“Any assertion by the poor for elementary demands and rights even constitutionally assured or legally provided was being suppressed with brutal force which was applied in weird forums of cunning devices. This provoked numerous grass root struggles of different sections, posing a challenge to the rulers and the prospering classes who basically came from the upper and intermediate castes, which were encouraged by the state for pursuing the path of development….as a path relying on betting the rich”


Six decades of developmental experience of India presents both an optimistic and tumultuous and confusing condition. There are many indicators and benchmarks to adjudge positive side of India society and state and at the same time exist voluminous sources which infer negative and retrogressive developments in independent India. The above epigraph mirrors the frustrations and pessimistic developments in India.

Development is a value loaded term and conveys myriad ideas. Its connection with social change and progress further complicates the issues. Development discourses have the lineage of enlightenment in Europe. Development is projected to be immanent and inevitable and universally defined as natural, beneficial, and inevitable. ‘Ever since the European enlightenment, socio economic development has been deemed to be positive and progressive’. As the march of victory of European powers was established across the globe, ‘western modernist position on socio-economic knowledge, organization and practice’
started dominating the world (Chew, Sing C and Denemark, Robert A. 2001:1, italics are added)

Several criteria were pursued by enlightenment thinkers to fathom the condition of progress. Development as a discourse has progress implicit premises of change and progress. Various criteria were used by enlightenment thinkers and theorists to fathom the causes and consequences of transformation and in proposing an ideal order: freedom of individual and individual happiness by Herbert Spencer, Marx’s conception of metamorphosis of society - from bourgeoisie system to communism via revolution by working class and Weber’s understanding about modern world through rationality, rationalization, development of nation-state, domination and authority by Weber (Morrison, Ken 2006).

Hegel’s Dialectical Logic has provided a rational kernel to generations of scholars to understand the ontological aspects of dynamics of progress and was a fountain head for Marx’s dialectical materialism. The roots of development discourse are located in enlightenment project of Europe in terms of positive philosophy and negative philosophy (Zeitlin, Irving, 1981).

Development viewed from broad view indicates ‘utilizing the productive resources of society to improve the living conditions of the poorest people. From narrower view it is mere economic growth and more for every one and lot more for a few (Peet, Richard and Hartwick, Elaine, 2005:1).
Development is also interpreted as an improvement in complex of interlinked natural, economic, social, cultural and political conditions (Ibid). Idea of development has its roots in enlightenment period of Europe unveiling the nexus between social change, and progress. In nineteenth century of Europe development was use to represent remedies for the shortcomings and maladies associated with progress. Development has different meanings and meanings of development have changed over different times. Development is portrayed as 'industrialization', 'modernization' in terms of political growth and social modernization, 'dependency theory' in terms of centre and periphery, 'alternative development' with the dimension of human flourishing, 'neoliberalism' in the language of structural adjustment reforms, deregulation and privatization (Pieterse, Nederveen, 2001:5-7, italics are added)

Does development imply emancipation of people by meeting basic needs of human groups? Is development a creation of improved facilities? Creating more needs for people and meeting their needs through innovation and technology? Are we creating more needs in the name of development making totality of human needs more complex which are not essential to sustain their life? The last two questions bring conflict between development and environment. Development works through the interaction between social/men and non-human nature and proceeds through triangle of forces.

Development as a theory and practices not confined to mere economic aspects, instead it encompasses the domain of social aspects and hence concept of 'social development' gained momentum. Social development is distinct from development in
general recognizes that economic growth itself is not sufficient factor for social development, focus should be social structure; development has to be human centred; people are the ultimate target of development and not as means of economic progress and development; development should have human face; social development as a tool of reducing inequalities (Shrivastava, S.P, 1998:22-23)4

According to Partha Nath Mukherji, in third world countries or developing countries such as India, development is being defined by others and it has to be reversed. India characterized by poverty and disparity, it has to tread on the path of values of equality and freedom. To convey them in clear concrete structural terms discrimination, exploitation and oppression [DEO]. All three concepts refer to set of asymmetrical relationships and convey exercise of dominance of one group over other. Hence development has to be viewed from how development process will try to reduce the asymmetries and whether contradictions increases or not. This will help in constructing the framework of analysis of the dynamics of conflict, movements and their outcomes as consequences'. Changes in the structures or of the structure of the system will denote to what extent level of changes and conflict in the process of development (Mukherjee, Partha Nath 1989:27-39).

