of NBA continued to oppose the socially and ecologically disastrous Narmada dam project, and articulated alternative development model for pro-poor with eco-sensitivity. To recognize their constant engagement for the cause of affected communities the Right to Livelihood Award was conferred to Medha Patkar and Baba Amte of NBA in 1991. Subsequently, in recognition to excellent contribution to the environmental achievement in Asia, Medha Patkar was awarded Goldman Environmental Prize in 1992. By these two global recognitions to a movement in short span of two years brought into the zenith, and it virtually helped to legitimize its claims and activities in the valley, in other parts of India and abroad. The confidence of the Andolan went further up, when the World Bank withdrew its support for financing SSP in 1993.

In 1994, monsoon Satyagraha resumed in Jalsindhi, Madhya Pradesh and Domkhedi in Maharashtra as the symbolic Manibeli Satyagraha was found to be less

significant due to the few household remained out there in the later stage. The criticism against changing the sites of Satyagraha and its less popularity was a testimony to the fact that the Andolan is no longer focused on ground work required for mass mobilization for such activities. The trajectory of the movement, in the words of Medha Patkar, was very clear and logic, which underlines the need for larger mobilization of the outer circles of the valley. As she says, 'to shake the World Bank from its rigidity I had to seek the support of international groups...From the strictly local level I had to move to the national and then onto the international level' (interview with Medha, 2004). To this end, NBA's turned its attention towards Court petition, new alliance with national and transnational groups, NGOs and movements. At the national level, Andolan made its strong presence through several forums such as JVA in the initial stage and later on National Alliance of People's Movement (NAPM) since its national coordinator has been Medha Patkar herself. In other words, the movement starts moving beyond valley of Narmada with the formation of NAPM in the larger context of NBA politics, strategies, network and mobilization. NAPM experimentation in NBA, in fact, gives a new insight on, what extent the field-specific location of struggle-itself freed itself and rationally reconstitute with historical resources to rediscover different meaning when it connected with other similar filed (Foucault 1972: 11).

**Movement beyond the valley of Narmada**

The articulation of NAPM and its politics was basically focusing on the national issues by taking into account the specific micro-struggles triggered in several parts of India. These struggles underline optimism in their way of approach. As it states, the struggles to realize 'Swaraj' has been a continuous process across communities, groups and individuals who are constantly being engaged in movement activities to protect their land, livelihood and modes of lives. Various attempts are being made to build collective forums which could, in fact, voice their common concerns (Bakshi, 1996:255). These varied concerns and process of the diverse groups gave birth to

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17 Some of them were even ready to evict from the submerging areas
NAPM as a common platform to raise their voice. The new alliance, indeed, radicalised its protest against the current paradigm of development of the state on the one side, and opposes the new waves of global capitalism in the forms of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization. The alternative paradigm NAPM propagates is based on the principles of equity, simplicity and self-reliance.

Although the idea of a national alliance was born in 1992, it got crystallized into NAPM in 1996 at a time when the political and economic situation was fast deteriorating in India. This political context urges the micro-movements to unite under one political platform. It was an alliance of over two hundred people's organizations and movements in India, have been struggling for people's right over natural resources. It stood for universalism based on just, sustainable and egalitarian society. However, it has clear ideology to fight against corporate globalization, religious fundamentalism, and socio-cultural discrimination. NAPM extended its linkages is across various sections including Dalits, Workers and Youths as well as sensitive intellectuals (NAPM). NAPM adopted to follow processual and procedural methods in order to create a space for dialogue with like minded people, organization and movements. To that extent, NAPM strives to built,

..... a people's political force, outside the electoral politics that can counter the forces of destruction, inequality and exploitation and realize the values of equity, justice, peace and nonviolence. With Gandhian, Marxist and Ambedkarian perspectives brought together, the people’s movements in India have been shaping up a new praxis on the basis of their struggles and constructive work on alternatives. This New Ideology strives for the radical changes in the production processes, technologies along with social-individual consumption patterns. Further, for it, the economic growth, democratic values and sustainability are equivalent and inevitable components of development. The NAPM has tried to follow an ideological framework that strengthens the people's struggles for life and livelihood, by

18 Those who are closely associated with NAPM are Azadi Bachao Andolan, Himalya Bachao Andolan, National Fish-workers Forum, Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathna, Samajwadi Jan Parishad, Manav ahini, Ganga Mukti Andolan, Chilika Bacho Andolan and Jan Vikas Andolan.

19 NAPM. n.d. leaflet
the agriculturists including agricultural labourers, adivasis - the indigenous populations, Dalits, fisher people, toiling women or the industrial workers and others, and people's development and the people's politics (NAPM²⁰).

Through times, NAPM received wider attention as it continued organize collective protests and mass mobilization against all sorts of injustice to the people. Although it was against the neo-liberal logic of the state, high highlighted development as a key variable for enduring peace and happiness, but not prosperity in terms of material well being. To address multiple issues and cumulative deprivation with a stand points, Kamal Mitra Chenoy, an academic and activist, was of the view that the voices of subaltern to be heard. To that extent, NAPM experiment, to him, has been a best example to follow. By following a dialectical approach, Chenoy contended that diverse voices of subalterns would not necessarily been agreed upon on a stand point all the time (interview with Chenoy, January, 2009).

**Internationalization of protest**

Internationalization of Narmada campaign was another point of departure of NBA to generate a global discourse, particularly to get attention from the human right activists and the environmental organizations worldwide. It is being argued that learning global citizenship is vital component for the internationalization of Narmada valley protest to fight against destructive development and globalization (Shukla, 2009). To that extent, a combined effort between the grassroots level mobilization and the activists groups worldwide has been crucial to highlight the issues of dam projects in the valley of Narmada. Narmada Action Committee (NCA), a coalition of international NGOs²¹ on Narmada campaign at global level

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²⁰ NAPM. n.d. ‘National Alliance of Peoples Movements at the World Social Forum: Appeal to join solidarity towards transformation’.

²¹ The main partner of the action committee were Friends of Earth, Japan; Rain Forest Information Centre, Australia; Action for World Solidarity, Finland; Committee on Environment and Development, FIAN, Germany; The Ecologist, England; Survival International, England; Probe International, Canada; The Swallow, Sweden; International River Network, United States, Environmental Defense Fund, United States
started lobbying with several agencies to pursue the Narmada case with the World Bank authorities from 1990 to 1993. Meanwhile, a worldwide campaign was carried out about the issues of valley of Narmada as a symbol of highly destructive development model. As the World Bank was party to the funding of the project, for the Bank, it was a litmus test to address the environmental and social impacts of its own other similar projects. Such a micro-crisis of Narmada, created global challenges the World Bank and its credibility.

The critical journey of Narmada protests grew out from the valley to the international arena was an outcome of the effective campaign by the NGOs working worldwide. These NGOs, in fact, were critical about the World Bank funding on three fundamental issues. To begin with, it is contended that Bank has lack of accountability on the people who were directly affected by the project and promoting outdated, centralized developmental projects. Second, it failed to involve local people in the crucial decision making process and hided information from the affected people. In addition, it is alleged that there was no proper systematic assessment on environmental and social impact of the project. Finally, there no alternative project plans envisaged. Acknowledging the serious setbacks, largely due the strategy of the worldwide campaign, the World turned its attention towards radically reframe its policies and programs. The campaigners also underlined the need for promoting and propagating alternative development schemes grounded on social justice, environmental sensitivity particularly in the developing societies. As the institutional adversaries of the World Bank projects implicated in the SSP and the emergent protest against these setbacks in the valley by the NBA, inspired transnational NGOs worldwide. As a result, the very Narmada issue became an epistemological location for international campaign.

Main target of the transnational non-governmental organizations was the World Bank, as it was the key institutional authority on the SSP in the valley. Worse
conditions of the people and displacement threat\textsuperscript{22} without proper rehabilitation policies and inadequate environmental assessment were seen to be non-congruence between the ground realities and the Bank's legal agreements (Udall, 1997: 201-226). In this context, Narmada campaign slowly moved to a systematic lobbying with the executive directors of the World Bank by highlighting the critical questions such as environmental and resettlement problems\textsuperscript{23}. This resulted into force the Bank to institute an Independent Review Mission (IRM).

The objectives of IRM were as follows. First, to assess the resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) of the population displaced, both by the construction of the SSP infrastructure as well by the storage reservoir. Second objective was to ameliorate the environmental impact of all aspects of the projects (IRM, 1992:359). The review panel appreciated the World Bank's initiative to develop better policies on the question of human and environmental concerns. Followed by it, the state of India made a comprehensive package to reduce the environmental impact. However, after a series of consultation with ministries of India, the Governments of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, non-governmental organizations and concerned citizens, the panel discovered that fundamental failure was the lack of implementation. The team alleged that that the SSP was failure, based on the finding that, under prevailing situation rehabilitation of all oustees are impossible as it under estimated the significance of human and ecological problems (IRM, 1992).

\textsuperscript{22} Monsoon season in every year brought about tragedy to the Narmada valley dam site and quite often entire village settlements and agricultural land of the people will be submerged as water rising behind the dam.

