

**Land Acquisition and Development? Exploring Narratives of
Modernity at a Land Acquisition Site in Singrauli, India**

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Abstract

The present study engages with the economic, social and political narratives of project affected persons (PAPs) at the site the Indian government's thermal energy plant in Singrauli, Madhya Pradesh. This study utilizes a grounded ethnographic framework to delineate the relationship between land acquisition and development. The experience of PAPs relays an alternative discourse of land acquisition, which runs contrary to dominant understandings of development. Contrary to the notion of a linear modernization process, PAPs depict mediated and contextualized modernization trajectories on the basis of caste and PAP type (old or new PAPs). It is found that despite the common move towards class mobility, old and new PAPs forge divergent conceptualizations of development. Moreover, they seek to maintain access to rural identities through a process of livelihood diversification that is spread between the rural and urban landscape. Thus, this research concludes that the study of development necessitates a focus on the ways in which different people interact with the forces of modernization and produce new subjectivities.

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Glossary

Ashdyke: Is a pond in which the remnants of coal (fly ash) are dumped.

Decimal: Is used to express a unit of land. 1 acre is equivalent to 100 decimal

General caste: Is the legal designation for upper castes groups.

Harijans: Local term that some SCs use to identify themselves.

Hutments: Is an encampment of huts. This term was used by NTPC staff to refer to temporary huts that were built by Belarey PAPs.

ITI: Refers to Industrial Training Institutes. These are government run organizations that render post-school technical training. Normally a person who has passed grade 10 is eligible for admission to the institute.

Kucha: Refers to less stable or temporary housing structures built with mud and organic material

Lakh: Refers to one hundred thousand 100,000 roughly converts to 1700 USD

NCL: Northern Coalfield Limited is a subsidiary company of Coal Indian Limited.

NTPC: National Thermal Power Corporation Limited is a thermal power company of the Indian government.

OBC: Other Backward Castes are a part of the lower caste group. They are also called middle castes.

Pandit: Refers to an upper caste group also called Brahmins. Brahmins and Pandits is used interchangeably in the paper.

PAP: Project Affected Person, a term used by both NTPC and the respondents to refer to people whose land has been acquired. This term will be used extensively throughout the paper as shorthand to refer to displaced respondents.

Pucca: Refers to stable or permanent housing structures built with brick, concrete, clay tiles and or metal.

RTI: Right to Information Act 2005. It allows any citizen to request information from a public authority and mandates that the public authority response within thirty days. This Act applies to all states except Jammu and Kashmir.

Sahu: Refers to an OBC group that is economically and socially strong in Singrauli.

SC: Scheduled Castes also called lower castes.

Semi- pucca: Refers to semi-permanent housing structures that typically have a concrete wall and a roof made of temporary material such as tin.

ST: refers to scheduled tribes, the indigenous population of India.

Thakur: An upper caste group.

Introduction

Land acquisition and displacement has been a much-debated and controversial reality of post independence India. According to Fernandes (2007), as many as 60 million people have been displaced since independence and a large majority of these people have not been properly rehabilitated. Also, Reddy (1994) asserts that seven government-based industrial projects across India have acquired 1,23,409.54 acres of land, which has affected 41,652 families (as cited in Singh & Sharma, 2009). In addition to these seemingly appalling statistics, a majority of academic and political work on land acquisition pinpoints the disruptions and loss of livelihood sustained by displaced populations (Chatterjee, 2012; Hull, 2008; Majumder, 2012; Mehta, 2010; Singh & Sharma, 2009)

Evidently, it is important to acknowledge the disproportionate precariousness of tribal and lower caste populations in situations of land acquisition, given their historical dependency upon land (Singh & Sharma, 2009). Nevertheless, it is equally important to move beyond a highly polarized discussion that tends to enact a blanket rejection of all forms of land acquisition. This politically charged discourse relies on moralistic language that portrays the displaced population as a homogenous entity that is uniformly oppressed and disenfranchised.