Situating the development in context has generated lot of arguments and discussions. What should be desirable development path which would fit Indian context has generated a lot of discussions and polemics. Development imbroglio in India prevailed as early as national movement. Mahatma Gandhi, father of nation and Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the arch leaders of national movement exchanged heated debates on development path that independent India should adopt. Gandhi was aware of
problems associated with industrialization in the west and he was critical of adopting the development path based on it in independent India. Gandhi desired 'a clean and hygienic environment, the collective management and use of those gifts of nature so necessary for human life, water and pasture'. It is by changing our life style through restricting our multiplicity of needs and thereby leading eco friendly, sustainable alternative to modern lifestyles. According to him, industrialization would lead to competition and selfishness. He noticed the faces of exploitation in the development and prosperity of England and America through industrialization. They attained prosperity by exploiting other nations- other races and places of the earth. As there are no new worlds to discover, If India adopts the same path, he asks, what would be the fate? (Guha, Ramachandra, 2007:114-115) He observed:

"God forbid that India should ever take to industrialization after the manner of the west. The economic imperialism of a single tiny island kingdom (England) is today keeping the world in chains. If an entire nation of 300 million took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts” (Ibid:114-117)

Development as a concept has gained wider currency since three hundred years that is European enlightment. Development has become all pervasive and omnipresent phenomenon. According to Ashish Nandy, development is inextricably linked up with authority and violence. Ruthless promotion of development models in developing countries or global south having origin west has suppressed the self of individuals and
alternative paths, ideas and way of living. Development has become homogenization of culture and societies in global scale (Nandy, Ashish, 2007:171-174). He observed:

"The dirty work of development can go on in the backwaters of the world, with many vaguely concerned with the fate of the victims but only a few engaged intellectually and on a day-to-day basis with their fate."

Several theories of development have attempted to legitimize the western development: modernization theories particularly posited through various variables that development implies absence of authoritarianism and promotion of democracy. But Nandy very clearly rejects this stand and brings the trajectory of development home. Development has implicit dimension of violence, authoritarianism and violation of human rights though whatsoever the genuine emancipatory motive some versions of development may have. As over the time even emancipatory discourses with genuine goals turn into oppression after being adopted by series of despotic regimes and stands for the violation of human rights. Development nurtures the authoritarianism in three ways: first by empowering the hitherto marginalized groups who challenges the few who controls and monopolizes the benefits of development. Once the marginalized are empowered, they pose problems to emancipation of others. State in this context by taking over organized sector and market robs commons traditional and easy accessibility to them. Environmental movements and displacement of tribes amply illustrate this. Second, development forces people make sacrifice present for future and state extracts this through authority. Third, assumption that development is a shorter
route to transformation what western societies have experienced in three hundred years
Nandy.Ashish, op.cit, 175-180)

Development saga of India unfolds the nexus between state and planning. Handovering the responsibility of deciding the developmental path appropriate for independent nation from political class to group of experts began during colonial time and had its roots in pre-independence time when congress formed government in eight provinces under the ‘Government act of India 1935. Constitution of Nation Planning Commission of experts ushered in a developmental perspective that is industrialization for independent India different from what Gandhi and Gandhians believed and projected. Gandhian path remained just a medium to keep up people nationalist fervour against colonial set up (Chaterjee, Partha 2007:116-118). Gandhi was pretty clear on industrialization:

“It was industrialism itself rather than the inability to industrialize, which was the root cause of Indian poverty “(Ibid)

Partha Chaterjee debates that planning authority itself is not free from the influence of state and polity and hence he ruled out the possibility of development planning as domain of instrumental rational action. If Planner cannot be expected of omniscience, how can information, through which are objects of planning are established, be adequate. Hence, it is an exercise of self deception (Ibid, 124:125).
He articulates:

"For the rational consciousness of the state embodied in the planning authority does not exhaust the determinate being of the state. The state is also an existent as a site at which the subjects of power in society interact, ally and contend with another in the political process. The specific configuration of power that is constituted within the state is the result of this process. Seen from this perspective, planning authorities themselves are objects for a configuration of power in which others are subjects (Chaterjee, Partha op.cit 125:126, italics are added)

All sections of opinion at the time of independence had a common or similar opinion that is ‘leading role for the state in the development process. There were three developmental plans identified: Bombay Plan, Position of Communist and near Communist Left and last was what was accepted officially. Each was vociferously put forth as viable path by its respective proponents (Patnaik, Prabhat 2007:142-144, italics are added). Bombay plan pressed for replacement of colonialist hegemony by national bourgeoisie without pressing for radical redistribution of property in favour of small producers or the landless. The left pressed for ‘radical land reforms, including land redistribution and a host of steps for curbing the power of the monopoly capitalists as a part of the strategy of planned development’. It did not see in state planning the harbingers of socialism and seizure of power by peasants and workers is a prerequisite for socialism. It believed radical land redistribution would be a path for putting nation on alternative trajectory that would render true the promise of freedom struggle (Ibid).

Whereas third, plan that was officially adopted: it incorporated socialist rhetoric, major role of public sectors in production as a permanent phenomenon and thought of land reforms. But land reforms measures succeeded only in eliminating zamindari
class, and bestowed land rights to rich tenants and created a homogenous class. Prabhat Patnaik expressed on official path i.e. state capitalism:

"The third position is what crystallized as the official position. The social weight of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry, not to mention the working class, ensured that, notwithstanding big business dominance over the state, the official position did not amount to a complete endorsement of the agenda of big business" (Patnaik, Prabhat op.cit: 144, italics are added).

Accumulation is central to capitalism to thrive. According to Karl Marx:

"What does the primitive accumulation of capital, i.e., its historical genesis, resolve itself into? In so far as it is not immediate transformation of slaves and serfs into wage-laborers, and therefore a mere change of form, it only means the expropriation of the immediate producers, i.e., the dissolution of private property based on the labor of its owner" (Marx, Karl 1999:560)

Capitalism to stand on its own feet means robbing the people, who are direct producers, from their source of livelihood. They may be peasants who own and till the land and artisans of the tools who are bestowed with prodigy. Expropriation of the great masses from their soil, subsistence and means of labour and inauguration of the transformation of the individualized and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, of the pigmy property of the many into the huge property of the few is a painful saga and is, according to Marx, prelude to the history of capital (Marx, Karl op.cit 564-565, italics are added). To draw home more coherently, we shall invoke Marx’s own words here:

"The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless Vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property, that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent laboring-individual with the conditions of his labor, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labor of others, i.e., on wage-labor" (Marx, Karl op.cit. 565).
Whereas in Indian context state as a manager of capitalism treaded a path of reconciling accumulation with legitimacy. If industrialization was to take place, accumulation was indispensable. Consequences of accumulation we just spelt out above. Usurping direct producers from their soil or source of livelihood pose potential chances of being brushed aside or could not be legitimized through the representative process of politics. But accumulation necessitates the role of state and force:

"... the use of the powers of the state, whether directly through its legal and administrative institutions, or mediatelty through the acts of some agents with social power over others, to effect the required degree of dissociation of direct producers from their means of production" (Partha Chaterjee op.cit:128-129).

Institution of planning was created and was believed to be an essentially a domain of instrumental rationality above all the particular interest and for addressing the problems of conflicts between social groups as a result of accumulation; for industrialization. It was seen to be a channel for addressing the twin problems of reconciling accumulation with legitimacy to pave the way for industrialization as a part of state led capitalism.