\textsuperscript{23} The main target of the international campaign on Narmada was to attract the attention of legislators, finance ministers and executive directors of the World Bank's major shareholder countries. Its aggressive campaign with the cooperation of international NGOs resulted into a serious of negotiations and discussions between executive directors and representatives of NBA. Although, in the initial stage many executive directors and their staff were reluctant to take up the issue seriously, pressure has been generated in the form of letters and memorandums against the project from several citizen groups led the executive directors to take up the issue.
A crucial factor needs to be remembered here is that the outcome of review panel was already been known to the activists of the Narmada movement due its ground level field experiences and scientific approaches to the problems and above all, its constant interaction with the state institutions for remedial action. However, the observation from the review panel as for its legitimate knowledge apparatus, Narmada Action Committee started lobbying with several agencies in USA, Japan and European countries. As a result of its aggressive campaign in 1992, the campaigners witnessed to saw a resolution made by the European Parliament to vote against further World Bank support for the Narmada project and called for a complete withdrawal. Subsequently, in 1993 the Government of India declared its decision to terminate its contract with the Bank as well. When the World Bank decided to withdraw from the project and Government of India's response towards it, led a victory celebration not only for the people of Narmada valley, but also the movements and citizens group both in India and abroad. In other words, it can be argued that the popularity of the Narmada campaign was precisely made to make a global discourse with strong alliances of transnational NGO.

**Movement/NGO linkages**

Since the basic features of the movements and their conceptualization are being changed in the context of geo-political and socio-economic scenario, their linkages and networks, communicative strategies become apparent at the core of mobilization. Their interconnections were also crucial, as and when, NGO provide crucial organizational support for particularly NSM. The latter, in fact, gives visibility to the former and enables to intervene more effectively in decision making process.

New possibilities thrown by the NGO sectors worldwide with its competing capabilities such as professional intervention for policy formulations, critical understanding and participatory research extended methodologies for mobilization. Through times, what one could observe that there is a constant link between the movements and NGO as they have common goal for their actions. The following session deals with how movement and NGO are interconnected and how these

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concrete domains slowly become part of civil society. At the worldwide, these NSM are resurrected into global civil society in which new focus is single issue such as human rights, the environment or women (Kaldor, 2004:191).

Advocacy groups working, in and around, in the valley of Narmada had taken keen interest on the rehabilitation question from the beginning, although these groups differentiated themselves on strong, but convinced ideological grounds later on. The role of these advocacy groups and their actions were crucial in mobilizing protests in and out of the valley. They, to begin with, were involved in tapping vital information from the project authorities and disseminating them among the affected people with possible losses and aware citizenship rights among the affected villages where the state supposed to do so. These kinds of activities and mobilizations resulted in to furthering incremental policy options. However, there strategies of mobilization were neither uniform across the project affected states, nor their implementation trouble free. In Gujarat, for instance, NGO such as Arch-Vahini and Rajpipla Social Service Society and Narmada Asargrasta Samiti (NAS) were active in negotiating with the project authorities and mobilizing people for demanding better rehabilitation policy. In Maharashtra, Narmada Dharangrasta Samiti (NDS) and Society for Social Knowledge and Action (SETU) were instrumental in mobilizing project affected communities. However in Madhya Pradesh, Khedut Mazdoor Chetna Sangath (KMCS) was spearheading the movement through a strong network of local, village and district level committees in the project affected villages. In the later stage, local (see table no. 5.2), national24 and international25 NGO were also actively engaged to widen Narmada protest worldwide.

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24 Some of the prominent national level NGO are, Kalpavriksh, INTACH, Centre for Science and Environment, National Institute for Urban Affairs, Indian Social Institute Gandhi Peace Foundation in New Delhi, Kerala Sastra Sahity Parishath in Kerala.

Table No.5.2: NGO developmental intervention in the project affected states

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>States</th>
<th>Environmental Education*</th>
<th>Rural Development©</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>666</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: * Environmental NGOs in India, WWF-India, © funded for education, Annual Report 2007-08, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, © Centre for Science and Environment, Report, 2007

One of the crucial factors that distinguish the newly emerging environmental groups and their activities from the earlier forms of protests was that of growing development-oriented group popularly known as NGO. This is to be noticed that, in India, NGOs were born and get matured through a constant engagement with protests movement. Environmental contents of the protests were basically born out from the concern for the poor. These protest movements were mainly to defend their rights over natural resources (Nadhkarni, 2005:77). Needless to mention, in our times, these movements, actors and their activities, and discourses generated out of it are primarily originated from these movement organizations. Although these groups are varied in their ideological positions and area of operations, yet they share a common ground, i.e. non-party political platform. The sort of mobilization getting momentum, outside the ambit of the political parties, in fact, generated discursive power. Being active partners as development interventionist to involve in conscientisation process, environmental education, grassroots mobilization, public interest litigation etc. they gained enormous support and patronage from all sections of society.

Spectacular initiatives taken up by the NGO, on the developmental questions, were caught into the imagination of the state as well. As a result, NGOs slowly become partners in the constructive programs of the state sponsored rural and environmental development schemes as well. These new linkages and networks allowed them to mobilize individuals and groups to engage between civil society on
the one side and the state on the other. This new relation gave new meaning to the social and political organization of the country (Andharia and Sengupta, 1998:440). Well, the role of NGO become pertinent, at a time when the state is ceased to be an agent of transformation due to the declining trend of all state institutions particularly institutions of representative democracy (Kothari, 1989). Sarah Joseph, indeed, is of the view that these non-party political process organized around diverse social groups ultimately brings about a constructive change to widen the meaning of democratic practices for social transformation. According to Joseph:

These non-political processes bring about social transformation. Various strains of thought have come together to support such proposals and they would include indigenists, neo-Gandhians, social movements theorists and supporters of radical democracy, among others. The common thread in their writings has been a hope that the non-state sector could regenerate Indian democracy and bring about a more just and humane society. Therefore they look to 'the masses', 'the people', and to spontaneous and culture-ally-grounded initiatives to bring about constructive change and to widen the social base of democracy in India (Joseph, 2002:299).

It is true that NGO can lobby for and mobilize people for social and economic rights. However, when it comes to the domain of social sector, they have constraints as well. First, they cannot afford to meet the kind of resources required to overcome from poverty and deprivation. Second, they have meager role for distributive justice that would involve transferring resources from the better to the worse off, wherein, the state is key agent to balance it through tax nets and collection of revenues. Finally, NGO cannot establish and strengthen institutions that implements social policy. However, realization of these rights largely depends on how the governing systems of the institutions functions, which clears the road to civil society (Chandhoke, 2008: 14). Needless to mention, the state is slowly encroaching on the sphere of civil society and co-opting NGO for implementing neo-liberal agenda. In such crucial juncture, democratic values will be undermined as a result of de-institutionalization. It has both merits and demerits (ibid.). Although a legitimate presence of the NGO was acknowledged in the local self-government institutions, state agencies were, not surprisingly, irritated by the quick questions
raised by the NGO or movements. In the later stage many NGO either completely
ignore their present in the governing process or end up clashing with the authorities.
But some strive to overcome between these constraints as well.

There are much funded and professionally staffed NGO today as against to
the large social movements with mass support who starved by any financial support.
Quite often they join together for common issue, in their particular geographical
space; hence their mutual tension and mistrust persist in the process. Aided NGOs,
for instance, were found to be neutral as their decisions were largely determined by
the donor agencies. In the age of globalization, it is assumed that the tension
between the two has been heightened as the NGO sectors were heavily favoured by,
even transnational financing agencies such as the World Bank (Raina, 2004).

DISCURSIVE PRACTICES AND BIRTH OF DISCOURSES:

From negotiation to total rejection of the development paradigm

Discursive practices of Movement, movement activists and NGO from time to time
on Narmada valley controversy brought about new discourses. Although discursive
practices are divergent, they were impregnated into two dominant discourses based
on the logic of the argument put forward by the activists. In this session, we deal
with how their discursive practices become discourses by taking the context as a
strategy to mobilize the victims as well as taking the discourse out of context. In fact,
a conceptual category which has constantly been debated in the entire process of
Narmada struggle was none other than the notion of development. Apparently the
entire attributes in the Narmada valley project was located in the notion of 'the great
common good'. In the name of development, the argument is that this great common
good are to be explored and to be availed, at any cost, to those who were not
accessible to these scarce resources predominantly drinking water, irrigation for
agriculture and electricity. To that extent, uprooting of tribal communities from their
habitat where they have lived for generation and submerging of flora and fauna and
above all environmental degradation were seen as a great sacrifice for the sake of
nation's prosperity. That is what exactly meant by development, as the Chairman of the Narmada Valley Development Agency (NVDA), SC Varma puts plainly that:

....the uprooting has to be done. Because the land occupied by the family is required for a development project which holds promise of progress and prosperity for the country and the people in general. The family getting displaced thus makes a sacrifice for the sake of the community. It undergoes hardship and distress and faces an uncertain future so that others may live in happiness and be economically better off (cited in Alvares and Billorey, 1999:18).

Not to be surprised, it underlines the ideology of the development and to whom the development paradigm stood for? No matter the tribal were uprooted, resettled or rehabilitated even for that matter environmental degradation occurs, the main exigencies of the development thinking was to make happiness of the elite minority at the cost of subaltern majority and their life-supporting system. This was a generic aspect of development questions which have been debated and negotiated in the context of Narmada valley. Certainly these debates generated discourses in the movement process and shaped different strands on development and even further it went onto frame alternative development strategies and practices. In the valley of Narmada, the notion of development was the central concern. The methodology it followed, the ideology it carried, the role of the nation-state towards its citizens, and above all, its victims, unintended consequences of development become contested issues before the activists of the movement from the beginning. Failed to given appropriate answer to these critical question by the project authorities, exactly led to radicalize mobilization strategy of the Narmada movement in the later stage.

