

SSR (DFID) FINAL RESEARCH REPORT

GENDER, DISPLACEMENT AND RESISTANCE: DRAWING LESSONS FROM THE NARMADA EXPERIENCE (R7578)

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Summary

By drawing on the Narmada experience in India, the study investigated the linkages between gender, forced displacement, resettlement policies and programmes and resistance strategies. The research built on research and contacts in the Narmada Valley from the early 1990s. It thus had the advantage of being able to trace changes in livelihood strategies, in social and gender relations and in economic activities amongst families over a ten-year period in both pre- and post-displacement settings. This longitudinal perspective also helped to observe and track the trajectories of change in the gendered strategies of the protest movement against the dam. Research methods included participant observation, surveys and semi-structured interviews with displaced women and men, activists and policy makers. The research findings have attracted considerable interest from international and national development policy-makers, and from development activists and researchers in India. In part, this is because the research is one of the few attempts to identify effective ways to overcome gender blindness and male biases in resettlement policies and initiatives as well as highlight ways in which gender justice can be achieved in the course of displacement and resettlement programmes. A highly well-received and attended international conference on gender and resettlement policies as well as a number of published and forthcoming publications will ensure the dissemination of the research findings in India and internationally.

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I. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Annually, the lives and livelihoods of nearly ten million people across the globe are affected by forced displacement due to infrastructure projects such as dams, mines, factories and roads and emerging research shows that this number is likely to increase, rather than decrease. The last two decades have witnessed an immense surge of literature on the process forced displacement and its far-reaching social, economic and cultural impacts (cf. Thukral 1992; Fernandes and Thukral 1989; Cernea and McDowell 2000; McDowell 1997; Parasuraman 1999; Morse et al 1992; Dreze et al 1997). Despite this vast documentation, national and international debates have been highly ungendered. The project-affected communities have tended to be portrayed in a rather homogenous and undifferentiated way by researchers, activists and state actors. The massive changes in the division of labour, in negotiations within communities and households, in property rights and in access to and control over resources clearly affect men and women differently, requiring an analysis through the lens of gender. The malaise of gender-blindness is also found in policy related guidelines concerning resettlement where the settler or oustee is unproblematically assumed to be male. However, beyond the general recognition that women might suffer more than men in the course of the displacement process, there has rarely been a systematic analysis of the gendered dimensions of forced displacement processes and resettlement programmes, barring a few exceptions. Also in standard works on displacement and resettlement references to gender have a rather add-on character (e.g. Cernea 1997 and 2000; McDowell 1997).

The Narmada project is one of the world's most controversial irrigation and hydroelectric projects, not least because of the potential displacement of over half a million people. Since the 1980s, the Narmada Valley has been the site of tremendous resistance and the protest movement has influenced anti-dam struggles all over the world as well as succeeded in bringing about improvements in resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) policies in India and elsewhere. Even though the project, its impacts and the resistance to it have been extensively studied (e.g. Dreze et al 1997; Fisher et al 1995), there had been no systematic gender analysis of the processes of displacement, resettlement and resistance. The initial hypothesis was that community, policy and activist discourses had drawn on a homogenous notion of 'community' which failed to address women's interests and priorities. Given that gender blindness in displacement processes and civil society action can lead to negative outcomes for women and failures in R and R programmes, the research sought to draw on the Narmada experience to:

- Make conceptual links between gender, displacement and resistance;
- Understand the social change accompanying forced displacement from a gender perspective
- Understand the strategies and activities of the protest movement from a gender perspective
- Develop guidelines and policy recommendations to provide for the inclusion of gender consideration into the planning and execution of resettlement and rehabilitation schemes
- Develop a rights-based approach to gender, displacement and resistance which could be incorporated both in state-sponsored programmes as well as in the activities of civil society in displacement and resettlement processes.

II. METHODS AND APPROACH

In order to engender displacement, resettlement and resistance debates, a systematic gender analysis needed to be conducted:

Conceptually, by highlighting analytical and conceptual linkages between gender, displacement, resettlement policies and resistance strategies. This was done by drawing on the vast displacement literature; gender and development literature; resistance literature and feminist literature.

Discursively, by conducting a gender analysis of policy texts, research and interview material;

Empirically, by conducting research on the gendered impacts of displacement and relocation programmes as well as analysing the gendered strategies of resistance;

The focus was on two dams on the Narmada River, namely the Sardar Sarovar Project in Gujarat and the Maheshwar Project in Madhya Pradesh (see **Annex vi.** for project details). The research built on previous research and experience in the Narmada Valley, which I have been visiting since 1991 in various capacities. It had two phases: the first phase comprised fieldwork in the Narmada area. The second phase sought to consolidate knowledge on gender and displacement in India against the backdrop of the policy and political debates on displacement in India and elsewhere. Due to unavoidable circumstances, Bina Srinivasan could not be a co-researcher on this project as stated in the original proposal. The second phase was carried out together with Harsh Mander and Mohammed Asif of ActionAid, India.

Fieldwork in the Narmada Valley took place with the help of Anand Punja, a Sussex University graduate. I reconnected with adivasi (tribal) families I had known in the submerging villages of Gujarat in particular, Gadher, where I had conducted research in 1991. Many families had now relocated to the resettlement site of Malu where we stayed for several months. In addition, fieldwork was also conducted in Madhya Pradesh, both in the hill villages and in the plains of Nimar in the submergence zone of the SSP and Maheshwar projects. Nimar is the home to heterogeneous multi-caste communities where the disparities in ownership, occupation and wealth are much higher than in the hill adivasi villages. The methods used were participant observation, semi-structured interviews and as well as detailed surveys of changes in livelihoods, assets and access to resources in the key areas of study. In addition, participation and interviews with activists in protest rallies as well as more formal semi-structured interviews with policy makers, journalists and other NGO workers also helped generate insights.

The research draws on findings, observations and insights generated over a ten-year period. The impacts of displacement were studied through research in the resettlement sites of Malu and its neighbouring villages in central Gujarat. Since displacement had meant such a rupture to hitherto settled lives, we found that both coping with displacement as well as protesting against future displacement had made the affected women and men very mobile. Thus it was necessary to focus both on 'places' (ie a village or district) as well as to follow people. This meant tracking down families I had known in 1991 in the hill villages who were now scattered all over Gujarat. It also meant visiting key activist women and men in their homes and travelling with them to protest rallies. This entailed much travel over several hundred kilometres at a time on foot, by boat, truck and car across the Narmada Valley. This peripatetic approach in the course of fieldwork was necessary to cover both the wide range of actors as well as the vast geographical area in the submergence and resettlement area of the Narmada projects. While the research cannot claim to have detailed ethnographic data

for more than a couple of areas across such a socially, linguistically and geographically diverse area, the focus on both 'people' and 'places' helped track processes of change over time as well as capture the realities of a wide range of actors and situations.

There were ethical difficulties in writing analytically and critically about a protest movement that I have supported in the past. I started the research with the assumption that gender issues had not been awarded prominence in the strategies of the activists. This was revised in the course of the research once I learnt about the constraints and complexities that accompanied the focus on gender justice in mobilisation. While several middle class activists chose not to co-operate with me, a few did and the research was only possible thanks to their trust and openness. A few exceptions notwithstanding, project officials, especially around the SSP, were very un-cooperative, suspicious and not forthcoming in their views. Most officials had very little to say about gender issues. Thus my insights on the policy process are drawn from textual analyses of documents, from interview material from the early 1990s and from observations over the years. Pro-dam NGO workers were often rather suspicious but still granted interviews. I am awaiting comments from activists and other key informants which I will incorporate before I publish key findings.

III FINDINGS

Gender, Forced displacement and Social change

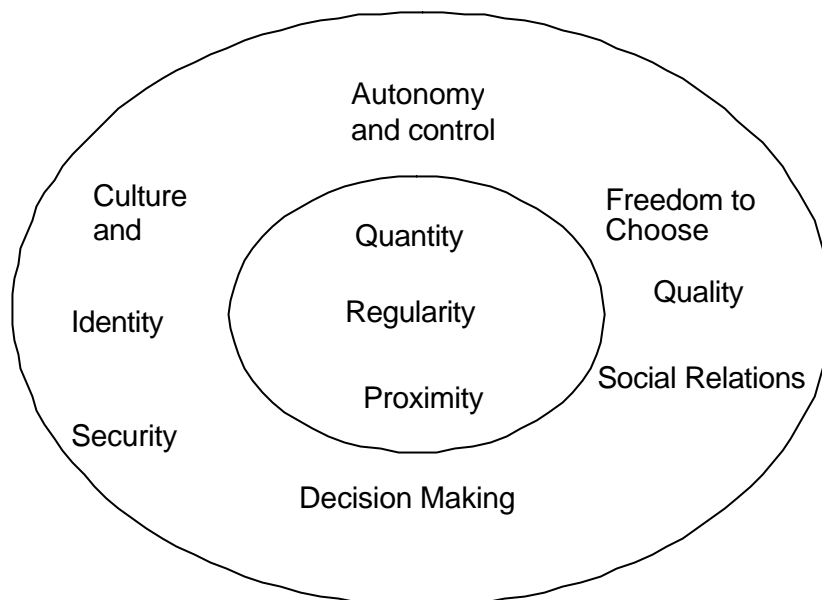
The findings suggest that displaced women are often caught in a double bind. On the one hand, male biases in society help perpetuate gender inequality in terms of unequal resource allocation and distribution and also legitimise the silencing of women's interests. On the other hand, biases within state institutions, structures and policies dealing with R and R help perpetuate and exacerbate these inequalities, even though resettlement programmes have the potential to create institutional structures that at least at the *de jure* level could help remedy past inequalities.

In many cases, state policies even corroded women's informal rights to resources. In the adivasi communities of Gujarat and Maharashtra, access to resources was fairly egalitarian with most households having almost equal access to land, forest and water resources (TISS 1992; Mehta 2000). While women did not have formal and independent titles to the land, they certainly often had independent use rights over land and forest resources. But the SSP compensation package did not allot independent titles to married women and they are not seen as co-owners of the newly allotted land. Single women, and women widowed before 1980 received no compensation whatsoever. The community was also not compensated for the loss of common property (i.e. forested lands, water bodies, grazing lands, burial grounds etc). This resulted in a significant deterioration in the standard of living, health and livelihood strategies of the oustees.

In the early 1990s I found that women were less articulate about their own loss and vulnerabilities and were happy to sacrifice their own interests for the sake of their families and sons. In 2000, however, after experiencing over ten years of impoverishment, not known before as well as encountering separation from kith and kin, their culture of silence had been broken and there was a heightened sense of gender injustice. Many women had also been cheated by their own menfolk. Some sons had grabbed the land of vulnerable widows. Women were totally dependent on their husbands for money, since they had lost their independent sources of income. But unlike men, they had fewer outlets to cope with vulnerability, insecurity etc. due to their restricted mobility. In Malu, alcohol consumption had increased, as have conflicts between families and within families. This is because the settlers now lived in a compact space by contrast to the spread out living arrangements in the forest village and the scramble for scarce resources was often intense.