But Partha Chaterjee questions 'but who was to use it in this way as a positive instrument?' - a critical insight on penetration of politics into domain of politics and impossibility of instrumental rationality (Chaterjee, Partha op.cit 128-129). He called state led planned industrialization as a part of process of what Antonio Gramsci’s termed as passive revolution.
About the Study

This research study comes in the area of development, environment state and society and protest movements. This research study intends to study the consequences of development on environment and peoples protest movement as a response to destruction of their material base of lively-hood. The research study takes up a problem emerged in the process of interaction between development and environment. Development and environment represents two major systems of relationship. Economic activities and development represent one of the major subsystems of social system. Ecosystem and social system always mutually interacts. What we call nature or environment is perceived and constructed (Smart, Barry, 1976) one by human beings. Our consciousness of nature is intentional and mediated by our belief systems, knowledge and value of social organization. Both ecosystem and social system exchange energy information and material. Without manipulation in these terms human social system cannot survive. But a question is to what extent environment can absorb the manipulation? Intensity of demands on ecosystem depends upon population, level of consumption and technology which is a part of wider process of development. This should take us to a debate between development environment and social change and should make us realize whether social change brought by development is an emancipation of people or is instead creating contradictions harming environment and in turn social system. Does development imply emancipating people by providing basic needs to human groups? Or is a creation of improved facilities, creating more needs for people and meeting their needs through innovation and
technology. Third, are we creating more needs in the name of development making totality of human needs more complex which are not essential to sustain their life? The last two questions bring conflict between development and environment. Development works through the interaction between social/men and non-human nature and proceeds through triangle of forces (Gangarade, 1997). Development as the improved well being of all has to be seen within context. This study is critical of development bereft of context and particular concepts and categories of economic development, which are raised to the level of universal assumptions (Shiva, Vandana: 2000). The present section of this research study is a critical scrutiny of development and social change perspectives subjecting them to a test of ecological sensitivity. Discourse on development and social change is more controversial and fascinating in social science in general and sociology in particular. The debate what drives social change is still alive and active among social theorists. Genesis of social change and development debate is a western legacy. Progress in science and technology leading to industrialization coupled with capitalism and internal change in terms of values has brought unprecedented consequences. Factories, railroads and cities were proliferating and century’s old institutions such as family, religion, community experienced radical changes and authority of kings and lords were seriously undermined and pushed to oblivion. These change conditions gave rise to complex situation where within a square kilometer thousands of people were acting could make any thing happen. For all classical social theorists such as Marx, Weber and Durkheim existing society was radically different from erstwhile feudal societies. All three perceived similarities in changing societies
decline in superstition fatalism or emotions, beliefs as a source of authority and instead they came to be dominated by the application of science and reason and People started appreciating efficiency and the ability to explain the world scientifically. For Marx, these changes led to capitalism existing amidst contradictions and finally lead to socialist society. Changes labeled as modernity also brought dire consequences like inequality, poverty, and exploitation. For Marx, people can be understood in relation to what they produce and production relations are the most important explanation of why society is as it is and how it changes. For Weber, it was changes in ideas and impact on development and social change diametrically opposed to Marx. The concept of rationality and rational action was central to Weber in explaining social change. Possibility of calculation facilitated by introduction of money with its impersonal nature helped in the development of rationality of human actors.

Weber was interested in institutional variation and economic change. Weber concern was on the relations of religious ideas and attitudes to economic activities and organization. Durkheim was concerned with population growth and division of labor through which he conceptualized the metamorphosis of society from simple to complex where people instead of performing many roles specialized in a particular role and produce more to meet the growing population needs. This is reflected in his concepts such as transition from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. Even in philosophers and economists such as Adams Smith and J S Mill observed growing functional specificity and structural differentiation. This led to convincing and wide idea that nature can be manipulated and controlled according to human desires with the help of
science and technology. Present study approaches the problem emerging from the interaction between development policies, plans and environment at micro level.

Research Problem

"The purpose of this study is to examine in depth from sociological perspective a problem emerged as a result of development and environmental interaction process in Bagur-Navile region of Hassan district in Karnataka. This problem refers to ground water depletion caused by a construction of tunnel for irrigation and problems associated with the tradition of Dam construction. Hemavathi River which is the major tributary of Cauvery River in Karnataka is attributed as a life line of Hassan District. A reservoir has been constructed across the Hemavathi river in Gorur (Gorur is located 5 kms away from)of Hassan district to provide water for agricultural lands of Hassan Mandya and Tumkur district.