In contrast, Hull and Majumder's work on land acquisition in Islamabad, Pakistan and West Bengal respectively instates the importance of complicating the narratives of people affected by land acquisition (Hull, 2008; Mujumder, 2012). They perceive displacees as agentive beings with diverse interests, involved in complex relationships with the normative discourses and instruments of modernization. Thus, in using Hull and Majumder's work as a point of departure, the present study strives to relay a meaningful contribution to a highly skewed discourse on land acquisition in India, which fails to engage with its holistic operation across

diverse contexts. In utilizing the rather unique case of land acquisition in Singrauli carried forth by a government company, this study strives to introduce the possibility of development being facilitated through processes of land acquisition and rehabilitation.

The initial objectives of the present study were to uncover the contemporary meaning and usage of land in the context of land acquisition. Nevertheless, in engaging with the narratives and realities of the different social groups impacted by land acquisition, it became clear that the changing conception of land is a component of the larger economic, social and political experiences of respondents. Thus, the main research question was redefined to ask: What is the relationship between land acquisition and development, as it is experienced and understood by NTPC PAPs in Singrauli? The corollaries of this larger question include: How has land acquisition impacted the economic practices of PAPs? If so, how have differently located PAPs experienced social mobility? How have PAPs politically mobilized to benefit from the land acquisition process? This research employs an ethnographic approach that privileges the lived experiences of respondents. It engages with respondents' perspectives through participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Also, NTPC officials' reflections were gathered to provide an alternative lens.

In exploring the abovementioned research questions, development is defined as modernization and more specifically, access to urban lifestyles, infrastructure, educational opportunities and economic opportunities. This conception of development can be critiqued for reinforcing a hegemonic discourse and failing to problematize the ramifications of pursuing economic development without a focus on social empowerment and rights. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that this conception of development correlates with the lived experiences of PAPs and it widely endorsed by them, regardless of caste and class divisions. Moreover, the application of a normative conception of development does not imply normative discourses about

experiences of development. Instead, the present study uses a normative conception of development as an entry point to unravel complex experiences of modernization and urbanization.

In terms of the organization of the paper, the first chapter outlines the history of Singrauli, and provides a brief history of NTPC's land acquisition process and an introduction to the field site. Significantly, in relaying a quantitative and qualitative description of the field site, this chapter draws upon surveys conducted by the Xavier Institute of Development Action and Studies (XIDAS)¹ in 2009. In the second chapter on methodology the participants, process and limitations of research are outlined. The third chapter relays a theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. The fourth chapter on economic trajectories engages with PAPs' changing conception of land and livelihood practices. In the fifth chapter the forms of class and social mobility experienced by differently located PAPs are discussed and in the sixth chapter the political strategies and subjectivities expressed by PAPs vis-à-vis NTPC are analyzed. In conclusion, the findings of the study are assessed with respect to the research question. Also, limitations and contributions of the study are discussed.

¹XIDAS was commissioned to carry out this survey research by NTPC as part of NTPC's endeavour to assess the impact of acquisition in Belarey and rehabilitation efforts in NavjiwanVihar.