The planning, implementation and execution of relocation and resettlement programmes in Gujarat and Maharashtra were full of urban and male biases. The programmes and policies were premised on the notion of a unitary and homogeneous household and the oustee was designated as a male householder, thus women were excluded from all compensation measures. They were not even involved in the selection of land and facilities around water, fuelwood and fodder were very poor. Displacement often took place with coercion and human rights violations, which both contravened women's sense of honour and also made them targets of police violence. Losses were deemed to be calculable and notions of wellbeing were conceived in material terms. Water, the core of displaced people's ill being, is a good case in point. Figure 1 highlights the multidimensional aspects of water and its relationship to displaced people's well being. The inner centre represents the more conventional and quantifiable way of evaluating well being such as physical needs deprivation due to private consumption shortfalls. When translated to water it was mean the emphasis on aspects such as regular provision and proximity. This is the view advanced by officials who felt that displaced women were better off due to the existence of standpoints near the house that reduce the 'drudgery' for women. Displaced women, by contrast, endorse a more subjective and multifaceted notion of wellbeing including physical, social, economic, political and psychological/ spiritual elements and, represented in the outer circle. Here autonomy, links with identity which the river endowed and the freedom to choose emerge as important. They also feel that the poor quality of the water has also led to an increase in mortality. The number of children dying in the 0 – 1 year group was double that of the host village. The findings suggest that if the well-being of displaced women and men is to be captured in a fair manner, it is necessary to go beyond consumption of traded goods or incomes. This is particularly true for non-monetised societies where natural resources, the consumption of non-monetary goods and services and the socio-cultural values placed upon them play a significant role in constituting wellbeing.

Figure 1: Displacement and Water/ Well-being



Source: Mehta and Punja Forthcoming

Creating gendered spaces within struggles

Resistance to displacement is largely a struggle for rights and against injustice (Oliver-Smith 2001). It seeks to question the legitimacy of the state to relocate people and even declare their livelihoods, struggles and priorities as 'illegal' and not worthy of just compensation. In India, the Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save the Narmada Movement, henceforth NBA) has addressed these issues as well as challenged the development paradigms upon which forced displacement programmes are premised.

However, can an issue-based struggle, committed to stop a dam, address wider questions of social and gender justice? The resisters are not a homogenous group but divided by gender, occupation, tribe, caste, wealth etc. and addressing the priorities of sub-groups could detract from the overall aim of stopping the dam. In the early 1990s, I observed that despite women's high participation in the movement and despite the strong leadership of middle class women, the interests of displaced women did not have a sharp focus in the strategies of the NBA. This was because it was strategic for the movement to focus on a unified representation of the affected community. Moreover this idealised representation provides a vocabulary with which to defend the rights and interests of the project-affected communities. In 2000, there was a different strategy on the part of some activists who were not only concerned with stopping the dam, but also were addressing issues such as agricultural and energy development and issues of caste and gender within the affected communities. While the mobilisation of women had always been a priority for middle class leaders, in the early years of the struggle it had not been done in a sustained way. It may have been because the overarching goal was largely centred on stopping the dam and due to the daily exigencies such as flooding, police actions etc. It may also have been due to the fear that the focus on differences within the movement could undermine the overall cohesion of the struggle. This may have explained why researchers such as Baviskar (1995) and Dwivedi (1997) found that the priorities of the landless in SSP Nimar were not adequately addressed. While my research presents a more nuanced picture, it is also true that this sub-group has been influenced by government efforts to accept cash compensation. Research on the Maheshwar struggle, however, revealed that there was a concerted effort to sustain women's participation in the movement and create strong leadership amongst them. The research suggests that there was a certain path-dependency in the trajectory of protest and that current strategies built on lessons from the past. The findings also demonstrate that an issue-based struggle may not be able to meet its final goals without a parallel commitment to questions of social justice within the affected area. Clearly, many contradictions still exist. Lower caste communities, even in Pathrad, the stronghold of protest in Maheshwar, feel that social solidarities experienced in protest rallies evaporate once back in the village. But it is also true that the social change brought about by protest has helped break down caste barriers in the submergence zone of Nimar more rapidly than would have otherwise been the case.

The findings suggest that the focus on emancipation as opposed to the mere welfare of displaced women is bound to encounter resistance both within local communities and in state institutions. In Maheshwar, the NBA has now created the Narmada Shakti Dal, a women's movement within the larger movement to stop the dam. This movement is slowly beginning to address gender inequalities in the project affected areas such as dowry, land rights and alcoholism. When the women decided to tackle the alcohol problem amongst their own men, they met with tremendous opposition since the taken-for-granted gendered ordering of everyday life was being challenged. But a key lesson emerging out of the research is that there is a need for civil society and agencies to be partisan towards women and their interests, even at the cost of initial conflict within the community. Indeed, many male rural activists within the NBA have gradually come to revise some of their traditional views of women's roles and responsibilities. They are also happy to lift some of the earlier restrictions imposed on women's mobility and articulation, though very few of them in reality

would want to change the existing gender division of labour within the household. To some extent, the changed perception has to do with the actual gains that they have accrued from women's active role in the struggle and from the role model provided by urban women activists.

Policy recommendations for agencies involved in displacement and resettlement programmes

1. Agencies involved in R and R activities should be committed to achieving gender equality in the project areas.
2. The notion of the project-affected-person needs to be gender-inclusive. Thus, interventions should be targeted at both women and men. With respect to resettlement this would mean that women and men should be co-beneficiaries of the compensation packages awarded to households. At times, independent rights may need to be awarded to married women. Single and widowed women must always receive individual compensation. Compensation should not merely focus on land. Instead, it should also include common property resources and livelihoods.
3. Developmental processes that infringe upon the human rights of any section of society are inimical to the long-term goals of development. Forced displacement cannot take place with the use of coercion and force. It is important to set up human rights monitoring institutions and ensure the protection of the human rights of the affected population. Special care should be taken to ensure that women are not subjected to any kind of violence and coercion. Displacement should not take place without adequate R and R.
4. Project planners and NGOs should not just interact with leaders and elites who are usually men. Instead, women's networks and interest groups should be given a priority in consultative processes involving the affected communities. If local male leaders resist the formation of women's groups, additional time and effort will have to be invested in dealing with on-the-ground gender biases and stereotypes.
5. Officials and civil society members should take into account the varied roles that women play in the domestic sphere and should be flexible enough to accommodate this in the consultation process. For example, if women are not able to attend village level meetings due to domestic or other chores, care should be taken to schedule meetings at their convenience. Policy should not merely pay lip service to gender representation at meetings; it should have mechanisms to ensure the full participation of women.
6. Care should be taken to minimise existing inequalities in gendered access to and control over resources. Under no circumstance, should R and R projects exacerbate existing gender inequalities. Project appraisal should be sensitive to, and take account of the gender division of labour in the household and community. It should include gender impacts on social practices like shared labour and the consequences of fragmentation of kinship support systems.
7. It is essential to generate detailed gender-specific data of affected communities in all project impact areas. There is an urgent need for detailed long-term studies investigating gender/displacement linkages. Risk mitigation and rights promotion can take place if data and knowledge exist. Similarly, the costs borne currently by women in the affected communities can be minimised if R and R policy is based on gender-specific empirical studies. Studies should be undertaken before displacement processes take place and should be part of the planning process itself. *Pari passu* gender studies would defeat the purpose of mitigating costs and enhancing benefits. Therefore, they should be ruled out.

8. Gender empowering goals should be built into policy. Women's land and water rights should be part of the discourse. Where existing national and international legal provisions militate against women's autonomy and control, they should be amended to rectify the damages caused to women.
9. Project planners need to be sensitive to local understandings of equity. Often ignorance of customary law and local use understandings of access to and control over resources can undermine the existing rights that women or indigenous people's have over resources, in particular in informal institutional arrangements.
10. Cost benefit analysis should not be used in decision-making processes or as tools for negotiations. This is because they fail to capture intangible social, cultural impacts. As such costs/benefit analysis mirror the interests of the powerful and mask the losses faced by constituencies that lack voice and political clout. Analyses should have a broader understanding of the multi-faceted nature of losses incurred by project- affected communities

Other conclusions:

From risks and impacts to rights

The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model, developed by World Bank sociologist Michael Cernea (Cernea 1997 and 2000), has been vital in showing how displacement risks evolve, when ignored, into processes of physical, social and economic exclusion, which results in a broad range of impoverishment risks. The IRR model highlights measures that need to be taken to diminish eight basic and recurrent impoverishment risks and reconstruct livelihoods. It also refers to the risks encountered by sub-groups within a community (such as the landless and women) who suffer specific losses that might not be predicted by policymakers and planners.. The model intends to redress the inequities of forced displacement and achieve resettlement based on the principle of equity. But the findings suggest that that the model does not adequately address how the elimination of risks for one group may increase the vulnerability and risks of another group. The IRR model may be very useful as a policy and planning tool since it draws attention to likely risks and adverse effects in different stages and areas of resettlement. But it still remains top-down and managerialist in character (Dwivedi 2002). Thus there is a need to focus on mechanisms whereby displaced people can provide their own definitions of loss, impoverishment and development in order to become respected stakeholders in the displacement and planning process. Furthermore, in order to address inequities (around say gender) within communities and achieve social justice, the IRR model may need to advocate explicit partisan interventions for vulnerable groups within displaced communities.

While rights-based approaches are espoused in development policy and practice, displacement and resettlement practice still focuses on impacts and risks. Judging from the international response to the World Commission on Dams (WCD) report, largely governments and donors still endorse a managerialist approach to displacement, as opposed to one that puts the priorities of displaced people and their rights upfront. Thus, there is a need to develop institutional mechanisms that will protect and strengthen the rights of displaced women and men, including the right to information, shelter, development and even the right to veto such projects.

The blurring of boundaries between voluntary and involuntary resettlement/ displacement in a globalised world

The research suggests that there is an urgent need to understand the impacts of policies promoting globalisation and privatisation on displacement and R&R and we need to augment our knowledge of the specific nature of these processes and impacts from a gender perspective. The Maheshwar research and other research presented at the workshop suggest that land acquisition may be on the increase due to liberalisation and privatisation but there is a marked lack of laws and policies that can hold private and non-state actors to account in the case of violations of policies, human rights standards and internationally and nationally recognised best practice.

The boundaries between what constituted 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' displacement are increasingly blurred in a globalised world where forced displacement and migration are likely to increase. The so-called voluntary displacement of urban migrants needs to be questioned in the face of globalisation and growing inequality (Conference paper by Amita Baviskar). As the WCD recommendations also suggest, the 'involuntary' nature of forced displacement can be reversed if resettlement processes are designed with in-built mechanisms that would provide communities the right to decide whether to move or not. This kind of 'voluntary' displacement based on prior and informed consent would need to be premised on transparent processes of deliberation and decision-making and would need a conducive policy and legal environment that would make hitherto losers emerge as beneficiaries of the development process. Special mechanisms would be required to ensure that women's priorities are not subsumed under wider 'community' or male interests.

Policy considerations for gender justice in R and R

One could argue that since forced displacement leads to new social relations and changes in the allocation and distribution of resources, potentially there is scope for inserting just and equitable patterns of resource allocation amongst women and men. These in turn could help undermine the cultural biases in a society that work against women. In this way, if designed sensitively R and R programmes could contribute to gender justice. For example, displaced people could be awarded land in the command area of irrigation schemes, with women endowed seen as co-beneficiaries or even endowed independent rights if necessary. This could certainly contribute to balancing out interests between the losers and winners of infrastructure projects that entail displacement.

Policies and programmes are not neutral or apolitical. The policy process is moulded by power relations at all stages (ie from formulation to implementation). The fact that India still lacks a national policy or law on R and R, despite over a decade of debate, lobbying and consultations with civil society demonstrates the highly politicized nature of displacement and resettlement processes in the country today. In such a context, the non-formulation of the policy and law is in itself suspect. There is therefore an urgent need for the government to adopt a people-oriented and gender just R and R law that has strong justiciable components. The draft policy/ bill also needs to be opened up to wide consultation. It is also telling that the revised World Bank's resettlement policy is remarkably gender-blind (for details see Dana Clark's draft conference paper).