There are two dominant oppositional strands on the issues of Narmada valley project by the movement themselves. Perhaps, it is the limitations of discourse itself as it narrow down into extreme theoretical positions of the developmental paradigm. Nevertheless, these two strands hold key factors in creating a discourse in the larger context particularly among the intelligentsia. One set of collectivity, such as Arch-Vahini stood for negotiating with state and other agencies to get better
rehabilitation packages to the affected communities. On the other side, NBA took a radical stand on the total rejection of the project, as they believed proper rehabilitation of the project affected people are impossible based on their field experiences and what empirical studies and reports said. These two oppositional views created discourses on the notion of development with diverse perspectives.

Discourses on better rehabilitation

'We will not fight against the government', once the affected communities in Gujarat came to realize the fact that they will be uprooted from their habitats. To begin with, this was the logic behind Arch-Vahini's interventions for proper rehabilitation and not to be objected the project totally. NBA leader Medha Patkar also, in the initial stage, began to discuss on the constructive approach for rehabilitation. Subsequently, Arch-Vahini was fully supported the developmental projects in Gujarat by assuming that these sort of development will bring radical changes in the life conditions of the people including the oustees. Arch-Vahini was of the view that, the SSP would bring promised benefits to Gujarat as it has been located and working for the oustees of the Gujarat state. Secondly, it believed that the project affected communities will get full and satisfactory resettlement with land compensation. Finally, the lost of forest due the submergence can be compensated through effective reforestation (Dhagamwar, 1997:96). In other words, the issue before the activists, in the Arch-Vahini, was contextual and therefore, urgent and proper resettlement became paramount.

For better rehabilitation package to the oustees, Anil Patel, on behalf of the Arch-Vahini approached to the World Bank in 1983. Arch-Vahini criticized the existing rehabilitation policy of Gujarat government by arguing that it was ad hoc and non-imaginative. Subsequently it lobbied with Thayer Scudder who conducted the first Bank appraisal of resettlement and rehabilitation for SSP oustees. Later on the Bank could realize that there were serious inadequacies particularly with regard to identifying land for the oustees. This generated pressure over the Gujarat
government to improv. its policy. As a result, in 1987 Gujarat government resolution brought about with a formula that two hectares of land, to all the landless and two hectares of irrigation land to major sons of the landed and landless and encroacher oustees family. This decision was born out from the fact that 90 percent of the landless were adivasis whose main occupation had been agriculture and collection of forests resources (IRM: 1992: 86-87). This policy sound plausible as its coverage was relative better than earlier one. In fact, Arch-Vahini played a crucial role to peruse the agencies concerned. This opened a space for Arch-Vahini to become part of the implementation process as well.

Discourses on against the dam

In an in-egalitarian agrarian social structure of ours, it is perceived that, modernization policies of the nation-state not only perpetuate the poverty of the rural masses, but also enable few at the top of realm gaining at the expense of the many poor. The power equations in the village would also change accordingly as the rural rich start getting more power within the modern state. Subsequently they become a powerful pressure group, to formulate agricultural modernization programs, to make in favour of them. In other words, conception big dams for the irrigation of agricultural land are not exceptional from the politics of rich land owning farming groups. To that extent, to Pradeep Kumar Bose, politics of dam as follows:-

The planning for big dams and the region of its coverage are in no way neutral to politics but mainly a result of political pressures by different groups. In India as a whole, the areas under irrigation almost always exclude the tribal regions and more often it is they who become victims of the resultant dams. On the other hand, the regions which are politically powerful in terms of economic resources, political patronage, etc. reap the benefits. So even if dams are constructed, they will benefit those places which are already better off in water resources than other regions (cited in Alvares and Billorey: 1999;155).

On the other hand, Venishankar M Vasu (1987) argued that the idea of constructing large dams for irrigation, in any form, is not economically logical as
quantity of water requirements for irrigation, are different for different areas and
different crops. As a consequence of dam construction, it submerges thousands of
acres of fertile land on the river banks. Losing land under the canals is devoid of
both scientific and economic wisdom. This would aggravate the scarcity of food
grains. The dry and barren land would receive water out of the dam, has been made
exactly, at the cost of submerging fertile land forever. Most importantly, this cannot
be compensated for the crop lost from such fertile land almost submerged.

The NBA transformed public perception of these social environmental risks
associated with large dams by using diverse resources it accrued from time to time
through its diverse strategies of mobilization and discursive practices. It is
understood by the fact the issues of Narmada valley not only remained with its
context. Instead, the movement participants deeply analyzed and highlighted the
underlying politics of dam project, its ideology, role of the state and international
funding agencies supporting the project etc. Critical thought on opposing dam, as
Medha Patkar (1999) argues, has not evolved from alien dogma or philosophy, but it
evolved from subjective experiences of the people at each and every stage of their
protest and collective mobilisation for a common future. Such a continuous struggle
led the movement to formulate its policy and opinion about large dams, adivasi life-
world, the means of livelihood etc. Interestingly, it was pointed by the World Bank
team that the voices of the opponents of the dam, was largely heard from NBA, an
Indian non-governmental organization (IRM, 1992: 12). Apparently, NBA not only
challenged the existing paradigm of development, but also persuaded and practiced
alternative strategies of development by placing the affected people at the central
stage.

General writings on paradigm of development 26, as the NBA believes, would
not change the world; instead it continues to be an exploitive system. What is the

26 Starting from Spencer and Comte on the progressive aspect of development to Andre
Gunder Frank and the Third World scientist such as Rajani Kothari.
way out? Having a root at some point-like staking a territory as your own by planting your flag there, by capturing a symbol and shaking it for all its worth. To do this, one has to have a broader conceptual framework within which s/he can analyze the information and generate knowledge about a particular symbolic 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 understand how natural resources were over exploited, that has taken a new shape in the form of political economy. This resulted into shortcut our long-term scientific assessment for sustainable development. In corollary to this, paradigms of development jeopardize human rights as the victims of the development put into the paper as oustees and potential beneficiaries for compensation (interview with Medha, 2004).

As against this false imagination, the activists groups have developed their own concepts of development, its indicators, and goal as well as the process of development planning as they start working with people in the valley under the leadership of Naunirman (New Life) as part of constructive program. To begin with it was reflected upon that the development has to be participatory-public accountability, as it carries political value in it. To that context, this approaches, indeed in road to alternative strategies of development based on certain ideological underpinnings and practical concerns. Such an understanding, allowed the activists to move ahead of narrow issues of displacement negotiations. Instead, they articulated citizenship right, and right to information. When authority concerned were failed to meet these demands, the activists group had to dig out information themselves, analyze and reach out conclusions. With a new logic of analysis and interpretations, the activists developed one to one talk with the adivasi communities to whom the activists were working with for couple of time since then. When affected communities were seen in their real terms and expressed their views in seminars and conferences, a new vision of development was getting crystallized slowly (interview with Medha, 2004).
Alternative paradigm of development, indeed, is a struggle for participatory and people centered approach through which development goals get realized. Participatory approaches would carry an enduring form of value system, which realistically governs and inspires to practice developmental strategies. The alternative model, to the Andolan, is both means and ends. If the former is conceived, by placing people first, through decentralized and participatory decision making processes, the latter, is appealed for restructuring the conventional models of developmental by putting limits to economic growth and consumerist culture. Such an approach would highlight basic needs, local accessibility, self-regulating system to use scarce natural resources, and equity (NBA: 1992:32). The immediate logic against the dam construction was on the ground of inability of the state to rehabilitate all the affected communities proved once again. For instance, the studies conducted by the OSG and NSSO in 177 submerging villages (below 121.92m height of the dam) revealed that only four percent (757 families) were resettled out of 24,845 displaced families.

BIRTH OF A DISCIPLINE: Inscriptions for new epistemology

...if there is a universal human condition, it is that of domination. If there is a universal human reaction, it is that of resistance. A theoretical tradition that raises these questions to the forefront of analysis makes for relevance and thus universal it (Chandhoke, 1991:1357).

While analyzing the disciplinary oriented research activities on several issues, one cannot simply rule out the contribution of the academically oriented communities, from diverse groups, to raise the pertinent issues of the people in the valley of Narmada. In fact, it can be argued that academic intervention played a crucial role in making this in the disciplinary domains. It was rather a disciplinary particularism, whereby several interconnected concepts, such as human rights, indigenous people, environmental protection and above all alternative developmental paradigm, were debated and negotiated at different domains through discursive practices. Needless to mention, mass protests and mobilization in the valley of Narmada against the dam
project became an epistemological sight for conceiving all these conceptual categories of development.