Background Information

History of Singrauli

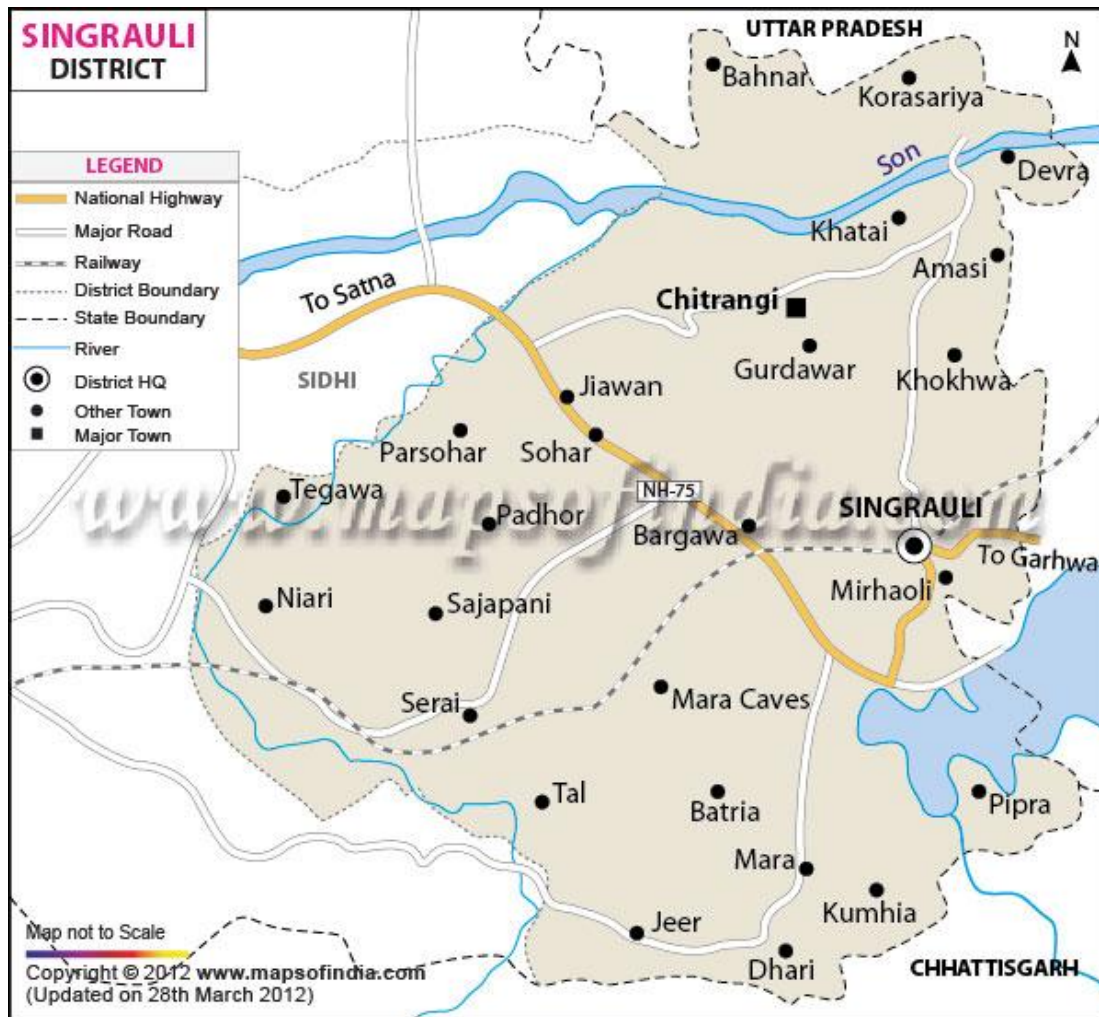
This study is located in Singrauli district at the border of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. It was carried out around the NTPC thermal power plant in Vidhyanchal town, which is located 225km south of the city of Varanasi. Singrauli is the 50th district of Madhya Pradesh with a population 11 lakh. It was granted district status in 2008 and currently has five tehsils or administrative divisions: Singrauli, Deosar, Chitrangi, Mara and Serai. These are also the names of its municipalities. Singrauli municipality consists of the towns, Waidhan and Vindhyanagar and has a population of 2 lakh (District Administration of Singrauli, 2010; NTPC, 2010). The map of Singrauli below indicates the location of the five administrative divisions and municipalities (see Map 1.0).

Singrauli is considered to be one of the remotest areas of Madhya Pradesh. Historically, it has been an inaccessible and treacherous terrain that was covered with dense forests.