Against this backdrop, is it an oxymoron to ask whether gender justice can be achieved in R and R policies and programmes? For justice is premised around notions of equity, rights and emancipation, issues not normally associated with forced displacement and R and R. In India, R and R programmes have failed to meet even the practical (read: material) needs of women. Can we expect them to address strategic interests that would challenge the gendered status quo and bring out significant changes in the way material and symbolic resources are distributed and conceived between men and women?

If R and R can ever be seen as a 'development opportunity' (Mathur and Marsden 1998), it will need radical reconceptualisation. Apart from the need for a greater focus on rights as discussed above, the focus on emancipation as opposed to the mere welfare of displaced women and men is important. Clearly, this is bound to encounter resistance both within local communities and in state institutions. Still the findings have demonstrated that seeds of change have been sown amongst displaced people in Gujarat who are now fighting for their rights and amongst many rural activists of the NBA. We can only hope that similar changes will be witnessed in the policy process around R and R and that gender-just outcomes will gradually emerge both in policy and practice.

IV DISSEMINATION

Research dissemination

Dissemination has involved a continuous process of sharing and reflection on research questions and findings by activists and social scientists as the research progressed. Several mechanisms facilitated this:

1. Review

To evaluate the research process, findings, and analysis, two methods are being used: peer review of written outputs of the research, and workshops. Most important was the reactions of key Narmada activists to the written outputs of the research. Written outputs have and will be circulated to key social scientists and project partners in India for review, correction, and critique. Finally, review by anonymous readers of published and to be published work, reactions of policy-makers to the findings, and review of the book proposal, have provided a means of evaluating the credibility and relevance of the findings. Papers especially commissioned for a major international workshop in Delhi enabled the project to draw on insights from other empirical experiences across the country as well as study systematically the policies of various agencies. Similarly, presentations at conferences provided occasion for independent scholarly reactions to the research, while discussions with Indian policy-makers provided the opportunity to obtain feedback from officials.

2. Papers

About sixteen published and working papers were produced in the course of the research and will be published in the near future (see **Annex ii.**).

3. Workshop

An international workshop 'Engendering Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policies in India' was organised in New Delhi by IDS and ActionAid, India. The workshop brought together more than 60 participants of national and international repute, including displaced people, academics, social activists, policy-makers, representatives from national and international non-governmental organisations and various donor agencies. There were a total of 19 paper presentations at the workshop and most papers were especially commissioned for the workshop (**see Annex iv.**). The workshop was the first attempt in India to advance academic and policy debates on gender and displacement as well as raise the need to focus on rights-based issues in displacement research and practice. The workshop report, programme and list of participants are appended.

4. Written outputs

Further outputs targeted at policy audiences include an article in *Insights* (December 2002), a short article in *Science and Public Affairs* (June 2002) and a workshop report in the *Economic and Political Weekly* (Forthcoming). Summary articles will also be prepared for policy/practitioner journals such as *Forced Migration*. A booklet was prepared in English and Hindi on gender and dams, which has been widely disseminated to local NGOs (**see Annex ii.**).

The principal outputs for communication with researchers in multiple disciplines (and a large intended student audience) are two books:

- *Gender, Displacement and Resistance in the Narmada Valley* (by Lyla Mehta), focusing on empirical research in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh
- *Settling for Less: Gender and the Politics of Displacement in India*, volume edited by Mehta based on papers from the International Workshop

Papers based on the research have also been – and will continue to be – published and presented at conferences, university seminars and invited lectures, assisting dissemination to a wider community of researchers both in India, the UK and internationally (**see annex iii.**)

Research findings have already been incorporated into training materials for postgraduates (e.g. MPhil Environment and Development course, IDS).

5. Impact on policy process and displacement debates

The Ministry of Rural Development as well as the National Human Rights Commission and National Commission on Women participated in the workshop. The NHRC and the NCW are interested in lobbying the Ministry to open up the consultation process around the draft bill on R and R and to include strong gender and justiciable components in future R and R policies and programmes.

ActionAid India and IDS also plan to hold a series of meetings with grassroots women's groups in India and other parts of Asia to plan how civil society can contribute to making resettlement programmes more gender just, for which separate funding will be sought.

V. Highlights

Displaced by development: Gender, rights and 'risks of impoverishment' (Published in Insights No. 44 December 02)

Forced displacement can lead to new social and economic benefits in some cases. Largely, however, it is a traumatic event that leads to a decline in the standard of living and a diminished sense of wellbeing for those displaced. How does current resettlement research deal with the problems of vulnerable groups in displacement processes?

Every year about ten million people across the globe are forcibly displaced due to infrastructure projects such as dams, mines and roads. The majority of displaced people are from poor and marginalised communities and among them, women are particularly vulnerable.

As recent research conducted by the Institute of Development Studies on gender and forced displacement indicates, several male biases underline the design and implementation of resettlement and rehabilitation policies and programmes. For instance, compensation is usually directed to men, and women are rarely involved in decision-making and implementation processes of resettlement schemes. Thus, resettlement programmes often make worse gender inequalities among displaced people.

The path-breaking Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model, developed by World Bank sociologist Michael Cernea, has been vital in showing how displacement risks, when ignored, evolve into processes of physical, social and economic exclusion, which results in a broad range of impoverishment risks. The IRR model refers to the risks encountered by sub-groups within a community (such as the landless and women) who suffer specific losses that might not be predicted by policy-makers and planners.

Consequently, they suffer a more severe impact.

Indeed, as research among displaced women and men of the Sardar Sarovar dam in India shows, women largely have rights and control over resources in customary law or informal arrangements. For example, in the forest villages along the banks of the Narmada River, women earned an independent source of income from the sale of minor forest produce. But in Gujarat, the resettlement programme neither grasped this loss nor compensated them for it. As a result, women's economic dependence on men increased upon resettlement.

The IRR model, by explicitly proposing eight risks, spells out how impoverishment occurs through displacement. More importantly, it highlights measures that need to be taken to diminish risks and reconstruct livelihoods. The model intends to redress the inequities of forced displacement and achieve resettlement based on the principle of equity. But the research findings suggest it does not go far enough in teasing out the dynamics of social differentiation among resettled populations, especially with respect to the reconstruction phase.

For example, it is argued that the risk of landlessness can be eliminated through land-based relocation schemes. But the elimination of risks for one group may increase the vulnerability and risks of another group. The resettlement package in Gujarat correctly endows major sons (over 18 years of age) with five acres of land. But major daughters receive nothing and married women face growing insecurity. Conflicts over land have also intensified, given the struggle for survival due to the poor quality of the land endowed and the absence of the forest and other common property resources to meet basic subsistence needs. Thus while sons may welcome being considered beneficiaries of the compensation package, many women bear greater risk.

Based on the research findings, it is recommended that:

- Agencies involved in resettlement activities need to be committed to gender justice in displacement and resettlement processes. Women and men should be considered

co-beneficiaries of compensation packages and at times independent rights may need to be awarded to some women.

- In order to address inequities within communities, the IRR model may need to advocate explicit partisan interventions for vulnerable groups within displaced communities. It may also need to develop mechanisms whereby displaced people can provide their own definitions of loss, impoverishment and development and become respected stakeholders in the displacement and planning process.
- Displacement research, policy and practice should not merely focus on the risks and impact of displacement. Instead there is a need to develop institutional mechanisms that will protect and strengthen the rights of displaced women and men, including the right to information, shelter, development and even the right to veto such projects.

References:

Mehta, L. (Forthcoming). Gender, Displacement and Resistance in the Narmada Valley.

Keywords:

Displacement, gender, risks of impoverishment, rights, Narmada, resettlement policies

Funder

ESCOR, DFID.

VI ANNEXES

- i. References
- ii. List of Outputs
- iii. Presentation of findings at seminars and conferences
- iv. Workshop report/ programme and participants list
- v. Book proposal
- vi. Background on the Narmada Project
- vii. Mehta, L. (2002) A Gender Analysis of Forced Displacement and Resettlement
- viii. Mehta L. and A. Punja (Forthcoming). Water and Wellbeing among the Displaced

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Annex ii - List of Outputs

Academic Papers (Published, Draft and Forthcoming Papers):

Mehta, L and A. Punja. (Forthcoming.) Water and Well-being. Explaining the Gap between Official and Displaced People's Perceptions of Water. Forthcoming in: Baviskar, A. The Cultural Politics of Water. OUP, Delhi. **(Copy Attached)**

Mehta, L. The Double Bind: A Gender Analysis of Forced Displacement and Resettlement. (Paper presented at Delhi conference to be re-worked to a journal article for World Development) **(Copy Attached)**

Mehta, L. Struggles within struggles: gender justice and protest against dams in the Narmada Valley (Draft paper will be sent to Economic and Political Weekly once I get feedback from the activists and discuss my findings with displaced women. An expanded version will be sent to Development and Change).

Mehta, L. Forthcoming. The Narmada project. *Encyclopedia of World Environmental History*.

Mehta, L. 2000. 'Women Facing Submergence: Displacement and Resistance in the Narmada,' in Damadoran Vinita and Maya Unnithan (eds). *Identities, Nation, Global Culture*. Manohar: New Delhi.

Books

- *Gender, Displacement and Resistance in the Narmada Valley* (monograph by Lyla Mehta), focusing on empirical research in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh
- *Settling for Less: Gender and the Politics of Displacement in India*, volume edited by Lyla Mehta based on papers from the International Workshop.

Policy relevant outputs

- 'The World Commission on Dams + eighteen months' (by Lyla Mehta) Science & Public Affairs June 2002. (available on request)
- 'Displaced by development: Gender, rights and 'risks of impoverishment'', Insights no. 44, December 2002 **(Copy Attached)**

Dissemination to grassroots groups

Booklet in Hindi and English disseminated to grassroots groups in India called 'Balancing Pains and Gains.' The booklet covered the gendered dimensions of dam-based-development and displacement in an accessible style for a non-academic audience.

Draft papers for edited volume on the politics of gender and displacement in India

Baviskar, A. 'Breaking homes, making cities: The politics of displacement in urban context'.

Bhai, V. 'The Tehri experience'.

Cheria, A. 'Displacement and rehabilitation institutions and practice in India'.

Clark, D 'Gender implications of the World Bank's revised resettlement policy'.

Dhagamwar, V 'Locating gender in industrial displacement'.

Fernandes, W. 'Displacement and deprivation of CPRs: Impact on women'.

Hiremath, SR. 'Land acquisition, rehabilitation and people'.

Kvam, R. 'Gender and safeguards in the World Bank: Current thinking'.

Mander, H. & Asif, M. 'Displacement, policy and law in India'.

Mathur, HM. 'Gender issues in resettlement planning'.

Mehta, L. 'The double bind: Gender, displacement and resettlement policies'.

Rebbapragada, R. 'The Samata judgement: Upholding the rights of Adivasi women'.

Saxena, NC. 'Wanted: A policy for resettlement and rehabilitation'.

Thukral, EG. 'Development, displacement and rehabilitation: Focus on children's rights'.

Annex iii - Presentations and conferences

10-11 August 2000, 'Water Scarcity and Gender.' Poverty, Gender and Water in South Asia, hosted by the International Water Management Institute with the Gujarat Institute of Development Research and the Ford Foundation, Ahmedabad, India.