Table No. 5.3: Major Studies and reports on the Valley of Narmada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Major area of study</th>
<th>No. of studies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Command Areas Development</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Flora, Fauna, Wildlife and Carrying Capacity</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Catchment Area Treatment</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Compensatory Afforestation</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Seismicity and Rim Stability</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey and Anthropological Studies</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Major studies and reports done on the issues related to the SSP from time to time, for instance, map out how different disciplinary research domains have been employed to systematically generate reliable knowledge. Studies on Narmada have been classified into six categories as it has been shown in the table (table No.5.3). More studies were done to analyze command areas development followed by on flora, fauna, wildlife and carrying capacity. As expected, studies on compensatory afforestation and archaeological and anthropological areas, was meager. In addition to this, as the Narmada Control Authority and study conducted by Jagdish Bahadur27, there were 13 universities, 24 study centres and Department of the state and the centre, and 11 consulting agencies were involved in the studies and report preparation (table No.5.4).

27 Bahadur, Jagdish. n.d. Tehri Hydro-Electric Project Narmada Valley Project, New Delhi: Vigyan Prasar
### Table No. 5.4
**Studies undertaken by different agencies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIVERSITY</th>
<th>CENTRE AND DEPARTMENT</th>
<th>CONSULTANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 M.S. University</td>
<td>1 Operational Research Group</td>
<td>1 Jyoti Vadodara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Gujarat University</td>
<td>2 Centre for Studies, Surat</td>
<td>2 GOPA, German Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 JNU, New Delhi</td>
<td>3 TISS, Bombay</td>
<td>3 Premier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 South Gujarat University</td>
<td>4 IIM Ahmadabad</td>
<td>4 Friends of Nature Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Sardar Patel University</td>
<td>5 Institute of Cultural and Urban Anthropology</td>
<td>5 Core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 S.P. University</td>
<td>7 Geological Survey of India</td>
<td>7 Geological Survey of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Saurashtra University</td>
<td>8 Botanical Survey of India</td>
<td>8 Engineering Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Vikram and Rani Durgavati University</td>
<td>9 State Forest Departments</td>
<td>9 M/s Warnama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 University of Pune</td>
<td>10 Zoological Survey of India</td>
<td>10 International Consultation NEDECO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 University of Roorkee</td>
<td>11 State Forest Research Institute</td>
<td>11 Dalal Consultants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Bhopal University</td>
<td>12 Indian Agricultural Research Institute</td>
<td>11 Gujarat Industrial and Technical Consultancy Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Barkatullah University</td>
<td>13 Directorate of Archaeology</td>
<td>12 Indian Agricultural Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad</td>
<td>14 Commissionary of Health</td>
<td>13 IS, New Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Gujarat Water Resource Development</td>
<td>18 Gujarat State Rural Development Corporation</td>
<td>13 IS, New Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Gujarat Communications and Electronics</td>
<td>20 Geer Foundation</td>
<td>14 Commissionary of Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Narmada Planning Group</td>
<td>22 Adivasi Kala Parishad</td>
<td>15 Govt. of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Anthropological Survey of India</td>
<td>24 ISI, New Delhi</td>
<td>16 Gandhi Labour Institute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: same as above and Babadur*

The above table would reflect on how disciplines were largely tested to explain several aspects and dynamics of the socio-geographical location in the valley of Narmada. This brought out a new disciplinary domain by systematically organizing social facts through their own vantage point. It was with the combined
efforts of universities, research institutions and consultancy group, that systematic studies were made and became part of academic disciplines later on.

In the transcendental phase of the movement too generated new epistemology by articulating local issues with disciplinary vocabularies existing in different disciplines particularly in social science. It narrowed down into a particularistic world view with pragmatic tools. In the movement scholarship of the valley of Narmada, to begin with, there was a universal human reaction from particular, and since then there has been expression of continuous resistance. In other words, the protest has drawn a lesson on how local level resistance becomes a universal human reaction; the praxis of knowledge.

In the movement process, certain categories and concepts were spontaneously highlighted, for instance, right to livelihoods and information and proper resettlement and rehabilitation as a matter of right under the liberal democratic space of the nation-state. Throughout the campaign, the activists appropriated the normative domains of liberal democratic space that was simultaneously getting momentum world over through people's protests. A conscious effort is made to integrate the constituencies of the state with the questions of indigenous people, human rights, environmental protection, resettlement and rehabilitation. Needless to mention, the term indigenous people has heavily been debated in local, national and global level.

The concept, indigenous people, for instance, was applied by the Europeans settlers to refer the people of Africa, America and Australia. Certainly, this conceptualization cannot be applied to the same way in Indian people on several grounds. In fact, the terms used by the anthropologist with evolutionary overtone to refer the tribal in India too, as they were perceived as backward, yet to develop and become civilized in comparison to other group. Today tribal people constitute more than 60 million in India and many of them dependent on land and their forebears
cultivated for generation. Apparently, the United Nations became conscious about the indigenous question since 1982. As a result, UN established a working group on Indigenous Populations to prevent discrimination and protect minorities. Subsequently, the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) on environment and development in 1987 acknowledged the importance of protecting the indigenous and tribal land and resource. In the report states that:

The starting point for a just and humane policy for such groups is the recognition and protection of their traditional rights to land and other resources that sustain their way of life—rights they may define in terms that do not fit into standard legal systems (199228).

The World Bank set out certain criteria to define tribals as a social group in a social and cultural identity distinct from the dominant society in the context of the valley of Narmada. In fact the Bank's criteria to define tribe were in tune with indigenous people and it was elaborated in the following forms. As diversity and context are crucial variable to identify who are indigenous peoples, single definition to explain their diversity is practically impossible. Second, indigenous people are generally the poorest segment of a population, engaged in economic activities that range from shifting agriculture, in or near forests to wage labour or even small-scale market-oriented activities. Moreover, they are located in particular geographical area by the presence of varying degrees of the following features:

- Close attachment to ancestral territories and to the natural resources in these areas
- Self-identification and identification by others as members of a distinct cultural group
- An indigenous language, often different from the national language
- Presence of customary social and political institutions; and
- Primarily subsistence-oriented production.

28 Letter written by the Independent Review Panel on Sardar Sarovar Projects to the President, World Bank, June, 18, 1992
The World Bank clearly pointed out that the development process foster full respect for their dignity, human rights, and cultural uniqueness. More importantly, indigenous people do not suffer adverse effects during the development process, particularly from Bank-financed projects (IRM, 1992: 36).

As we discussed earlier, it is well known fact that some people, living in forests and hills who are relatively backward and they were identified as Scheduled Tribe for the purpose of giving certain benefits extended to them as prescribed in the constitution of India. It means that tribal are also the constituents of Indian nation and society, nonetheless the fact that they follow diverse socio-cultural practices from other sections of society. A point here one needs to remember that under the broader umbrella of nation-state, they are equal citizens and this to be taken care of, by the state itself.

Knowledge/Power: a double edged weapon

Disciplinary domain makes praxis to be visualized when the affected communities and activists on the one side and the project authorities and the government on the other involved for gathering primary information about the existing conditions of the people in the valley. Quite surprisingly, it was observed that the village committee setup by the activists group in the valley undertaken comprehensive household survey on the villagers. The collected data helped the government to calculate compensation and rehabilitation measures. In some villages, both government and villagers jointly carried out survey and prepared a list of project affected people (Parasuraman, 1999: 238). This was, perhaps, the tactics of the World Bank to ensure participation of the tribal people and to allow a space for adjudication and redress their grievances. It is implicit that proper implementation of its policy requires actual social science data to shed light on the potential impacts of

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29 The data collection included demographic information such as births, deaths, migration and other vital information. Another set of information collected, were landownership, cattle and trees owned, amount of yield from land, forest and river, the size of houses and the construction materials used.
displacement. Logic of allowing affected people to in survey process was to be understood that project designers would face problems in the field as they were unaware about the cultural and life systems of affected adivasi communities. It was in this context, detailed studies were required by employing qualified indigenits with appropriate disciplinary orientations. The World Bank, however, entrusted this tasks to its office of the environmental affairs (IRM, 1992:28). Collecting exact socio-economic profile of the oustees, must have given a scale and impact of resettlement. Therefore, the socio-economic survey systematically employed conceptual categories and their tools for data collection for the conception of the project authorities.

In the light of the primary survey, people start asking certain fundamental questions such how to improve rehabilitation provisions and how to overcome from ecological degradation. The authorities were left with no answer to these questions. Knowing the fact that they were trapped by such questions based on empirical findings, the authorities stop accepting data provided by the people by stating that they were biased and inaccurate. A point needs to be highlighted in this juncture is this? If the disciplinary domain (survey methods) created a discursive power to get engaged with diverse group to gather actual information of the affected villages, the later episode depicts how the project authorities use its bureaucratic power to reject the very information gathered by the project affected people themselves.

At a time when the project and government authorities declined to give information, activist themselves gathered and processed information to assess benefit-cost, environmental impacts plans for resettlement and rehabilitation. The information they gathered was partially from official documents, survey reports of the dam affected communities and critical appraisal of the project by the activists.

30 The survey intended to make sense of (a) the magnitude of displacement; (b) the resource base which includes informal sector, non-farm activities and common property; (c) loss of assets; (d) loss of public infrastructure and social services; (e) formal and informal institutions such as community organizations, rituals, groups etc.; and (f) attitude on resettlement options (IRM, 1992:34)
outside of the movement (Routledge, 2000). Serious anomalies and errors were identified in the planning and appraisal of the project when official documents were examined. This resulted into produce new counter facts. This became base for the project affected communities and the activist to challenge the claims made by the responsible authorities. In other words, challenging the authorities with new facts and figures by the affected groups led to created alternative forms of knowledge domain.