This project was conceived in 1979 and was implemented in 1990. Canal which, runs smoothly till Bagur a village, cannot go beyond it under normal canal conditions due to unsound geological characteristics as claimed by irrigation department. Moreover, region from Bagur village onwards lies at relatively very high place i.e., 980 feet from sea level. Sizeable intelligentsia in the district harbour an intense opinion that the present canal alignment was externally imposed by elected representatives and is not as per the original plan. As per the original plan canal should have run via either of two alignments instead of Bagur-Navile region. Present plan took water to downwards gradient point to be followed by steep elevation at which water was drawn. This made
water not to flow under normal conditions and necessitated the construction of tunnel. But that idea turned into crisis later. Tunnel starts at Dyavenahally which is in close proximity to Bagur and ends in Navile, 24 villages are located in between the tunnel. Tunnel stretches into 9.5 kms is termed Asia’s second largest tunnel. Bagur-Navile region is highly vulnerable in its geological conditions: Characterized by low level of ground water and water seepage. Bagur-Navile region lies east of Western Ghats characterized by low rainfall and it is a region bereft of rivers. Tunnel, which led to depletion of ground water, aggravated the problem. Water still seeps into tunnel from two sides affecting area nearly 1.5-km width of both sides and 9.5 km long. The depletion of ground water has rendered more than 2 lakhs coconut trees yield less according to department of horticulture. Leaders of the movement, tanks and wells have dried up and totally affected crops of farmers. This jeopardized their material base of livelihood, social status of peasants where one’s status is measured by how many coconut trees a peasant owns in Bagur –Navile region. Farmer owning 100 coconut trees could get an yield of ten thousand coconuts annually on an average has been reduced to a state where he is getting in terms of mere hundreds.

Farmers gradually noticed this change and became aware of their problem; barren land, drying of tanks and wells and yield less coconut trees had greater repercussions on economic and social life of people, bringing occupational shift and migration. Though Hemavathi water passes through their land, they are not allowed to use it for their land which has made the problem vexed. Farmers awareness in 1996 led them to start movement protesting against state government callous stand for not
implementing remedial measures proposed at the time of initiation of tunnel work and demanded for compensation which amounted 24 Crores for loss accumulated over 20 years estimated by Horticulture Department of Karnataka. But State claimed seepage of water did not exist and damage to coconut trees by conducting another survey from geological department which reported that enough care was taken while constructing tunnel and question of seepage of water did not arise. This contradicted the report of Horticulture department appointed by same government of Karnataka. Looking at the claims and counter claims, one fact draws our attention about the possible loss of water and damage to coconuts plantations and crops during the construction of canal that stretched to the duration of approximately fifteen years. Peasants aroused by this led a movement as a protest and demanded for remedying their destructed material base of lively- hood. The protest movement drew the attention at both state and national level. When movement was at intensified, state suppressed peasant’s movement who protested by preventing canal water from flowing to Tumkur District. Bagur-Navile region witnessed a worst case of police violence where women and old aged suffered more due to the atrocities committed by state police. Now people have been left with no compensation and their demands are not fulfilled. Subsequently coconut trees were affected by a mite mania disease (nusi peede in Kannada). This gave fatal blow to the whole coconut growing area in Karnataka and aggravated the problems of Bagur-Navile peasants.
Objectives and Scope of the Study

Objectives of the Study

Following are the objectives constructed and evolved which will amply reveal the nature and entire slant of our study:

a) to examine the politics of water and development in relation to Bagur-Navile Project

b) As a corollary, to understand and situate the nature of development in post-colonial India at macro level in relation to large dams, agriculture and peasants

c) To examine the nexus between environment and society through the lens of environmental sociology

d) to understand socio-economic and environmental consequences of tunnel

e) to examine the protest movement of peasants of Bagur-Navile region

f) as a derivative, to understand at the macro level the nature of nexus between Society, Peasants and State.

g) To analyze the nature of confrontation between state and peasants in Bagur-Navile region and violent suppression of peasants.
Methodology and Research Design

Methodology devised for the present problem is blend of both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. First set of research technique proposed is in depth interview. Rationale of using in-depth interview is two folded. First, it wants to understand the origin of the tunnel project, politics behind the construction of tunnel, role of bureaucracy, environmental care shown while preparing project feasibility proposal. Second, it wants to comprehend the protest movement launched by farmers against state, socio-economic consequences of the tunnel.