27 – 30 November: ' The Production of Scarcity in Gujarat: Dams and Displacement.' International Conference on Sustainable Development of Water Resources. New Delhi.

February 2001: ' The social dimensions of resettlement.' Meeting to evaluate the World Commission on Dams Report, hosted by the British Dam Society and DFID, UK.

2-3 March 2001, Changing Water Worlds: Official and Displaced People's Perceptions of the Water/ Well-being Nexus in Gujarat.' The Cultural Politics of Water, hosted by the Department of Sociology, University of Delhi.

May 2001 – The Anti-Dam Movement and the Struggle for Justice. Paper presented at the conference, Globalisation and its discontents, hosted by the University of Brighton.

May 2002 – Gendered spaces within struggles. Seminar at IDS as part of the seminar series 'Protest and the Pursuit of Alternatives.

September 2002: A Gender Analysis of Forced Displacement and Resettlement. Seminar presented at the workshop 'Engendering Resettlement Policies and Programmes in India', hosted by ActionAid India and IDS, New Delhi.

Annex iv - Workshop

Workshop Programme

Workshop on Engendering Resettlement Policies and Programmes in India.
India International Centre, New Delhi, 12-13 September 2002 - Programme Details

Day One, 12th September, 2002, Thursday

Time	Chair	Theme	Presenter
Inaugural Session			
09:00 - 09:30	S. Parasuraman	<u>Coffee and Registration</u>	
09:30 - 9:50		Introduction and Workshop Objectives	S Parasuraman & Lyla Mehta
9:50 - 10:05		Wanted: A Policy for Resettlement and Rehabilitation	NC Saxena
10:05 - 10:15		Gender Issues and R&R Policies	PS Rana
10:15 - 10:30		Displacement, Policy and Law in India	Harsh Mander & Md. Asif
10:30 - 10:45		Discussion	
10:45 - 11:00		Tea/Coffee Break	
Perspectives on Gender, Displacement and Resettlement Policies			
11:00 - 11:15	Sara Ahmed	The Double Bind: Gender, Displacement and Resettlement Policies	Lyla Mehta
11:15 - 11:30		Gender Issues in Resettlement Planning	HM Mathur
11:30 - 11:45		Gender Justice, People's Struggles and the State	Chittaroopa Palit (Silvy)
11:45 - 12:00		Discussant	Sara Ahmed
12:00 - 1:00		Discussion	
1:00 - 2:00		<u>Lunch Break</u>	
Dynamics of Displacement			
2:00 - 2:15	Jean Dreze	Displacement and Deprivation of CPRs: Impact on Women	Walter Fernandes
2:15 - 2:30		Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: Focus on Children's Rights	Enakshi G. Thukral
2:30 - 2:45		Social Impacts of Large Dams	Shekhar Singh
2:45 - 3:00		Discussant	Jean Dreze
3:00 - 3:30		Discussion	
3:30 - 4:00		Tea/Coffee	
Experiences of Displaced Women and Men			
4:00 - 4:15	Alex Ekka	The Samata Judgement: Upholding the Rights of Adivasi Women	Ravi Rebbapragada
4:15 - 4:30		The Tehri Experience	Vimal Bhai
4:30 - 4:45		The Madhya Pradesh Experience	Ramkunwar and Mangat
4:45 - 5:30		Discussion	

Pre-Dinner

6.30 - 7.30	<u>Film Show on Displacement and Resettlement</u>
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7.30 PM: Dinner for all participants

Day Two, 13th September, 2002, Friday

Time	Chairperson	Theme	Presenter
Emerging concerns in displacement and resettlement			
9.00 – 9.15	Vijay Paranjpye	Implications of Private Sector Involvement on Displacement and R&R Policies	Smitu Kothari
9.15 – 9.30		Locating Gender in Industrial Displacement	Vasudha Dhagamwar
9.30 – 9.45		Breaking Homes, Making Cities: The Politics of Displacement in Urban Context	Amita Baviskar
9.45 – 10.00		Discussant	Vijay Paranjpye
10.00 – 10.30		Discussion	
10.30 – 10.45		Tea/Coffee Break	
Resettlement and Rehabilitation: The Institutional Context			
10:45 – 11.00	Shiv Vishwanathan	Displacement and Rehabilitation Institutions and Practice in India	Anita Cheria
11.00 – 11.15		Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and People	S R Hiremath
11.15 - 11.30		Gender, Resettlement and the Indian Legal System	Usha Ramanathan
11.30 - 11.45		Discussant	Shiv Vishwanathan
11.45 – 1.00		Discussion	
1.00 - 2.00		<u>Lunch</u>	
The International Context			
2.00 - 2.15	Nandini Sundar	Gender and Safeguards in the World Bank: Current Thinking	Reider Kvam
		Gender Implications of the World Bank's Revised Resettlement Policy	Dana Clark
2.15 - 2.30		Towards a Rights-based, Gender and Socially Just Decision-making Process for R&R in India: Lessons from the WCD	S Parasuraman
2.30 – 2.45		Discussant	Nandini Sundar
2.45 – 3.15		Discussion	
3.15 – 3.30		Tea/Coffee	
Ways Forward: Reflections and Commentaries			
3.30 – 4.30	Mahesh Rangarajan	Future Strategies for Planning and Implementation: 1. Rewa Nayar (NCW) 2. Arjan de Haan (DFID) 3. Miloon Kothari (UNHR) 4. Sudha Shrotria (NHRC) with Contributions from the Floor	
4:30 - 5:00		Wrap Up and Plan of Action	Harsh Mander, Lyla Mehta, and Md. Asif

Special Session

5:30 - 6: 30	Panel Discussion “ Before it is too Late: Resettlement and Rehabilitation of Communal Riot Victims’ Panelists: Harsh Mander; Ghanshyam Shah; Urvashi Butalia and NC Saxena
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Workshop Report

ENGENDERING RESETTLEMENT AND REHABILITATION POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN INDIA

Report of the workshop held at the India International Centre on September 12 and 13, 2002 organised by the Institute of Development Studies and ActionAid, India with support from DFID

1. Introduction and background

Annually, the lives and livelihoods of nearly ten million people across the globe are affected by forced displacement due to infrastructure projects such as irrigation schemes, mines, industries, power plants and roads. Millions of others voluntarily leave their place of residence in search of new livelihoods, or to protect themselves from civil or military conflict. Enough indications are available to show that both forms of displacement are likely to increase in subsequent years. Studies show that the majority of displaced people belong to poor and marginalised communities and within them women and children experience special vulnerabilities. The two-day national workshop was located within this context.

Hosted at the India International Centre, New Delhi on 12-13th September 2002, the workshop brought together more than 60 participants of national and international repute, including displaced people, academics, social activists, policy-makers, representatives from national and international non-governmental organisations and various donor agencies. Given that resettlement policies and practices often suffer from gender bias and are generally gender blind the workshop sought to:

- (a) highlight conceptual links between gender and displacement and inform how resettlement programmes often can fail due to their neglect of gender concerns;
- (b) identify and understand why gender blindness and insensitivity's persist in policies and programmes; and
- (c) Elaborate how gender can concretely be incorporated into the plans and activities of different state and policy actors in the course of resettlement programmes.

There were a total of 19 paper presentations at the workshop. The presentations were arranged in 7 thematic discussion areas. The concluding session included commentaries on future action and strategies.

The workshop was rooted in the conviction that projects entailing forced displacement must necessarily be avoided as far as possible and development models that legitimize forced displacement must be questioned. In the first instance, non-displacing alternatives must be explored. When displacement is absolutely unavoidable, resettlement schemes must actively incorporate gender and social justice concerns at every stage, from decision-making to implementation processes. The papers and discussions were extremely rich and stimulating. A series of outputs and follow up action are being planned. This brief report draws attention to some of the key points pursued in the presentations and discussion.

2. Summary of the Discussions

Workshop discussions highlighted that enough data and evidence are available to confirm that law, policies and practice as well as the discourses around forced displacement and resettlement suffer from an intrinsic gender bias. The exclusion of women from consultation and decision making processes prior to displacement and from compensation and rehabilitation packages is a matter of serious concern, and the workshop made a modest

attempt to understand and address these issues through an in-depth analysis of laws, policies and practice. There was also a collective attempt to strategise on policy influencing and advocacy for gender and social justice.

The workshop participants agreed that as far as possible displacement should be avoided, since experiences from the past decades have shown that rebuilding the lives of displaced people is extremely difficult. Nevertheless, the participants agreed that there is an urgent imperative to resettle those who have already been displaced and to protect the rights of those who may be displaced in some situations where displacement is inevitable. Thus a pro-people and gender just national R&R regime is required. Some participants felt that rather than a R&R policy, a law was more appropriate as it makes it easier for displaced people to approach the judicial system for justice. In this context, reference was made to the draft National R&R policy of 1998 prepared by the then Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) which was the first state-led attempt in this direction. Also there was a general concern at the non-transparent manner in which the MoRD was amending the current draft policy.

The workshop discussed gender concerns at two levels. Aware of the differential impact of displacement on women and men, participants described the special needs of displaced women and suggested ways of addressing them through changes in legal and policy instruments. At the second level, reference was made to larger issues of rights of displaced women and gender justice. Given the absence of consensus between the state, corporate interests and civil society on the rights of displaced people, let alone displaced women, the discussions on the latter was largely generic, attempting to critically examine issues, such as eminent domain, public purpose, land rights, gender justice, and illegalisation.

Using empirical evidence, some of the papers showed how the absence of state policy for gender justice in displacement impacts women. Because of access to CPRs, rural women, especially from Adivasi communities, often have an independent livelihood source, which is neither grasped nor compensated for by the authorities. Furthermore, R&R regimes have provisions for livelihood replacement only for the man and not for the woman. This negation of the woman's contribution to the household income by the state and project authorities has led to thousands of women being forced into relationships of dependence on male members. Gender biases are also reflected in amenities provided at resettlement sites. Most resettlement sites are found to be lacking in sanitation, privacy, and access, facilities that have a direct bearing on the welfare of women and children. Similarly, the workshop also raised the issue of the need to focus on the rights of children in displacement and resettlement, given the near invisibility of children's needs and concerns in displacement debates

In India, women enjoy a number of informal rights, though they may not have formal land titles. These rights are yet to be recognised by the existing displacement and R&R regimes. The participants therefore called for integrating customary notions of rights and equity. Towards this end information, data, and gendered analysis have to be made available by the state along with a comprehensive understanding of women's experiences of displacement and resettlement and their role in struggles against displacement. Concern over the absence of a methodology that could integrate gender analysis along with the crosscutting issues of caste, tribal rights, and poverty and power relations in society was also expressed and debated.

The New Economic policy of 1991 institutionalised the processes of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation in India. These processes have a direct bearing on development and on the acquisition of land for 'development' purposes. One of the thematic sections of the workshop examined their fallout on displacement and resettlement and the problems associated with private sector development. The discussions eventually got

extended into the concerns of growing urbanisation and problems of slum dwellers and industrial workers who lacked the same support awarded to dam displacees. This raised questions concerning contested notions of illegality and illegitimacy and how they are misconstrued by the state.

On the positive side it was suggested that through movements against displacement and for R&R, various issues like the right to livelihood, the right to adequate housing, the right to education as well as customary rights of communities over CPRs have come to be recognised. Various presentations also focussed on the vital role of women in struggles against displacement. While it may be difficult to mobilise women initially, their grasp of the problem of displacement and their contribution to struggles is immense. Therefore, there is a need for movements and civil society to create space in struggles for women's strategies and priorities to be articulated and addressed. Several contemporary human right standards exist that can help engender policies and programmes, resettlement institutions, their role and responsibilities. The right to information is recognised in principle and there are relevant legal provisions to this effect. India is a signatory to various international human rights instruments that protect women's rights to housing, livelihood, etc. They can be used to safeguard the rights of displaced women and as mobilisation tools in struggles.