Research institution and new methodology

In order to undertake a socio-economic survey of the people to be displaced by the Naramada project, the state of Gujarat entrusted to the Centre for Social Studies (CSS) in 1981. The disciplinary orientation and sophisticated methodology employed by the scholars in the CSS to study the problem area was well framed so that they could make sense of the problem accurately and recommend appropriate policy measures. The monitoring report of the centre states that:-

...the methodology of the study was mainly anthropological, though data wherever possible and necessary were also collected through a survey. Separate monographs on each village, giving details about the socio-cultural life and economic activities, were written by scholars. Over and above all this, a consolidated report based on village studies was prepared. It carried a series of recommendations for the rehabilitation policy. The recommendations were the outcome of discussion among the scholars, as well as the social activist, political leaders and bureaucrats involved in the project (CSS, 215 cited in Dreze, at. al. 2000).

Based on the preliminary studies, Narmada Planning Group of the Gujarat state commissioned the CSS to carry out the task of monitoring and evaluating the process of rehabilitating the Gujarat oustees. The terms and conditions between the state and the CSS all of a sudden changed substantially from being study group to interventionist. This led to examine rehabilitation policies and evaluate the impact of the policies on the living conditions of the oustees. Regrettably, the team soon realized the fact that their previous studies and their vast experiences of other studies on tribal were not fit into the existing concepts, categories and measurements used in
the survey. Added to this, the survey collected by the World Bank and the Narmada Control Authority were of quantitative data which received more legitimacy over anthropological reflections. This led the team to reflect on to reframe their methodology. As a result, a new methodology was evolved from their continuous interaction and experiences they gained from the every day life of project affected people. The team's reflection as follows:-

We realized the need for qualitative survey-based data for policy prescription and comparison. Simultaneously, we continued to emphasis the 'participant observation' method, and information collected through informal discussions and documents. Our continuous stay in the village provided us with a 'feel' of the field-people's emotions and sentiments, their perceptions and problems (CSS, 216-217).

Studies conducted by the CSS, Surat and National Institute for Urban Affairs (NIUA), New Delhi on the rehabilitation question objected the policy of oustees buying land from the open market. The assets held by the oustees were undervalued by the official on the one hand and expense of land in the open market in the adjacent villages was quite high. In such a situation, oustees were unable to buy the same amount of land which they lost (Alvares and Billorey, 1999). Similarly, impact studies conducted by the CSS and TISS among the resettled villages' shows that people had undergone misery and prolonged deprivation of basic facilities such as water, ration shops, schools, health care, roads, transport and so on. The shortage of grazing land in the new settlement areas worsened the life supporting system of the settlers. Observing the implications of the project at the ground level and acknowledging proper implementation of rehabilitation and resettlement is impossible; TISS withdrew from the monitoring of R&R policies in Maharashtra (interview with Parasuraman, July 2007).

Narmada Bachao Andolan: Location of Praxis
NBA, through times, showed its transcendental phase from local level mobilization to collective action and institutional formation in the advanced stage. The mobility of NBA as a movement, from a particular point of view is constructivist because the
discourse on the specific issues of the proposed project has been generated from various resources availed in and around the valley as well outside of the valley. Wide range of net-work and alliance building has increasingly become an integral part of the NBA which linked the dam related issues with larger struggles for alternative politics. This alliance led to the formation of informal nation-wide group as its strategy of expanding resource mobilisation. This group was popularly known as ‘Sahayog’. Sanjay Sangvai reveals that the Sahayog comprises a group of

....experts in various fields, social political activists, journalist, former or working bureaucrats, thinkers, writers, will to participate in the process of evolving an alternative path of development. This has been a unique net-work of various types of people, contributing in their own ways as per their capacity and specialty, to the politics of the alternative in the Narmada valley and other such places. From Dhule to Delhi, the Satyagrahis have become an important net-work for activists’ movements, providing services right from lodging to food to medical help, legal support and conscious press coverage of people’s issues, besides providing funding for the activists’ stipend (Sangvai, 2000: 160-161)

Apparently, NBA made use of these resources not only for articulating the issues they confront, but also expanded its capacity through harnessing skilled activity of different social groups to challenge the hegemonic projects of dominant paradigms. It is true that skilled activities of different groups can be realized only when challenges to the social totality are meaningfully experienced by all group. In fact NBA has been at the forefront to get engaged with similar social movements and social groups across the board on variety of issues. Affected people were regularly visiting NBA offices in Badwani and Kandwa to updates the latest developments of the movement and to enquire about developmental schemes too. Youngsters from youth clubs and college were also actively engaged in the dharna and rally sights that has been a regular feature in the cities like Bhopal and Delhi

Slowly and gradually, as a result of this collective approach, NBA generated an alternative discourse and in turn hegemonize its claims. In its broad spectrum of alliance with national and international NGOs, constant engagement with the judicial activism, negotiation with Ministry of Environment and Forest, and extending support for the World Bank’s independent review, NBA widened it discursive space and political legitimacy on what they stood for. With new an alliance particularly by forming NAPM, NBA eventually, was understood not merely a movement against dam or, for that matter, proper rehabilitation of affected communities. Instead, it questioned the generic aspects of the political economy of the nation-state and its manifestations in the forms of dominant developmental schemes supporting the industrial and commercial class. Recently NAPM extent its solidarity with other similar movements such as Plachimada struggle in Kerala against Coca-Cola plant, Singur Struggle against uprooting agricultural communities for setting up of industrial units and Special Economic Zones.

**KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION: Location of New Power Politics**

There are series of studies were undertaken to capture different dimensions of the SSP in the valley of Narmada with the aid of several agencies including government of India. Certainly initial stages of the planning and viability of the project, particularly benefit/cost analysis etc. were analysed at the higher realm of affairs. To begin with, the Khosla committee was instituted in 1964 to look into the matters of height of dam, sharing of water and power etc. The main focus of the Committees was to set a tone as ‘national interests’ than protecting the riparian states. Harnessing water for irrigation was received more priority than power generation. In its report, the committee pointed out that water to be allocated to the neighboring Rajasthan state too. Favoring the Gujarat state was said to be the pressure created by the political and elite class of the state. Without taking into the internal contradictions of the states particularly with regard to huge developmental imbalances between the states, the committee recommendations were not sound to be fair enough to all.
Meanwhile, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra rejected the recommendation of the Khosla committee by slating that maximum gainer would be Gujarat. This created conflict between the states on sharing the benefits of the project.

To overcome from the conflict generated out of the Khosla committee recommendation, the central government constituted the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) in 1969. As expectedly, the NWDT excluded recommendations of the Khosla committee recommendation on the issues of sharing the project benefits for Rajasthan. The final order of the Tribunal passed in 1978, after 10 years of its inspection. In it report, allocation of sharing of benefits were discussed in detail. It included apportioning the Narmada waters between four states, allocating power and irrigation benefits, fixing the height of the SSP at 138.68m or (455 feet) and, laying down binding rehabilitation clauses. In the rehabilitation clause, the tribunal underlined certain critical suggestions. The language of the tribunal emphasizes clearly that:

'...all 'Project Affected Families' would be re-established as communities with access to water, education, and health on (Clause IV [1]) on a 'land-for-land basis'. Clause IV (6) state that 'in no event shall any areas in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra be submerged under the Sardar Sarovar Project unless all payments of compensation and costs is made for acquisition of land and arrangements are made for rehabilitation' (Divan and Rosencranz, 2005:455).

Rehabilitation clauses mentioned in the tribunal, indeed, crucial for the movement mobilization. In fact, the clause of the rehabilitation has been an instrumental to legitimize NBA’s claims and it became easy tool to lobby with several agencies including the state of India and transnational agencies.

In 1978 a first reconnaissance mission has been instituted by the World Bank in the backdrop of the massive protests by the Nimar Bachao Andolan\(^{32}\) (movement

\(^{32}\) This movement has been led by the then opposition leader Arjun Singh of the Madhya Pradesh Assembly.
for the protection of Nimar) to protect rich forests area from the submergence in Madhya Pradesh. The objective of the mission was to establish a high level Narmada Planning Group (NPG), retention of consultants for various studies, and retaining of foreign experts for certain vital areas through the UNDP and with the help of a separate IDA credit for project preparation. As the result of recommendations, NPG was formed. Consultancy groups like the Tata Economic Consultancy Services (TECS), Bombay, Operational Research Group (ORG), Baroda were retained and it generated various studies during the period of 1979-80. Meanwhile the Narmada Review Committee was constituted according to the ruling of the NWDT. In fact, University of Sagar has undertaken a study to assess environmental impact of SSP. This preliminary study appealed for much more research studies to be conducted on the environmental implications. Subsequently, another report of the Environmental Planning and Coordination Organization of the MP government (EPCO, GOMP) was submitted on the environmental question.

In its latest development, when Narmada Control Authority (NCA) decided to raise the dam’s height from 110.64m to 121m, the protests were intensified. These protests resulted to different kind of fact finding mission by the state. The first one was the union minister’s visit to six affected villages and seven resettlement and rehabilitation sights. The team observed that no family was found in four rehabilitations sights. However 70 families were found in two project affected sights. This prompted the team to critically remark over the R&R implementation by stating that implantation was largely remained in the paperwork. Followed by, there was another fact finding team; the Overseas Sight Group (OSG), led by V.K.Shunglu entered into the picture. The OSG proposed to urgently implement remuneration to the all affected communities. Third study was done by L.C Jain as a sample survey of four affected villages.