Interview schedule is a second set of research technique proposed which is partially structured and partially unstructured. This interview schedule is administered among farmers/victims of the tunnel. Farmers, whose coconut trees and lands damaged, are selected out of the survey of Horticulture Department. Survey includes 6 villages of the region which are located beside Tunnel. While selecting respondents, the universe -villages and farmers- has been divided into three categories

Third set of research technique proposed is “Focus Group Discussion”. Focus Group Discussion is used among journalists, Key leaders of the movement, participants and political leaders who participated in the movement. Focus group discussion is mainly used to understand the dynamics of the movement. Before executing research tools, pilot study was conducted to know the shortcoming sin research tools and after the necessary corrections and fine tuning, research tools were executed.

1. Severely affected villages
2. Moderately affected villages
3. Less affected village
Classification of universe has been evolved according to severity of consequences of tunnel on villages and coconut trees and in accordance with the observations and classifications made by survey of Horticulture department. Classification of villages is based on following criteria: Severely affected villages are those where coconut trees:

1. Have lesser number of pinnate leaves or almost dried up
2. Have coconuts:
   i. which are low in size
   ii. shape is shrunk
   iii. lesser number of clusters
   iv. lesser number of coconuts within a cluster
3. tube wells are dried up
4. ponds and tanks are dried up soon even during monsoon

Within each category of village, universe is classified into

A. farmers who have more than 200-300 coconut trees and more than 5 acres of land
B. farmers who have coconut trees 100-200 and more than 2 acres of land
C. farmers who have coconut trees less than 100 and less than two acres of land

Sampling

For administering this interview schedule, Sampling is used at two stages

a. In selecting villages
b. In selecting farmers
In selecting strata's, purposive sampling was adopted. This is helpful in selecting villages keeping in view the nature of the problem. While classifying universe at the second stage, stratified sampling is adequate as it well addresses the aspects of social class among peasants in terms of number of coconut trees and acres of land owned.

Depending apart from his observations along with the expert opinion of Horticulture Department, leaders and farmers who have keenly involved in this issue researcher has classified the following villages as 'severely affected villages', moderately affected village and less affected village.

**Table 1.1 Sampled Villages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Sampled Villages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Severely affected Villages</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obalapura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conceptual and Theoretical Frame work

Relation between development state and society is widely discussed and in fact a complex matter. There is a voluminous literature focusing on the nexus between state and society. The relationship between state and society is increasingly felt through development and environment. Several scholars have felt that state is going way from its avowed objectives and emerging as oppressor. State is increasingly associated with human rights violations. These contradictions are manifested in the forms of environmental degradation, increasing poverty, displacement and strong middle class formation even in rural areas. [Desai, A.R., 1969, Kothari, Rajani, 1988, Savor, Manorama, 1995, Chandhoke, Neera, 2003, Sharma D. Shalendra 2003, Gupta, Dipankar, 2009, Ray, Raka: 2005 Omvedt, Gail: 2005].

The present study is based on conceptual premise that developmental policies, instead of emancipation, in post colonial India has resulted in contradictions. Conventional development theories are blind to environment. Economic categories and concepts arose out of particular context have been alleviated to universal assumptions. Development has been stripped from context. This study becomes important for its analysis of how conventional development policies leaves no options for people to pursue but it is a pain and alienation which people experience out of development politics which are environmentally blind.

Present study attempts to understand peasant’s movement protesting against state for damage done to their environment and livelihood, methods, strategies,
techniques adopted. This research study becomes important as it examines one of the worst cases of violence inflicted on peasants, followed by fear and trauma on people. It sheds light on the role of state in relation to peasant movements; a contradiction: ostensible of welfare state and actual one of suppressing people who raised their voice against injustice. It is implicated with understanding the relationship between state, development and social movements. This study also is an inquiry into reality of destruction caused by development projects, making a substantial number of people marginalized just for developing people of another region.