The workshop also examined the issue of displacement in the international context. The recent World Bank guidelines on projects involving displacement also called OP 4.12, which came into effect from December 2001, was examined using a gender lens. The presentation by the World Bank representative presented a four-pronged gender strategy namely (1) Integration of gender dimension into analytical work and lending instruments; (2) Incorporation of gender issues into operations; (3) Resources and accountabilities need to be in tune with the elements of the strategy; and (4) Effective monitoring and evaluation. The assertion that resources should be redeployed to support gender analysis and mainstreaming, staffing and establishing cleaner accountabilities was similarly contradicted as being mere rhetoric and are not actually practiced by the Bank on the ground. In so far as involuntary resettlement is concerned the discussions underlined the existing lacuna between the Bank's policies and practices.

The final session addressed strategies for planning and implementation and suggested ways in which the rights of displaced women and men could be addressed and strengthened.

3. Presentations and Discussion by Thematic Session

Inaugural Session: Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policies in India

The presentation by N C Saxena emphasised on the need for a National resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) policy in India and outlined some of the key features of the draft "*National Policy, Packages and Guidelines for Resettlement & Rehabilitation 1998*" of the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD). In the draft national policy the "family" includes every adult member, his (her) spouse, along with minor children. A single adult would be treated as half a family, thus eliminating some of the biases inherent in existing R&R policies. Its primary objectives were to ensure minimum displacement, help resettled people enjoy a better standard of life than before displacement and finally, enable displaced people to enjoy benefits on the same scale as the beneficiaries of the developmental project. The draft policy treated as owners of land for the purpose of R&R, those people residing for more than 5 years before the date of acquisition, who are otherwise termed as "encroachers" on common land. Similarly, forest dwellers residing in forest areas prior to September 30, 1980 shall be considered as the owners. Also, provisions for compensation were made for non-owners, such as tenants, sharecroppers, etc. Other significant features of the draft policy were, community consultation for R&R package, open public hearings, publishing of the R&R plan, fixing of R&R cost at 10 percent of project cost and linking compensation with gross

productivity.

P S Rana, Additional Secretary in the MoRD and the nodal person in the government for R&R issues, argued that R&R policies should have both short-term and long-term components. He suggested one off compensations as well as facilitating frameworks for the support of displaced people twenty years down the line. It emerged from his presentation that the government was planning to promulgate a national law on R&R. On the critical issue of “land for land” as the basis for R&R, he argued that shortage of land in the adjacent regions prevents projects and the state from having it as an option. He suggested that cash compensation should be encouraged so that displaced people are able to purchase land wherever possible. Also, he emphasised on the need for fast track grievance redressal to avoid project delays due to land acquisition litigations.

Since the fate of millions of Indians hinged on the national R&R regime, subsequent discussions underlined the need for a public debate and discussion on the proposed Bill. Saxena, who had organised several public consultations while preparing the 1998 draft policy, when he was the Secretary in MoRD, endorsed these calls. The discussions also stressed on the need to strengthen the rights of the so-called “encroachers” whom Rana controversially labelled ‘encroachers.’ Mr Rana agreed to explore the possibilities of the finalised Bill being thrown open to the public, displaced people and their movements for discussion.

Perspectives on Gender, Displacement and Resettlement Policies

All three papers drew on experiences in the Narmada Valley and elsewhere to present how women’s interests are systematically ignored in resettlement processes because transactions are invariably undertaken with male members. Consequently, compensation packages ignore women and women’s needs around water, fuel, and fodder. Women also suffer because of severance of links with their parental homes and the neglect of socio-cultural links with common property. The negation of the woman’s contribution to the household income by the state and project authorities often results in woman being pushed into relationships of dependence. Such dependence on the man contributes to their further marginalisation. Gender biases are also reflected in amenities provided at resettlement sites. Most resettlement sites have been found lacking on sanitation, privacy, and access to facilities that have a direct bearing on the welfare of women.

The presentation by Lyla Mehta referred to the “double bind” that entraps displaced women. On one hand, male biases in society help perpetuate gender inequality in terms of unequal resource allocation and distribution and also legitimise silencing of women’s interests. On the other hand, biases within state institutions, structures and policies dealing with displacement and R&R help perpetuate and exacerbate these inequalities. The paper argued that a gender analysis of current practice in resettlement calls for a re-examination of several key concepts around which displacement processes and resettlement programmes are premised, including the notion of the oustee, family and the nature of loss. Women’s rights, assets and spheres of control often centre around informal institutional arrangements which are rarely captured in and understood by policy makers and risk being undermined in the course of resettlement. The paper also conducted a gender analysis of the widely applied Risks and Reconstruction model of World Bank sociologist Michael Cernea. While the model acknowledges that women may risk more than men, the paper demonstrated that the model fails to recognise how mitigating the risks of some, could increase the vulnerability of other weaker and more marginalised groups such as women, especially in the reconstruction phase. Lyla recommended that to strengthen gender justice in R&R policies and programmes, the state and civil society should uphold the rights of displaced people and not merely be influenced by notions of welfare or charity.

Taking forward Lyla's argument, Chitroopa Palit (Silvy) from the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) particularised the main issues around gender, displacement and R&R. She discussed some of the experiences of displacement specific to women and elaborated on women's role in struggles against displacement. Changes are gradually taking place, not least due to the "imagination" of displaced women to anticipate, perhaps more than men, the adverse impacts of displacement. Today more than ever before women are actively engaged in struggles resisting displacement. Acknowledging that it is often more difficult to mobilise women, Silvy argued, that only by creating gendered spaces within people's struggles will it be possible to strengthen such movements and facilitate the shift from issue-based struggles to those that address emancipatory gender politics. In this context, Silvy urged that women's liberation groups should establish contact with those women who are participating in struggles against displacement. She maintained that gender bias in resettlement is often manifested through non-recognition of women's ownership of land. For example, in Sardar Sarovar project, women with land titles (*patta*) were not given land for land. Finally, she held that privatization and globalisation not just militate against people's sovereignty but also promote a development model that increases displacement. Hence they have to be questioned. Here, one should not confine the discourse to reforms within the World Bank and Asian Development Bank, but instead struggle and evolve methods and strategies by which civil society can stand up against such a model of development exacerbated today by the processes of privatisation and globalisation.

HM Mathur's paper elaborated on the gender issues in resettlement planning and observed that projects have absolutely no gender related data. He emphasised the importance of communication and consultation with not only men but also women. Mathur also mentioned that the lack of gender sensitive officials in planning and implementation contributed to gender biases. A process of continuous monitoring and evaluation might keep the resettlement plan on track and also promote gender sensitivity in the planning and implementation. The paper also explained the attempts by some donor agencies like the Asian Development Bank and World Bank to integrate gender concerns in their respective resettlement programmes. For example, in the ADB, there is a gender specialist on the planning team and a gender checklist has been prepared to be used as a companion to the Handbook on Resettlement. The NTPC has also taken some gender sensitive steps and instead of handing the entire compensation amount to the husband, it has started putting the amount in a joint account of both husband and wife. However, Mathur cautioned, that as long as gender discrimination in the society at large continues, specific policies would not be able to transform the overall condition and level of opportunities for women.

However, as discussant Sarah Ahmed warned, gender should not merely be an "add on" issue on an existing checklist. The discussion focussed on the need to develop methodologies that could integrate gender analysis with issues of caste, tribal rights, poverty and power issues in both pre-displacement and post-displacement settings as well as capture intangible issues such as the socio-cultural costs of displacement which affect women the most.

Dynamics of Displacement

This session explored the issues of deprivation and denial emanating from forced displacement by focussing on the loss of CRPs for women, children's rights and the social impacts of large dams. Walter Fernandes explained the impact of loss of people's access to common property resources (CPR) because of displacement. According to him CPRs should not be seen only as material assets. They constitute the livelihood of people, particularly poor people. He stated that most dalit and tribal people are dependent on the CPRs and attempts to take away CPRs often have severe adverse impacts. Displacement involves a change from community ownership to individual ownership. He opined that such transformations often results in changes in the socio-economic position of women. The

gender bias in R&R programmes is clearly evident in NALCO resettlement. More than 80 percent of the displaced families were given a job in the project. But then only 7 women got jobs. He concluded by stating that caste, class and gender should not be looked in isolation but should form a part of an integrated analysis.

Shekhar Singh's presentation focussed on the social impacts of large dams. Presenting the key findings from the World Commission on Dams (WCD), he lamented that even in the WCD process gendered data was not collected. Based on the data from the WCD process he concluded that almost all institutions that have evolved around displacement have been designed with total disregard for gender justice. For example, irrigation projects released water only at night. And this often made it difficult for women to access the benefits of irrigation schemes. So even if women get land from the project they eventually end up selling it off to male members of society. Apart from loss of economic independence, women also suffer from loss of physical insecurity in the changed environment. The loss of religious and heritage sites also impact negatively on women. Shekhar also emphasised on the need for class benefit analysis, rather than cost benefit analysis in project planning.

Enakshi Ganguly Thukral paper was presented by Bharti Ali, one of her colleagues. Her paper discussed the adverse impacts of displacement on children and stated that it has by far been one of the neglected areas of social research. Displacement affects the child in terms of his or her education and health. During the transition process, often there is no school for children and when the family is finally relocated, there is no guarantee of a school at the resettlement site. Also, the health of children is severely affected because of the absence of health care facilities post-displacement. Children who depend on forest produce for their nutrition are deprived of it after displacement. This results in increased morbidity and mortality among children of displaced families, particularly in tribal communities. One of the ways in which such adverse impacts can be minimised is by making children's rights a part of the general discourse of displacement. There should also be mechanisms to prepare the child psychologically for resettlement. In Tehri, the children took out their own protest against their displacement. Their struggles need to be documented.

Jean Dreze, the discussant pointed out that displacement so far has been a history of failures. The total lack of transparency, the blockages in the passage of information from the project authority to the displaced community, the anti people attitude of the authorities - all lead to a failed R&R process. He suggested that displacement should essentially be made voluntary. This implied that communities should have the right to decide whether to move or not. This would invariably give them bargaining power and also compel the project authorities to evolve better policies to induce people to leave their habitat.

Several issues surfaced during the course of the open discussion during the session. Shekhar Singh suggested that the main problem with the notion of voluntary displacement was that even if one family in the community refuses to move, while all others accept the R&R package, then the project would have to be stalled. Dreze responded by clarifying that his vision was of a kind of collective bargaining by the community as a whole and not by individuals. There was of course the need that women were sufficiently empowered to veto what their menfolk wanted. A suggestion was made to have more public hearings at the community level to raise consciousness against forced displacement. Another key concern expressed was on how to cost non-material resources. Participants agreed that this required an alternative to the dominant economic model, which only takes into account the material resources. The session concluded with Jean Dreze stating that justiciability should not be seen as the basis for safeguarding people's rights. There are several ways and means in a democracy through which the state can be made accountable.

Experiences of Displaced Women and Men

The section drew the workshop's attention to the issues and concerns of three different groups of displaced people and their respective struggles. The presentations detailed the developments in Schedule V areas of Andhra Pradesh in the aftermath of the Samatha Judgement, and the struggles of people against the Tehri and Narmada dam projects.