33 In its 1983 economic appraisal, TECS revealed that Benefit/Cost of the SSP will be at 1.39 at market prices and 1.8 at economic prices.
KNOWLEDGE POWER: Independent Review of the World Bank

The Independent Review on the SSP has been very significant in the history of the World Bank. At one level, the Bank compelled to institute a panel to assess the social and environmental impacts due dam project. However, what was not been noticed that, the Bank set a ground for making new environmental knowledge to sharpen methods and tools to clear its developmental projects without much objection in future. In doing so, environmental assessment became benchmark for sanctioning projects. In other words, the World Bank projects were to be environmentally sound and sustainable as much as economic, financial institutional and engineering analysis. Needless to mention, the impact of the review, for the people of the valley of Narmada, brought new knowledge power domain on ecological discourse worldwide. The coincidence of Narmada valley protest on 25th of December 1990 and decision of the World Bank to institute review panel can clearly be understood in Michael Goldman’s words:-

Although the marchers never arrived at the dam site just a few miles away, they reached a more significant site of contestation, the heart of the World Bank, and helped fuel a growing transnational movement to challenge the legitimacy of this powerful global institution. This movement has focused in part of the Bank’s knowledge-production practices (2006: 151-152).

Well, it is to be appreciated the vigilant social activism world over to create tremendous pressure upon the World Bank. As a result, the disciplinary domains of the World Bank, particularly in addressing sustainability question, standstill without taking into account ecological and social sensibilities. Global activism not only acted as pressure group in this regard. Instead, they were also actively engaged in finding real facts and assessing them with theoretical power and perspectives. Added to this, the victims of the developmental projects were also brought into the centre stage of

\[3^\text{This was a long march of five thousand villagers, who were threatened by forced eviction, towards the dam site of Narmada valley assuming to close down the construction activities of Sardar Sarovar Dam. Police manhandled the protestors during the eight day long walk on the valley in which several were beaten up, arrested. To protest against police brutality, eight volunteers were begun hunger strike on the side of the road.}\]
discourses and disciplinary domains. Presenting the facts with new perspectives has its own disciplinary logic, certainly generated alternative power at the higher level. To that extent, people’s struggles became contested domain to challenge the given knowledge and produced counter knowledge for alternative paradigm.

Canadian jurist and the deputy chairman of the World Bank’s Independent Review Panel on SSP, Thomas Berger revealed that some of the facts, such as inability of the project to deliver drinking-water to the two draught prone areas of Gujarat, loss of fisheries and scientist’s testimony on the non-operational side of irrigation schemes, were not made available to the panelist by the team. Rather he got these crucial facts from the project affected people while interacting with them. He recalled that “People would stand outside my hotel door in Delhi ready to hand over yet another report. Retired civil servants showed us their studies, community members’ spoke up-it became an incredible exchange of information and ideas”. However, none of these interactions were not been placed either the review panel or the Bank staff (Goldman, 2006:152). Hiding actual evidences by the World Bank authorities and information gathered by the executive directors of the independent review panel were found to be unusual. This gave wrong signals to the credibility of the Bank and its staff on the scientific accuracy of the information on the environmental and social implications. In the review report, the independent review team commented that:-

...the Sardar Sarovar Projects as they stand are flawed, that resettlement and rehabilitation of all those displaced by the Projects is not possible under prevailing circumstances, and that the environmental impacts of the Projects have not been properly considered or adequately address. Moreover, we believe that the Bank shares responsibility with the borrower for the situation that has developed (IRM, 1992, xii).

This clearly indicates the fact that non-compliance with the Bank resettlement and environmental requirements were apparent. Moreover, the review panel found that engineering and economic imperatives were driven the project ahead, which excluded human and environmental concerns. As the team observes,
The Bank has followed what it describes as an incremental strategy in an attempt to secure compliance with its resettlement policies. India has done much the same in its adoption of the \textit{pari pari} principle with regard to environmental issues. These approaches, however, have failed to achieve their objectives. Moreover, they signify that these crucial matters—resettlement and environment—are of only secondary importance (IRM, 1992, xxiv).

As the Narmada effect, as we said earlier, become a crucial turning point in the history of the World Bank. Admittedly, these unintended consequences within the Bank led to think its staff that whether Bank should reform itself or die. It was again a pressing question when the large dams in Nepal were cancelled on the ground of ecological and social implications. Moreover, it put staff in alert and new scientific protocols with environmental and social standards were to be systematically put in place in their project. The staff, instead, was puzzled by the fact that endorsing project without rigorous proper facts and scientific support, it can easily be cancelled by putting different logic and pressure by the movements (Goldman, 2006:153).

\textbf{JURY POLITICS: Crisis of Legitimacy?}

Knocking the doors of judiciary system, as a justice delivery machine, was another terrain in which NBA’s struggle for social recognitions and political legitimization of human suffering of the people in the valley of Narmada. But at the same time, acknowledging the jury politics of the state which holds different power and authority to deliver justice. Both NGO and movements made use of these discursive power operating domains available with judicial system, at regional and national level, and at different stages of crisis and contentions. Local level petitions were mainly lodged in the local courts in the project affected areas. The petitioners raised the issues such as considering those who left out as project affected, distributing suitable land as compensation, requesting for stopping survey undertaken by the project authorities, furnishing detailed schedules of construction, submergence and rehabilitation and above all forced eviction due to dam construction (Dwivedi, 1997).
When the activists of NBA were moving towards the courts, they kept in mind that the court will pronounce the law of the land. Encouraging petitioners to utilize the instrument of Public-Interest Litigation (PIL), energizes the judiciary to act as an interventionist when India's executive system failed to do so. Although environmental litigation came into existence in 1970s, it was not effective due the lack of precision on how to deal with the environmental questions (CSE, 2007: 362). It was with PIL, there was an effective instrument for judicial activism. Under PIL, citizens find ways of expressing concerns over the nation-issues (including environmental questions) at one level and participating in the democratic process. In other words, court has expanded its jurisdiction which limits the incumbents of parliament so as to get people's representation in the democratic process (ibid: 383). To find out solutions to their prolonged problems due to the project implications in the valley of Narmada, activists brought the issue into the notice of the Supreme Court under PIL.

The activists believed that future actions of the NBA would largely depend on the final verdict of the Supreme Court in this regard. In fact, Chittaroopa Palit (2003:93) put it, although we have not fully relied on legal strategy, one cannot completely ruled out judicial system as a ruling class institution. Instead, it represents a contested space and, like every other space in a democracy, people have to fight to retrieve it from its elite bias. Apparently, PIL came to limelight in the Indian judiciary system in the last decade, as Palit believes; created a space and confidence among the dispossessed to raise their voice in the higher echelons like judiciary. Amita Baviskar opined that, in a democratic system, the law of the land to be respected and it should protect the interest of its citizens. To that extent, NBA went on to get verdict in favour of it claims are logical so as to get justice to the project affected communities in the Narmada valley (interview with Baviskar, Sept. 2008).

In 1994, the NBA moved to the Supreme Court of India, being popularly known as its judicial activism, which challenged the construction of the project on
the ground that the project was unviable. It contended that the project will have long term social, environmental, technical, economic and financial implications and therefore, it should not stand for the national interest. As a result, although the Supreme Court had first declined to stop the work on the dam construction in May 1994, a year later it endorsed the NCA decision to suspend the work in May 1995. Moreover, the Court directed to complete all necessary studies on the project as well as a comprehensive review of the project. It also sought to restrict the height of the dam at FRL 310 ft. However, in 1996 the Supreme Courts, in its order, stayed all sorts of dam-related works, as the NCA overruled courts by continuing dam construction. The Supreme Court declared that the State and Federal government cannot move ahead with any construction as long as problems of the project affected communities were not settled and as long as required studies, plans and mitigation efforts on environmental impacts were not completed.

Contrary to the above, in 1999, the Supreme Court allowed the height to be raised to 88m. Subsequently, in 2000, its split verdict with majority judgment, the court allowed the dam height to be raised again to 138.64m. But it was with a condition that every step after ensuring proper rehabilitation and environmental clearance as it was required for getting node from the Ministry of Environment and Forest. In 2002 again, the project authorities clinched to get clearance to raise the dam height from 90 to 95m., by making arbitrary distinction between temporary and permanent affected people. This led to diminish the number of Project Affected People in Madhya Pradesh.

Now, the NBA filed a Public Interest Litigation in the Supreme Court in May 2002 challenging this decision and seeking for rehabilitation of all affected peoples without any bifurcation between them. However, the Supreme Court dismissed this petition on 9th Sept. 2002. Similarly, in both the two verdicts of 2003 and 2004, the height of the dam was sought to be raised from 100 m to 110.64 m. The verdict of 2004 was critical in the sense that the resettlement and rehabilitation process was
revoked again. It repeated the binding nature of the rehabilitation clause of the NWDTA by highlighting that state governments are entrusted with the responsibility to rehabilitate the temporary affected PAFs, major sons and unmarried daughters. Subsequently, in 2006 the Supreme Court intervened and allowed the project authorities to raise the dam height to 121.92m. Soon after the verdict, the Union Water Resources Minister immediately decided to review the decision of the Supreme Court (TISS, 2008: 95-97). From a theoretical point of view, it gave rise to a crisis on the legitimacy between institutions of the state on the question of who declare on what, whose verdict would be legitimated and above all, who will become vulnerable to this. It is true that the tremendous dynamism exerted between the transnational and local social movements pressing the governments from above and below on the Narmada question. Yet, it did not bring success in enforcing human right norms partly due to the rule played by the Supreme Court and its inadequate legal framework (Rajagopal, 2005:355). In other words, rule of law remained only as truth vs. punish, but has self-constraint over on how to make alternative to this binary.