Present study examines the problem from both Marxian and New Social Movements [NSM] perspective. NSM perspective though endorses the basic premises of Marxian thought, it views that social movements in India are not mere historical materialism of haves and have not. But it is a historical materialism of peasants, tribals, dalits and women.
Structure of the Thesis

Peasant leaders also called key leaders of the movement, peasants, bureaucrats, journalists, political leaders constitute building blocks of this thesis. With the help of indepth interview, interview schedules and focus group discussions, necessary information has been culled out. Sampling of 240 respondents for interview schedules has been employed at two levels in selecting villages under quota sampling and farmers under stratified sampling respectively.

The thesis is made up of eight chapters apart from conclusion. First chapter introduces the problem of study, objectives, theoretical frame work, and methodology along with introduction on development discourse.

Second chapter is about the relationship between development and irrigation. Water being quintessential input for agricultural production has assumed added importance in post colonial India. Though water is a subject in state list of federal system, center has prerogatives if rivers flow in more than one state and if any interstate dispute on water arises. Most of the rivers flow in India flow in more than one state and hence irrigation is a controversial aspect in India. It is confirmed that irrigation augments the gross cropped area and gross value of production. But irrigation in India has been monopolized by construction of major and medium projects. This chapter demonstrates how construction of large dams is a regime imposed by dominant assumptions and notions of development. Detailed tables and charts in this chapter clearly show how major and medium irrigation projects have performed low in comparison to minor irrigation projects. This chapter assumes importance as the entire research work is
centered on the problems stemming from tunnel projects which is itself a part of major and medium irrigation projects.

Third chapter is a review of literature on the relation between society and environment. Main stream environment has largely neglected environment as a factor of constitution and functioning of human societies. Present research work is about the problem arisen from the interaction between development and environment. Hence situating the problem within the disciplinary framework of sociology is essential and this chapter reviews the origin, development and present status of environmental sociology. This chapter makes very clear that environment as a factor of constitution and functioning of human societies have to be considered which is amply confirmed by how research problem itself is a result of wider interaction between development and environment.

Fourth Chapter is on the relationship between State, environment and social movements mirroring developmental flaws. Many scholars have apprehended that there is a growing antagonistic relationship between state and society. State in an independent India is at aberration from avowed objectives and has largely violated human rights of its citizens. State is today legitimate agency in using physical force. Perspectives of Classical sociologists on relation between state and society is employed to understand the problem historically and also at present in Indian context. How Indian state has responded to social movements is central top this chapter. This chapter argues state in post colonial India is not much different from colonial period and has
most of the times it suppressed movements. This chapter argues state in India is taking oppressor role.

Fifth chapter is about the respondents who are distressed and constitute core of any empirical study. This chapter is devoted to understanding the socio-economic and demographic aspects of respondents which provides introductory conditions of peasants of Bagur-Navile region.

Sixth, seventh and eighth chapters are based on empirical data of the study. Sixth chapter attempts to understand the tunnel project: its genesis, rationales, technical aspects, under the broader canvas of politics of prestige and pressure behind the project,

Seventh chapter is an analysis of socio-economic and environmental consequences of tunnel project on peasants.

Eighth chapter examines in the beginning the key theoretical concepts of social movements and switches over to protest movement of peasants of Bagur-Navile region later. It analyzes the origin, reasons responsible for the emergence of movement, identity formation and ideology. This chapter mainly addresses the formation of movement and events structure till it attained the intensified struggle.

Ninth Chapter tries to understand the intensified stage of movement. Peasants blocked the canal and prevented Hemavathy water from flowing water to Tumkur. Politicization of movement, confrontation with state, violence on people and cessation of movement are analyzed
Conclusions of the study are presented along with suggestions. In appendices data collection techniques and list of villages affected are added.

In the following, chapters, from second to fourth issues related to dams and development, state and society in the context of development and environment and environmental sociology are examined based on the studies, which are both macro and microscopic in nature, already conducted.