Ravi Rebbapragada drew attention to the rights of the tribal people threatened with displacement. Contrary to Schedule V aspirations, most tribal communities face displacement either through land alienation or forced migration. It was the struggle of tribal communities and civil society organisations against mine displacement in AP that eventually led to the pronouncement of the Samatha Judgement. It mandated that tribal lands in scheduled areas cannot be leased out to non-tribals for mineral exploitation. This was a major victory for the tribal people in their struggle against forced displacement as it made it impossible for the state to lease out land to mining corporations. Ravi however warned that the state is trying its best to bring in a legislation that can offset the gains to tribal people because of the judgement. Focussing on the gender dimension, Ravi emphasised that with regard to land, women have no legal rights over lands or natural resources. Whenever tribal villages have been displaced or affected, women have been forced out of their land based work and pushed into menial and marginalised labour. In mines particularly, women are engaged in loading and scavenging and suffer extreme health conditions. For example, in Jadugoda uranium mines in Jharkhand the worst affected people are tribal women and children.

Vimal Bhai narrated his personal experiences of the controversial Tehri dam project. More than 125 villages with a population of 80,000 will be displaced by the project. The people's resistance against the dam started in 1978 and continues even today. He stated that, women and children have been at the forefront of the struggle and have often stopped work at the dam site. The state has been very ruthless with the demonstrators and has crushed protest with a heavy hand. Still it has not succeeded in breaking people's resolve. In Tehri, gender is a major concern since most of the displaced are women and children. Men migrate to the plains in search of livelihood leaving the women and children behind.

Ramkunwar of Madhya Pradesh narrated her own experiences and of many other girls and women from Khedi village in the Dhar district of Madhya Pradesh. Today her village lies submerged under the reservoir, but the struggle for satisfactory rehabilitation by the villagers continues. Their struggle started long before the dam work started. She and other young women fought valiantly against police repression. Once they went to Bhopal the State headquarters only to find on their return that their village school building had been bulldozed. They immediately returned to Bhopal to submit a petition to the Chief Minister who took 29 days to respond with fake promises. A few days later a police contingent of 500 men and only 3 women came to their village and forced them to leave their land. Many women were physically assaulted. The women's group in the village has now appealed to the National Bank for Agricultural Reconstruction and Development (NABARD) to help them use the compensation money to buy land for the villagers. They are ready to fight for their rights. They derive inspiration for their struggle from the examples set by the struggling women in other displacement situations.

Alex Ekka, the discussant, felicitated the activists for their courage and conviction. He remarked that the presentations in this session were different because they gave insights into the actual process of displacement as narrated in first person. The discussion once again highlighted the need to do away with the mainstream notions of the economic criterion i.e., cost benefit analysis as the determining factor. Vijay Paranjpye stressed that 'public interest' should be considered as a guiding force in the discourse on development. But 'public interest' should move away from being framed around the economic gain of a powerful elite. Instead, it needs to be analysed around whether the projects have led to an

overall decline in the poverty line and an increase in wellbeing. Also it was suggested that these scattered struggles against displacement should be integrated into broader struggles for social and political change. Since the victims of social and economic injustice are invariably dalit people, tribal people and women, there is a need to broaden the scope of their struggles beyond specific projects and evolve a national struggle for justice and equity.

Emerging Concerns in Displacement and Resettlement

It is widely believed that the processes of globalisation and privatisation will hasten the pace of displacement. The presentations in this section attempted to capture the ongoing debate on the fallout of a shrinking state and an expanding private sector. Using experiences from Rihand, Korba and Delhi, the papers and the ensuing discussions revealed that the privatisation of the commons, genetic and biological resources are going to adversely impact the social and economic well being of people. Also, the issue of legality and illegality particularly in the urban context were highlighted.

Smitu Kothari's started on an ominous note presenting a broad overview of designed changes like industrialisation, urbanisation and globalisation and their possible effects on local communities, particularly their environmental and cultural impacts. The extent of marginalisation, vulnerability, and insecurity is much higher than the immediate impact. He cited the example of Rihand dam project in Uttar Pradesh to show a whole range of processes unleashed which include not only the public sector, but also the private sector and whose cumulative impact on development has not been systematically documented. Smitu also expressed concern at the invisibility of women in various negotiations taking place in society. Women are always denied information on specific projects and their components and therefore they are unable to make informed choices. Concern was also expressed at the new trend where direct acquisition of land is taking place by the private sector. He cited cases of direct negotiations by private sector with panchayats, gram sabha and families, which often leads to conflicts within families and communities. These scenarios are unfolding against the backdrop of non-existent international and state laws and policies around the private sector and displacement.

Vasudha Dhagamwar's paper explored gender issues in an industrial context. Using data from a larger study on the impact of industrial development in Korba, Madhya Pradesh, she discussed issues of information among displaced women, their knowledge about displacement and rehabilitation, their roles in decision-making, employment opportunities offered and specific problems faced. The invisibility of gender in displacement and R&R emerged as a key conclusion and a serious concern. Women are subsumed within the family and are ignored for rehabilitation purposes. Since women were not landholders, they were not invited to meetings on land acquisition. Neither do the male members of the family tell them what transpired at such meetings. Vasudha's data found that the number of women engaged as cultivators and agricultural labour had declined after displacement. On the other hand, there was a rise in off-land employment like contract labour and domestic help. Surprisingly, before and after displacement the working population of women remained constant. The increased distance between the woman's natal home and her marriage home due to displacement takes away the emotional support available to married women.

Amita Baviskar examined the involuntary nature of displacement, particularly in the urban context. She uses the case study of Delhi where people have been displaced, not just once but several times, propelled by bourgeoisie environmentalism. The desire for clean air and green Delhi has resulted in the closure of thousands of polluting units and slum relocation, affecting the lives of millions of people. She estimated that nearly 3-4 million people have been displaced in Delhi alone and in totalitarian silence. There is little social concern and mobilisation by the civil society for such expansive displacement and issues like R&R policy, right to livelihood, right to housing, etc. are hardly recognised. It is easier to mobilise public support and hence struggle against development projects that offer easy identification of the

displacing agency. However in urban displacement it is extremely difficult to identify the displacer and hence there has been no struggle. Further, urban displacement is often cloaked in constructs of illegality. The slum dwellers are illegal people hence they do not have a right to question their own displacement. Tribal people in forests or those displaced from rural areas invite public sympathy but dispossessed urban migrants get stigmatized. Displacement for women brings emotional stress. Men migrate and women are left behind to look after the home and children. Control of women's sexuality becomes a serious issue. If women migrate, they work as domestic workers, daily wage earners, etc. Their additional income is extremely important for the family since it is often used to finance their children's education and health. They suffer great hardships in urban slums with regard to sanitation and privacy. The paper also analysed changing gender relations within the household.

Vijay Paranjpye, the discussant further detailed the notions of "illegality" and illegitimacy". It is the anonymity in urban areas that sustains notions of illegitimacy. Also, denial of information, options and anonymity for women is greater here than in rural areas. Walter Fernandes said that since women have been traditionally the users of CPRs the concept of labour needs to be looked at more critically. Lyla drew attention to the need to develop mechanisms to make the private sector accountable and asserted that there is a need to develop methodologies that will explore gender relations before and after displacement in a systematic way. Vasudha Dhagamwar in post-workshop discussions cautioned participants not to overly romanticise pre-displacement situations, which may not have been able to sustain the lives of women and men in the long run.

Resettlement and Rehabilitation: The Institutional Context

Changes in policies and laws do not make much sense unless effective institutions are in place to deliver the goods. Therefore the discussions in this section aimed at elaborating upon the possible framework(s) for people's institutions that could manage and superintend development, displacement and R&R. Issues of human rights, good governance, participation, people-centered and decentralised development dominated the discussions.

Anita Cheria highlighted contemporary human right standards in the context of displacement and rehabilitation and used them to develop an institutional framework. She stated that often, sound policies and programmes fail to deliver intended results because of tardy implementation. Quoting the Narmada R&R rulings she said that if properly implemented they would have given good results but it was not done. Projects get rationalised in terms of cost benefit analysis. Their entire focus is on the monetised economy. But the most vulnerable among the displaced people, namely women, dalit and tribal people, often do not constitute a part of the monetised economy. Further, projects are not equipped to exactly measure what people had before the project and are biased against the poor people.

S. R. Hiremath discussed the "Land Acquisition Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2000" prepared by The National Committee for the Protection of Natural Resources. It is the first attempt to combine land acquisition and R&R into one policy framework. Based on the principle of trusteeship it addresses gender as an overarching concern. The term "project affected person" has been replaced by "partially displaced persons and other affected persons deprived of their sources of livelihood as a result of acquisition". The bill also mandates consultation with community, grassroots groups and the Gram Sabha. It understands gender to include status, power, rights and inheritance as well as socio-historical processes namely patriarchy, discrimination, equality and division of labour.

Usha Ramanathan's presentation rested on the premise that displacement and not rehabilitation is the main issue. She concluded that because of the focus on resettlement, the state is able to displace people with impunity. Discussing gender she agreed that women do not find place in any change related planning. Also there exist notions of legality. Institutions and persons with decision-making power have illegitimised the rights of people.

The legality of actions of the state in displacing people allows the characterization of protest as illegal. Hence, there is an illegalisation of protest and an aggrandizement of state power over people. Such notions of illegality have created an “us” and a “them” in public policy. The displaced people are seen as obstacles to development and are subject to the coercive rigours of the law. Even bodies such as the Supreme Court, more recently, have failed to protect the rights of displaced people and legitimise and legalise state actions around demolishing homes or displacing entire communities.

Shiv Vishwanathan, the discussant, remarked that displacement could be alternatively referred to as “constitutional genocide” since it has severe consequences on people. According to him gender is crucial at two levels. Firstly, the rights of women who are displaced should be protected. Secondly, the focus on gender might help challenge the logic of displacement by coming up with alternative notions of time, memory, and state interventions. There is also a need to question how much we can trust the state, given that in some cases, the state acts as an NGO of powerful global actors.

Harsh Mander did not agree with Usha’s assertion that rehabilitation is not an option. He stated that millions have already been displaced and therefore it is important to explore mechanisms for their rehabilitation. Further he suggested that the guiding principle for rehabilitation should be “displaced people must be better off than the project beneficiaries”. Harsh also questioned that the definition of displaced people should be premised on their property rights. Rehabilitation and compensation should take into consideration loss of livelihood and shelter, security and work. However, the process of illegalisation has been built into our way of life and governance of cities, so it becomes impossible for a poor person in the city to live legally. The discussion also focussed on the failure of the Indian government to take on board the recommendations of the World Commission of Dams.

The International Context

The issues of displacement, development and R&R cannot be holistically understood without reference to the policies and programmes of multilateral and bilateral agencies, particularly the World Bank, ADB, DFID and UNDP. The World Bank has been the single largest international donor for development initiatives in India and the workshop made an attempt to critically examine the Bank’s new R&R policy from a gender lens. Contrary to the bank representative’s assertions, the participants believed that the Bank’s policy on R&R continues to remain gender blind.