ACADEMICS: Ambiguous space for knowledge terrain

Within the academic ambience, there has been ethical and moral struggle for political act as reflexive quest. The studies undertaken by the scholars in the Narmada valley protests have undergone this process and they have critically reflected not only in their scholarship, but largely engaged in the everyday tyranny of the victims as part of mobilization. Activists, in fact, are capable to manure activities of intellectuals as a critical element in a broader sense to frame strategies and agenda of the movement. As a result, activists were also empowered with new insights from academics. Critical understanding about the issues such as development, politics and resistance in specific social settings by both academics and activists discursively produces new knowledge and power. In other words, new meaning and ethics to the academic/academics practices are underway. It is in this context, Bourdieu (1998) argues that the boundary between academics and activism is blurred at a time when
the limited commitments among contemporary academics are assumed. In such a situation, Bourdieu argues for new forms of communication that could bring together academics and activists. In movement scholarship the role of academics is to seek collective intellectual terrain for common cause without maintaining hierarchies. Larch Juckes Maxey (2004: 150) calls this process as an inclusive understanding of activism. He suggests a term, reflexive activism which describes to question the boundaries such as between theory and practice. Making ourselves engaged in activism within/beyond the academy can ignore such boundaries that in turn transcend from internal world to external world.

Through his active participation with NBA and else where, Paul Routledge, faculty of geography at the University of Glasgow, had transcended the geographical boundaries between the west academics and south local knowledge and between the activism and academia. Moreover it is very significant to note that in the later stage how he himself found a collaborative methodology in his academic engagements. As he narrates:-

In the Narmada Struggle, I have sought out participation. First, I work in the struggle itself. This involved taking parting the monsoon styagrahas of 1999 and 2000, participating in the 1999 Rally for the valley, and living everyday life in resistance camps on the banks of the Narmada. For the movement I have written short article about particular events and established preliminary protocols for academics how wish to do research in the Narmada Valley. Second, I have conducted a variety of solidarity work for the NBA: bringing PGA activists to the valley in 1999 following the PGA conference in Bangalore; conducting workshops on the Narmada struggle in the United Kingdom in order to raise consciousness about the issue and develop solidarity network; and participating in, and even organizing, demonstrations, letter-writing campaigns, and public meetings on behalf of the NBA. I have used the NBA and my experiences of it in my undergraduate courses at the University of Glasgow (Routledge, 2001: 117-118).

While carrying out research in the Narmada Valley, Amita Baviskar tried to slow down theoretical bits into every day realities of people and their dynamic activities. Such an attempt was resolved to be doing research oriented towards praxis. In this backdrop, obviously a basic question comes in one’s mind that what to be
return for the people. In the valley, in fact she determined to teach the children during her stay as she found education reinforces pride and confidence in people's knowledge and assert their political consciousness. She recalls that, teaching in Bhilali helps her to learn the language quickly. After grasping the logic of spelling, children start listing about things which were near to their everyday life such as trees, people in their home, things they have bought from the village etc. Slowly they were capable enough to write on paper with pencils, drawing larger map of their villages by spotting houses, writing name of the family below in it, naming all trees, showing people working in the fields, fetching woods from the forests, fetching water from the river etc. When the every day slogans of Sangath and Andolan reverberated in the valley became a symbol of assertion, the language of pedagogy slowly takes into political action. This was a crucial turning point in which how pedagogy became a political praxis for the children of the valley of Narmada. As Baviskar recalls:-

I would feel gratified when they [children] accompanied adults to political meetings outside the village, their faces looking tiny and unfamiliar underneath the masses turbans that they wore on formal occasions. The children stayed for much of the sangharsh yatra, the month-long rally organized by the Andolan. However, when they came from the Yatra and I quizzed them about their impressions, they would only sing garbled versions of Andolan songs and do ribald imitations of some of the principle speakers. I ruefully concluded that this too was political education! (2006: 14).

When education brought about consciousness among the children were known and acknowledge by the parents and the neighboring villages, she felt that the power of praxis and that was never been harmed anybody at any point of time.

While carrying out a very extensive study for doctoral thesis on the Narmada, Ranjit Dwivedi was courageous to take a political stand when he defended for viva-voce; nonetheless the fact the idea of science is kept its hegemony strictly as value neutral. In fact, this was a critical reflection of the everyday experiences with the people of the valley. But at the same time, one could see what extent hitherto literature produced by the different agencies and legitimate authorities gave aside the
hope and aspirations of the project affected communities. A very puzzling question was posed to Ranjit Dwivedi by Prof. Aswini Saith, the co-promoter and examiner, that how you read about your text and net value added to your five years of tapasya in terms of the outcome—resist or not resist?. The answer or Dwivedi was as follows:-

I would Resist...we are throwing out a lot of affected people from the valley but without a proper rehabilitation scheme [in the name of development]. If you go through the rehabilitation centers you will find that there have been successful cases, but there have also been extremely unsuccessful ones. And which you feel happy about those that have been settled; you are also trying and question how they have got and what they have got, and then suspicion starts building in your head. But when you go and see people who are living in tin sheds and complaints to you that it is extremely hot in summer and extremely cold in winter and full of water in the rainy season, you stand wondering where this all going [directionless]...on these scores....I will certainly Resist! (Dwivedi, 2006: xxxi)

Vinod Raina, became full time activists in the movements after leaving his job from the Delhi University as professor, had a different strand on the scientific logic for planning and development. While commenting over the scientific planning details on the height of the dam, he observed that, the impact of the dam heights on the quantum of displacement had never been an issue. As the height of the dam keeps on increasing over the years, no proper rehabilitation was made to those who were immediately affected by the project. In fact, the logic of the Tribunal determined to have 453 feet as the height of the Sardar Sarovar dam, but the chairperson proposed the figure 455 as an 'aesthetic rounding off'. Surprisingly, no one in the Tribunal could imagine that the extra two feet at that height meant an increase in the submergence area by around nineteen thousand hectares of densely populated land! So much so that, the sanctity of detailed scientific planning is made (Raina, n.d.).

However, it doesn’t mean that science is all about good for society. Instead, Raina would argue that the innovative practices of alternative developmental strategies are to interface with science and society. In other words, it has human
value in it. According to him, debates that are taking place on science-society interface, for instance, participatory governance, working on developing local watersheds, local production systems, micro-hydels units, different forms of literacy and school education proved a point that alternatives are workable hypothesis. In this regard, Raina appreciates M.P.Parameswaran's infectious optimism and eye for technical detail that are being highly inspirational. Critical knowledge on the larger implications of the dam, which he gained, was out of his long association with movement and its activist such as Medha, Sripad, Alok, Arundhati, Dhuru, Nandini, Himanshu, Sylvie, and others.

**JEEVAN SALA: reflexive and pedagogic domains of a movement**

According to the revolutionary educationist, Paulo Freire, 'the oppressed must have their own examples (learning) in their struggles for liberation'. To Freire, both humanism and liberation are the two cardinal principles of the pedagogy of the oppressed. The process of pedagogy would traverse through two stages. First, the oppressed unveil the world of oppression, and through their praxis transform themselves. In the second stage, when the reality of oppression transformed, then the pedagogy no more confined to the oppressed instead a permanent liberation for all. In their organized struggle for the liberation, what all have to do is to believe in themselves. In fact, this process is neither purely intellectual nor mere activism; instead, it is a serious reflection towards praxis (Freire, 1993: 36 & 47). The praxis of pedagogy, popularly known as *jeevan shala* (life-school) in the Narmada valley underscores these critical reflections of life-experiences through continuous struggles against the agencies of oppression, and above all, imagining a world-view. Consciously adopted methodologies, for instance, using local dialectics, mother tongue for teaching first generation learners from the adivasi communities were shown an impact towards strengthening the alternative pedagogy in the valley of Narmada (*Narmada Samachar*, 2005: 10). In this session we discuss, genesis, progress and ideological apparatus of *Jeevan Shala* in the Narmada valley with the initiative of NBA as part of its constructive program.
The adivasi settlement areas of the Vindhya and the Satpura, the state driven schools were simply put on the official record showing that many villages have primary schools and teachers. At the ground level no single school was functional. For quiet long time teachers of these schools managed to release their salary by manipulating attendance and examination records without attending the schools even for a day. During the mobilization in the valley activists noticed it and informed the authorities for several times. Although, with the pressure from the movement, teachers were suspended by the district collector, the situation remained unchanged. Apparently, already corrupted system would signal that how to overcome from these hurdles of the government, but certainly it was not for adivasis. It is in this context, Andolan decided to start schools for the children in the valley. As a result, in 1991 the concept of Jeevan Shala was born. To begin with, it was very clear in the mind of the activists that the Jeevan Shala are not parallel/substitute for the non-functioning of government school. However the aim was to provide education that is relevant and meaningful for adivasi children. In fact, Jeevan Shala was born out from the tremendous pressures faced by the people in the valley. It was narrated in the following:-

Jeevan Shalas were born from people’s struggle against the dam, forced displacement and exclusion of affected communities from the very decision making process that influences their lives. Given that the struggle has been central for the inception of Jeevan Shalas, and their very inspiration, these schools are essentially a place to nurture values generated by people’s struggle (NBA, 2000).