Reider Kvam, from the World Bank presented an overview of the WB’s support in the Singrauli region since the 1970s. He agreed that in the past WB policies have failed to adequately address resettlement and gender concerns, but efforts are being made by the Bank to learn from the past by introducing social planning and assessments. The paper described the unequal development in the Singrauli region because of disparities between affluent workers of large corporations and poor and displaced people living in the surrounding areas. Due inadequate social planning, high social tension ensued, women were very negatively impacted and the risk of displacement increased. Reidar argued that this could have been avoided had comprehensive social assessments of projects been undertaken before implementation. According to him, social assessment involves analysis by key stakeholders, understanding of social diversity (caste, class, ethnicity), gender, institutions and organizations, participation i.e. active involvement, transparency and capacity building of key stakeholders and finally operationalisation that includes explicit social development outcomes institutional arrangements. Gender equality, cultural diversity and social integration should be the focus of planning.

Dana Clark presented an overview of the revisions to the World Bank Resettlement policy. She lamented that in the context of involuntary resettlement there exists a lacuna between the Bank’s policies and practices. This is mainly because of the pervasive tension between

the Bank and its borrowers over implementation of not just the resettlement policy but also most of the environmental and social safeguard policies. The Bank when challenged on failed resettlement always shifts the blame on the borrowing country's government. Resettlement failures are also attributed to design failures that arise when the Bank has insufficient concern for the requirements of the involuntary resettlement policy and other social and environmental policies. The problems in Narmada and Singrauli are mainly because of the faulty design of the projects, which was approved by the World Bank. Dana also focused on some of the key issues at stake in the policy debate, namely restoration versus the improvement of standard of living and new language that limited the Bank's responsibility for indirect impacts of development projects. For example, on people downstream who are likely to lose their jobs, access to resources and become environmental refugees. Discussing the gender implications of the policy revision, Dana said that the World Bank does not have much to say about gender. The word "gender" does not appear anywhere in the policy. In the policy revision process, the World Bank took no proactive steps to address issues of gender or to try to improve the status or rights of women in the context of displacement. In fact the net affect of the policy revisions is to reduce rather than increase attention to women in the context of displacement.

The chairperson Nandini Sundar remarked that stakeholder analysis ignores power relations such as, what kind of norms are we going to appeal to when we are confronted with a conflict and can we hold banks and governments accountable for failures? Also there is often a tension between borrowing countries and the Bank that asks for much more than the national law allows. Therefore understanding of our national laws and customary rights becomes crucial. Harsh Mander while narrating his personal experience in Singrauli mentioned that 20 years ago there was no hint from World Bank and government of India about resettlement. There was a lack of concern for poor people and their interests. Today, nothing has changed really. Also, even though the Bank agrees that it has made mistakes it is doing nothing to undo the wrongs committed in the past. To which Reidar Kvam replied that the Bank is not a monolithic institutions and that the problem was not the lack of good intent. Amita Baviskar pointed out the relevance of the bank in the context of globalisation, liberalization, and privatization and questioned the Bank's linkages with transnational corporations.

Reflections and Commentaries

The last session had presentations from representatives of Department for International Development (DfID), United Nations Special Rapporteur on Housing Rights, National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA). They spoke on future strategies for planning and implementation.

Arjan de Haan from DfID, who had worked extensively on voluntary migration, pointed that while discussing migration it is important to take gender into consideration and the focus on agency helps clarify the distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration. Drawing on experiences in Orissa he argued that there is the need to build consensus across the whole range of concerns and priorities, especially with respect to the sheer complexity of the issues on the ground around land rights and so-called encroachments. In Orissa, 80 % of the displacement has taken place due to minor irrigation schemes, affecting different groups differently.

Miloon Kothari the UN Special Rapporteur on Housing Rights elaborated on international human rights instruments that can be used by people's struggles and movements to protect women's rights to housing, livelihood. He suggested that these instruments should be always kept in mind while evolving any strategy for monitoring violations particularly during displacement. He made reference to two sets of human rights instruments, the UN Charter of HR and UN Treaty Bodies, which are concerned with issues like children, health, food, etc. Miloon also described the operational protocols with three primary functions. Firstly,

reporting function – i.e. annual reporting on various issues (housing, livelihood etc). Secondly, investigating function – to look into various matters concerning violation of HR and thirdly, collaborative function – i.e. developing relations or forming alliances/partnerships with civil society and other institutions

Sudha Shrotaria from NHRC raised the issue of protection of social, economic and cultural rights of the most vulnerable sections. NHRC has been deeply concerned with the problem of displacement, number of complaints, inadequacies, and indifferences in rehabilitation policies. She said that development should be balanced with justice and equality. Land Acquisition Act of 1894 was in fact a great violation of human rights. The NHRC believes that R & R should be a part of the Land Acquisition Act and that displacement should not precede resettlement. There is the need to avoid the excessive acquisition of land and policy decisions taken by the government (preparation of bills) should be transparent and prior consultations should be made.

Finally Chitroopa Palit (Silvy) of NBA urged the participants and donors to question their own positionality in debates around resettlement and displacement. Often powerful corporations and players define development according to their interests, which are replicated in agencies such as the World Bank and DFID. Future action needs to focus on the right to livelihood, survival, cultural development and sustainable development. These rights should have precedence over the rights of private capital. Civil society and groups of disposed should be the principal actors. Unfortunately we are witnessing today the erosion of state structures, an increasing anti-people judicial system and the exacerbation of police action. There should be sustained public scrutiny, debate, hearings and surveys. It should be incumbent upon project finances, state to establish public interest and comprehensive R & R and resource replacement. Accountability to the gram sabha is also important. There should be a moratorium on further displacement until people centred R&R structures are in place and we need to be vigilant of the activities of new players such as financial institutions, multilaterals and the private sector.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

The workshop signified a departure from previous thinking on displacement and resettlement in several ways. One, there was a concerted effort to zoom in on gender concerns and issues which, though at times unsuccessful, still helped overcome the past invisibility of gender issues as well as raise an awareness of how gender justice can be achieved in displacement and resettlement processes. In this context, the debate of gender, displacement and resettlement must be located in wider debates of women's status, power, rights, inheritance and socio-historical process namely patriarchal domination, discrimination, equality and the division of labour. The long-neglected issue of children's rights and concerns was also highlighted.

Two, while past research and thinking had largely focussed on the impacts and impoverishment risks of displacement, most workshop papers also raised questions regarding the rights of displaced women, children and men. Thus, in order to achieve social and gender justice, displacement and R&R debates will have to go well beyond addressing the special needs of displaced women and men. Instead, there is a need to help evolve institutions to protect and strengthen their rights. In this context the right to livelihood, survival, cultural integrity and sustainable development and even the right to veto such projects emerge as key and civil society and groups of displaced people will have to play a more active role for their realisation. In a context where state institutions have the power to declare poor people and their lives, livelihoods and struggles as illegal, a rights-based approach emerges as all the more important.

Three, there was a consensus that there was the urgent need to understand the impacts of policies promoting globalisation and privatisation on displacement and R&R and we need to augment our knowledge of the specific nature of these processes and impacts from a gender perspective. There was also a need to focus on ways in which the private and non-state actors could be held to account in the case of violations of policies, human rights standards and internationally and nationally recognised best practice.

Finally, the workshop discussions also pointed out that the boundaries between what constituted 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' displacement were increasingly blurred in a globalised world where forced displacement and migration are likely to increase. The so-called voluntary displacement of urban migrants needs to be questioned in the face of globalisation and growing inequality. Similarly, the 'involuntary' nature of forced displacement can be reversed if resettlement processes are designed with in-built mechanisms that would provide communities the right to decide whether to move or not. This kind of 'voluntary' displacement based on prior and informed consent would need to be premised on transparent processes of deliberation and decision-making and would need a conducive policy and legal environment that would make hitherto losers emerge as beneficiaries of the development process.

Based on the workshop discussions it is recommended that:

- The Ministry for Rural Development should hold wide consultations on the draft bill for R&R. The draft bill should integrate strong gender concerns. The family or oustee should not be viewed in a gender-neutral way. Women need to be seen as full beneficiaries of compensation packages and should be made independent or co-owners of land and other compensation packages. Accounts should be opened in joint names. Compensation mechanisms should include property loss, livelihood loss, along with provisions for employment and housing. All the informal rights of women and men enshrined in customary law should be built on and under no circumstances corroded.
- The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and the National Commission for Women (NCW) should be proactive in ensuring that the government both at the Centre and in the States consults widely with civil society and affected people. They should also issue directives that strong mechanisms exist in the National R&R regime to protect the rights of displaced women.
- Human rights standards should not be violated by the project authorities or by the state during all stages of project planning and implementation. Furthermore there is here need to have strong grievance redressal mechanisms based on principles of justice and equity. There need to be in-built mechanisms to make project implementing agencies accountable in the case of coercion or violations of policies or laws. Violence against women in the course of displacement and resettlement must be avoided and punished.
- Civil society groups also need to recognise the specific vulnerabilities of displaced women and ensure that movements and campaigns give adequate space to women to articulate their strategies, concerns and priorities.
- Displacement should be avoided and if it is absolutely necessary then all efforts should be made to minimise displacement. There is a need for rigorous options assessment before the project proceeds. Prior informed consent of the displaced people should be followed and compensation should be equivalent to the replacement value of the project. Cost benefit analyses must be complemented by alternative and qualitative approaches of assessing loss and displaced people should have the right to veto the project. They need to be involved in the planning of the R and R process and special efforts must be made to ensure that women are involved in every stage of the consultation and planning process.
- There is a need for strong gender analysis and gender-sensitive data of the impacts of displacement and resettlement. Regular monitoring at all stages of the process, involving displaced people's groups, is also essential. Mechanisms and safeguards should be in

place to ensure that the displaced people are the first beneficiaries of the project. Also safeguards should be in place to facilitate women full access and enjoyment of all project including compensation and R&R. Under no circumstance should displacement take place without adequate and sufficient R and R.

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GENDER AND THE POLITICS OF DISPLACEMENT (Provisional title)

Every year the lives and livelihoods of nearly ten million people across the globe are affected by forced displacement due to infrastructure projects such as dams, mines, industries, power plants and roads. Millions also leave their homes 'voluntarily' to seek new livelihoods or to avoid conflict and hardships in their place of birth. Studies show that the majority of displaced people belong to poor and marginalised communities and within them women and children experience special vulnerabilities.

An impressive body of work has highlighted the dark sides of displacement and its accompanying social, cultural and environmental impacts. Still, debates in this field have tended to rather ungendered. Beyond the brief acknowledgement of the vulnerabilities that women encounter, there has been little systematic documentation of how changes in the division of labour, social relations, property rights and people's access to and control over resources impact on women and men differently. The proposed edited book seeks to fill this crucial gap by presenting original papers written by leading scholars, researchers and activists in the field of displacement and resettlement. All the papers in the book will have gender as an underlying concern and address how displacement and resettlement processes can be engendered and contribute to the wider goals of social justice. Specifically, the book seeks to (a) highlight conceptual links between gender and displacement and inform how resettlement programmes often can fail due to their neglect of gender concerns; (b) identify and understand why gender blindness and insensitivity's persist in policies and programmes; and (c) elaborate how the rights of displaced women and men can be strengthened in the course of displacement and resettlement processes.

The book argues that gender biases in both the conceptualisation and implementation of resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) schemes have led to the exclusion of women from compensation packages and the ignoring of gender differentials in the socio-economic impacts of displacement. Male biases within displaced communities also exclude women from decision-making processes which lead to the silencing of women's interest. This is because the household is treated as a black box and the oustee as the "male" entity. Consequently most R&R policies and programmes have failed to offer alternatives that address or can rectify existing social inequalities emanating from gender, tribe or caste. In many cases, these programmes have exacerbated gender asymmetries within and between communities. Some examples of these impacts include the increasing economic dependence of women on men due to state neglect of their previous independent sources of rights and incomes, the increasing vulnerability of widows and deserted women when displaced and the burden placed on women in survival-related activities due to changes in resource use patterns upon resettlement. These arguments are developed by presenting a variety of cases within the Indian context.

In the early days of development, the forced displacement accompanying infrastructure projects was considered to be the necessary price in order to achieve the greater common good. Displaced people settled for less than what they had before or nothing at all. No longer. Struggles all over India and elsewhere have contested the notion that the gains borne by a powerful elite must be borne by a silent majority of vulnerable people. The book thus also highlights the role played by people's struggles in both enhancing the rights of displaced women and men and on influencing the policy process. By examining the Narmada and Tehri movement and struggles around Schedule V areas in India the book analyses how and whether struggles can further the interests of displaced women.

Wider Relevance:

The book adds to current thinking on displacement and resettlement in several ways. One, the concerted effort to zoom in on gender concerns and issues will help overcome the past invisibility of gender issues as well as raise an awareness of how gender justice can be achieved in displacement and resettlement processes. These debates will be located in wider concerns around women's status, rights, property laws, the legal system, development models and policies. Oral testimonies and research amongst displaced women will give space for women's concerns, hitherto silenced, to be articulated.

Two, past research and thinking has largely focussed on the impacts and impoverishment risks of displacement. While acknowledging the importance of a detailed analysis and assessment of the risks and impacts of impoverishment, the authors add to emerging concerns in displacement research and struggles that stress the importance of rights in order to achieve any kind of social justice in displacement and resettlement processes. In this context the right to livelihood, survival, cultural integrity and sustainable development and even the right to veto such projects emerge as key. Several papers address how civil society and groups of displaced people are playing an active role for their realisation and also how human rights instruments can be drawn on to monitor resettlement processes. In a situation where state institutions have the power to declare poor people, their lives, livelihoods and struggles as illegal, a rights-based approach to displacement emerges as all the more important.

Three, there is an urgent need to understand the impacts of the processes of globalisation and privatisation on displacement and R&R. There is a need to augment our knowledge of the specific nature of these processes and impacts from a gender perspective. While dams-based-displacement has been documented widely, a few papers in the book help advance our thinking about gender and urban and industrial displacement in the context of liberalisation. The book also sheds light on how implementing agencies can be held to account in the case of violations of policies, human rights standards and internationally and nationally recognised best practice.

Finally, there is enough evidence to prove that displacement and resettlement are likely to increase, rather than decrease in the near future. The editor and contributing authors believe that projects entailing forced displacement must necessarily be avoided as far as possible and that all alternatives to displacement must be adequately explored. The book will also demonstrate how the boundaries between what constituted 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' displacement were increasingly blurred in a globalised world where forced displacement and migration are likely to increase. The so-called voluntary displacement of urban migrants needs to be questioned in the face of globalisation and growing inequality. Similarly, the 'involuntary' nature of forced displacement can be reversed if resettlement processes are designed with in-built mechanisms that would provide communities the right to decide whether to move or not. This kind of 'voluntary' displacement based on prior and informed consent would need to be premised on transparent processes of deliberation and decision-making and would need a conducive policy and legal environment that would make hitherto losers emerge as beneficiaries of the development process.

These issues are of more than just academic interest: a failure to appreciate diverse understandings of displacement and resettlement processes not only leads to the impoverishment of displaced women and denies them their basic citizenship rights. It also leads to poor R and R practices and silences the interest of the most vulnerable among them, women. Thus book's findings engage in debates which are of concern to academics, practitioners, activists and policy makers in displacement/ resettlement research, practice and struggles.

Potential audience

Given that the book focuses on gender, displacement, resettlement and resistance, issues that have attracted the attention of the development community and activist networks all around the world it will be of interest to a wide audience which include:

- Students (graduate and undergraduate) and academics interested in gender studies, environment and development, migration studies, sociology, anthropology, development studies, South Asian studies
- Policy makers in official development agencies and non-governmental organisations concerned with forced displacement and migration issues
- People confronted by forced displacement and activists engaged in struggles against displacement
- Readers concerned with contemporary developments in South Asia.

Length and manuscript detail

The book, including bibliography, appendices and tables and photos will be approximately 80,000 words.

Book Outline (see attached abstracts)

The first section presents an overview of gender, displacement and resettlement policies. The introduction and first chapter highlight problems with gender blind approaches to displacement and resettlement. The paper discusses the 'double bind' that displaced women are often confronted with by drawing on research in the Narmada Valley. She also provides a gender analysis of the highly influential risks and reconstruction model of World Bank sociologist, Michael Cernea. The paper by N C Saxena presents an overview of the R and R policies and laws in the country and also provides an overview of the draft 1998 R and R policy and highlights how it addresses gender concerns. Hari Mohan Mathur's paper analyses resettlement planning and different R and R policies of donor and India agencies from a gender perspective. Finally, Chittaroopa's Palit draws on her own experiences as an activist in the Narmada Valley for 15 years to show how displaced women are resisting displacement and how there is a need for activists to create gendered spaces within struggles for women to articulate their interests and needs.

The second section looks in detail at the dynamics of displacement and its specific social, economic and cultural impacts on women and children. The paper by Walter Fernandes highlights the specific impacts of the loss of common property resources upon displacement for women, namely a loss of autonomy and the loss of livelihood. Enakshi Ganguly Thukral's paper draws attention to the neglected dimension of the impact of displacement on children, especially with respect to health and education and argues for the need to focus on children's rights. Harsh Mander's paper focuses on the recent carnage in Gujarat which highlights the great dangers of non-existent R& R policies or statutory state obligations for victims of riots and conflict. In this context, women's bodies become special targets for communal violence.

The third cluster of papers draw on activist experiences and the role of struggle in both highlighting the concerns of displaced women as well as in bringing about social change and policy shifts. The paper by Ravi Rebbapragada highlights the importance of the Samatha judgement which allowed tribal people in Andhra Pradesh to prevent mine displacement and protect their lands. For women this struggle was key since they along with children are often the worst affected by mining activities. Vimal Bhai's paper focuses on how women and

children have been at the forefront of the Tehri struggle and how out-migration by males to the plains has led to women having to bear the costs of displacement more than men. Finally, activist, Ramkuwar from Madhya Pradesh tells a story of her own experience in the Man area and that of other girls in her fight for rights and against forced evictions.

The fourth cluster of papers discusses emerging concerns in displacement research, namely the impacts of globalisation and privatisation on displacement and how urban and industrial displacement are shaped by these processes. The paper by Smitu Kothari discusses how the growing involvement of the private sector in R and R is leading to new challenges in terms of accountability, negotiations and relations within communities and monitoring. Vasudha Dhagamwar's paper locates gender issues in industrial development and discusses key differences between women's knowledge, employment status and role in decision-making processes before and after displacement. Amita Baviskar's paper raises questions regarding the 'voluntary' nature of urban displacement and discusses the glaring lack of attention to urban displacement as opposed to dams-based-displacement. The paper specifically hones in on the specific vulnerabilities encountered by women in the urban context.

The next five papers specifically analyse the institutional context and institutions that are key for R and R implementation at both the national and international level. S R Hiremath's paper outlines the need for land acquisition and resettlement to be included in one bill given the draconian nature of the land acquisition act. Usha Ramnathan's paper discusses fundamental flaws in the Indian legal system and ways in which the state has the power to declare people, their lives, livelihoods and struggles as illegal and illegitimate. She discussed how struggles with women at the fore are currently challenging these inequalities. Anita Cheria's paper highlights how displacement and resettlement institutions often grossly violate international human rights standards and best gender practice and how these standards must increasingly be deployed to monitor the activities of these institutions. Dana Clark's paper discusses the revised R and R policy of the World Bank and argues that it is not only totally gender blind but that it also has clauses that could potentially weaken the position of displaced women and men, especially the most vulnerable among them.

The final section contains three papers that suggest approaches that can both engender and achieve more just displacement and resettlement processes. The paper by Michael Cernea calls for the need for greater financial investment in resettlement and for the need to see it as an integral part of the development process. S. Parasuraman draws on the lessons of the World Commission on Dams to argue that the bargaining power and situation of poor women and men will significantly improved if there was a move to adopt the rights and risks framework developed by the Commission. Finally the paper by Jean Dreze argues for the need for resettlement processes to have in-built mechanisms that would provide communities the right to decide whether to move or not. This kind of 'voluntary' displacement based on prior and informed consent would need to be premised on transparent processes of deliberation and decision-making and would need a conducive policy and legal environment that would make hitherto losers emerge as beneficiaries of the development process.

Annex vi - Details of the Narmada Project

The first dam is the Sardar Sarovar Project (henceforth SSP), one of the world's most controversial dams, currently under construction in Gujarat. According to project plans it is meant to generate 1450 megawatts of power, irrigate 1.8 million hectares of land and provide drinking water to 40 million people. Critics maintain that the benefits are exaggerated and highlight that the planned 163 metre dam will also submerge 37,000 hectares of forest and prime agricultural land as well as negatively affect the homes, land and livelihoods of about a million people. At least 250,000 people will be directly affected and lose their homes due to reservoir submergence in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. Virtually all the affected people in Maharashtra and Gujarat are *adivasi* (tribal) living in remote hilly forest villages along the Narmada river where subsistence-based economic systems still prevail. In Madhya Pradesh, 40 per cent of the affected people are *adivasi* and the rest of the population comprises diverse caste groups such as the Patidars, Yadavs etc. who live in multi-caste villages in the plains of Nimar. This is a very fertile tract of land irrigated by the Narmada and supports highly productive agricultural systems watered by lift irrigation from the river. These villages are far more prosperous and exposed to the outside world than the remote hill villages. But the inequalities between landed and landless as well as caste and tribal populations is also greater. Initial displacement started with little or no compensation in the 1960s and has continued in a piecemeal fashion since. Protest against the dam began in the late 1980s which, in part, led to the formulation of the resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) package of Gujarat, which is considered by many to be the best resettlement packages in India. The World Bank withdrew its funding from the project in March 1993 due to national and international criticism and protest. Crucial was also the report of the first ever World Bank -appointed independent review team. The team, led by the late Bradford Morse, the former head of UNDP, concluded that the project was badly flawed on both social and environmental grounds and advised the Bank to withdraw its support. The Indian Supreme Court also passed a stay order on the dam's construction for 6 years. In 2000 a controversial Supreme Court judgement allowed the dam's construction to go ahead.

The second dam that I focus on is the Maheshwar dam in eastern Nimar in Madhya Pradesh which is one of the 30 large dams of the project. Planning began in 1978 under the Narmada Valley Development Authority which later fell under the jurisdiction of the Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board (MPEB). In 1993, the concession was awarded to S Kumars a textile magnate, making Maheshwar India's first privately financed hydroelectric project. Many project-affected people have questioned the financial viability of generating peaking power financed by a private company and the inability of project authorities to fulfill the land for land compensation principles. Protest activities and financial problems encountered by the private corporation, S Kumars, have led to time and cost-overruns and the dam's construction has now been stopped. About 40,000 farmers, fisherfolk and sand quarry workers live in this highly fertile tract of the Nimar and stand to lose their homes, lands or livelihoods due to the dam's construction. However only those with formal land titles are due to receive adequate compensation, thus excluding the large number of landless who earn their living from river-based activities. Villages affected by the Maheshwar dam are also multi-caste, heterogeneous and display similar disparities in wealth as those in the SSP-affected part of Nimar. Very little relocation has taken place so far though about 20 per cent of the project affected people have received cash compensation without any accompanying land compensation.