A great challenge, before the Jeevan Shala was to impart education that was to be rooted in adivasi culture and indigenous knowledge system. The central concerns of the Jeevan Shala were conceptualized in such a way that it should build-up confidence, sensibility to the dignity of adivasi cultural life. Towards this end, Jeevan Shala was kept on inspiring adivasi children to relate education with their culture, but not totally rejecting their culture. Instead, was to be consciously preserving and creatively transforming it for the every-day life- struggles and pedagogical practices,
as these struggles and collective learning are vital for movement mobilization. This was reflected in their curricula as well. A systematic procedure was followed to institutionalize the concept *Jeevan Shala*. In this regard, series of activities such as, formation of curriculum, publications of textbooks and teachers training were conducted with the support of the like minded activists, academics\textsuperscript{35} and other organizations\textsuperscript{36}.

The textbook included stories of adivasi cultural traits such as deities, forests, adivasi wedding, and indigenous knowledge about natural resources, plants, trees, herbal plants and their medicinal use etc. In addition, special attention was given to make children to explore the intimate relationship between adivasi culture and the forests. A common logic has been found in all these exercises that, a need for rewriting history from a subaltern perspective with socio-cultural history of their every-day life. Interestingly, giving legitimacy to the tribal language, alphabets in mother tongue was introduced. As a result, at first time children of the valley could start writing and reading in Bhil-Bhilala mother-tongue. Apparently they were the first generation of systematic learners in their mother-tongue.

For the daily functioning of the schools, village committees were formed and the committees were expected to aid the teachers in their administrational matters. These committees were found to be very significant strategically as it created a space for the villagers to participate in the learning process. Although *Jeevan Shala* started with two places at Nimgavan and Chimelkhudi, it eventually grown to 12, located in three project affected states, eight were in Maharashtra, two in Madhya Pradesh and one in Gujarat (table No. 5.5). Among them, seven were residential schools. There

\textsuperscript{35} Porf. Naresh Dadhich, Inter University of Centre for Astronomy and Astrophysics and Sadhana Dadhich from Pune, Siddharaj ji Daddha, the veteran Sarvodayi from Jaipur, the teachers of *Jeevan Shala* are the leading personalities involved in curriculum framing and textbook preparation.

\textsuperscript{36} NBA received technical support in this regard from some of the innovative schools already established by the organizations such as Digantar, Eklavya, Srijan Anand, Akshar Nandan.
were 811 children enrolled in these Shala in which 644 were boys and 167 were girls in 2000. Since all of these Shala were located in the river belt, they were threatened by submergence during the monsoon season in every year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Jeevan Shala</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Manibeli</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tinismaal</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Savrya Digar</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nimgavan</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Submerged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Danel</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Threatened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gaman</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jalsindhi</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>Threatened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bharad</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>Submerged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kumbri</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Turkhedha</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bhadal</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>Submerged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Udadia</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>threatened</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In 2003 Jeevan Shala in Danel, Jalsindhi and Adadia were threatened by submergence during monsoon season. Subsequently, three were submerged under water at the height of the dam reached out to be at 90mts. in 2004 (NBA: 2004). To express their grievances and cumulative deprivation, the children of these Jeevan Shala made appeal to save their valley and their right to education in various institutions and forums and when the flood water threatened to submerge their Jeevan Shala. Being understood the threat of submergence; the children of these schools suggested for shifting the schools and participated to reconstruct schools in the upper areas of the hills so that they could resume their studies without disturbances.

The children of Jeevan Shala have always engaged in the struggle against the dam. They have participated in Satyagraha, dharna, marches not only in their respective villages but also outside the villages such as in Bhopal, Mumbai, Dhule etc. Some times, Jeevan Shala shifted to the dharna or protest sites, as learning sight to fight for one’s rights is at the very core of learning. When I visited one of the Jeevan Shala in January 2007,
I was welcomed by the children of Bhadal Jeevan Shala (see appendix-2) in the valley by shouting two revolutionary lines loudly, they were:

Ledenge Jeetenge! (We will fight, We will win)
Seekhenge Baddhenge! (We will learn, We will grow)

Perhaps, it was a quite unusual welcome for me, the underlining structure and the meaning of the text of these two lines inspire me to think the critical pedagogy in which learning of the subaltern are always followed by a lot of struggles. The subaltern would see that these every-day struggles are the inscriptions for their knowledge and that would transcend them. I could see the confidence among the children of Bhadal Jeevan Shala developed through their alternative educational practices; that would definitely imprint the strength of the future generation. It is obvious that the progress of the Jeevan Shala in the valley, for the last two decades, has strengthened field of alternative education and the Shala become central of overall social unity as the adivasi community managed to govern them (Narmada Samachar, 2005).

EPISTEMIC COMMUNITIES: Encountering Intellectual Hegemony
Needless to mention that there are groups and individuals constantly been watching the consequences of the huge development plans funded by the World Bank particularly in the third world countries. As we discussed earlier, with different capabilities, these groups and individuals tried to search out the ill effects of these projects particularly from humanitarian and environmental point of view. They try to articulate these issues with theoretical sophistication to counter the dominant claims made by these giant development projects like huge dam constructions for irrigation and energy production. Through time, these groups become expertise in these areas and slowly crystallized into a form of epistemic community. All over the world, it has

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37 Bhadal Jeevan Shala was residential school which houses 57 children from 50 families of the village and there were three teachers. [teachers were called as Gurujis]
been found that these groups become stronger and stronger even to redirect the huge development projects aided by the World Bank. National and international campaign against the SSP in the valley of Narmada certainly was a case before the epistemic communities. The role of the epistemic communities, are very significant here to articulate and produce counter fact and knowledge against the ill effects of the project.

Epistemic communities are the unified group which share faith in the scientific method as a way of generating truth. Its participants have shared belief or faith in the verity and the applicability of particular form of knowledge. To that extent, it allows them to ignore their diverse interpretation of ambiguous data. Epistemic community is a network of professionals, belonging to different disciplines with recognized expertise and competence in a particular subject matter. The characteristics of the epistemic communities are (1) sharing a normative and principled belief, to provide a value based rationale for social issues, (2) sharing causal beliefs, which are derived from their analysis of practices leading or contributing to a set of problems and leading to a basis for pursuing the multiple linkages between policy actions and desired outcome. (3) sharing validity (inter-subjective) in which the validity of knowledge is determined by internally defined criteria (expertise) and (4) following a common set of practices associated with a set of problems to which their professional competence is directed towards a conviction of human welfare (Hass, 1992). Obviously, these engagements create intellectual spaces that are slightly distinct from the conventional academic debates. Seminars and workshops were conducted in India and abroad to stimulate rich exchange of intellectual substance. In India, for instance, under the aegis of Narmada Forum, a workshop was held in 1993. Another conference was organized at Columbia University in 1992. Through these endeavors, experts from diverse field were attracted to share their views and experiences.
Growing Narmada controversy became an international issue was largely due to Medha Patkar’s visit to Washington in 1987 and 1989. In fact, Lori Udall, the leading international campaigner for anti-SSP movement and an activist of the Environmental Defence Fund inspired by Patkar, took a leading role in it. NBA organized a symposium in Tokyo in April 1990 in which international activists, Japanese NGO, academics and politicians were convinced the implications of the project. Lori Udall, for instance, criticized the bank by pointing that it has no accountability to people directly affected by the project. It was contended that promotion of large scale, centralized and outdated development projects are not viable and they will do not pay for even themselves. The failure, she argued that, lies with the lack of involvement with the local people and inaccessibility of information about the project, neglecting environmental and social implications (Udall, 1997:203).

Apart from these mobilizations, Medha Patkar has frequently been visiting abroad and delivering lectures and talks in the universities. Some of her visits to foreign universities include University of Iowa (1997), University of Maryland (1999), Oxford University (2002), University of Texas and American university (2003), Nepal (2008), Emory University and MIT Cambridge (2009). The subject matter for discussion and lectures were diverse which include development, people’s movement, globalization, human rights, civil society referred to India in general and the valley of Narmada in particular. It is true that the people of Narmada will be the central discourse in her talks and she is idealistic from the beginning in this regard, as she her-self revealed that ‘I began to see these people in real terms about whom I had for so long had an ideal vision, about whom I had spoken at seminars and conferences’ (interview in 2004). Similarly, the NBA has made a conscious effort to include lawyers and journalist in the movement. They in turn gained enormous satisfaction from being part of the movement. It, in fact, gave them new meaning to their professional lives. Through them we could reached out to as many people as we can (ibid).
Since the epistemic community of this kind outline a broader world view from their every day experiences and practices that create discursive power within national administration and international forums. At times, institutionalize its influence and intimate its views into broader international political arena as well. Transnational epistemic communities, at the same time, can influence state policies and their interest, and between the states. This would ensure convergence of state behavior in international arena. In the later stage perhaps they may pave the way for forming and reframing existing institutions structures as well (Hass, 1992).