Contemporarily, Singrauli² is the power hub of India for electric power and coal. It houses six major thermal power plants and the second largest series of eleven active coal mine groups in Asia (District Administration of Singrauli, 2010; NTPC, 2010). Thus, through the decades Singrauli has seen a shift in its landscape from a forest area to an industrial town. However, this process of transition and development has been accompanied by a series of displacements that have altered the socioeconomic and political dimensions of the district (Singh & Sharma, 2009).

²Singrauli has a population that has grown at the rate of 28.05% in the last ten years. The population has shown an increase in average literacy from 49.25% in 2001 to 60.41% in 2011, with male and female literacy in 2011 at 71.34% and 48.53%, respectively. The child sex ratio has become further skewed and the number of girls per 1000 boys has gone down from 955 in 2001 to 923 in 2011. Also, Singrauli showed an increase in population density from 162 people per square km in 2001 to 208 people per square km between in 2011 (Singha, 2012).

Map 1.0: Map of Singrauli District



* This map does not feature Deosar tehsil, which is located near Jiwan. However, it is the most comprehensive and up to date map that could be located.

NTPC and Land Acquisition

NTPC is India's largest thermal power generating company, incorporated as a public sector company in 1975 to enhance power development in the country. The NTPC power plant in Vidhyanchal, Singrauli was initiated in November 1982 with Indira Gandhi laying the foundation stone for the project (NTPC 1999; NTPC, 2010; NTPC, 2011).

Land acquisition, a corollary of NTPC setting up and expanding its power project has been carried forth in three stages. A total of 5879 acres of land that involves 20 villages has been

acquired by NTPC. In the first two stages of land acquisition carried forth between 1983- 1989 and 1990-2000 5299.14 acres of land were acquired with 3456 families being displaced. In terms of the caste composition of displaced families, 1040 of these were SC, 365 were ST and the remaining 2051 were OBC and general caste. In the third stage of land acquisition that began in 2009 and is currently occurring in Belarey 580 acres of land has been acquired and 621 families will be displaced with 49 SC families and 28 ST families. Given the scale of displacement, through its Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) policy and mandate NTPC attempts to ensure that after a reasonable transitional period, project affected families experience an improvement or restoration in their previous standard of living, through a participatory development process³ (NTPC, 1999; NTPC, 2010; NTPC 2011). The details of NTPC's R&R policy can be found in the Appendix.

The R&R policy, in rendering benefits to PAPs defines a project affected person (PAP) as, "someone who has been residing in and engaged in any trade, business, occupation or vocation continuously for a period of not less than three years preceding the date of declaration of the affected area" (NTPC, 2010 p. 10). Also, NTPC purports that those that have been left out due to the cutoff of three years, their files will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis and genuine cases such as transference of property to family heir due to death in the family will be considered for R&R benefit⁴. The PAPs fall within nine categorizations: homestead oustee, land loser becoming landless farmer, land loser becoming marginal farmer, land loser becoming small

³ The Rehabilitation Action Plan envisions a post-acquisition process of development that is shaped by PAPs engagement with their social and cultural institutions. The concept of development operationalized by NTPC is, " development fosters full respect for their (PAPs) dignity, human rights and cultural uniqueness...it is further essential to ensure that indigenous people do not suffer adverse effects during the development process" (NTPC, 2010 p. 11).

⁴ In terms of the operation of the PAP designation at the ground level, much of community mobilizing was around gaining access to PAP benefits. On the part of the organization there was an effort towards preventing people from obtaining rights in property for the sake of R&R benefits. Thus, organizational personnel utilized strategies to distinguish genuine PAPs from ingenious cases. But as the case of temporary hutments in Belarey show the organization is not always able to insulate itself from fraudulent claims to PAP status and neither are all community members that fall within the ambit of a PAP able to access its corresponding benefits.

farmer, land loser becoming other partial land loser, agricultural labourer, non-agricultural labourer, land loser in long stretch and occupier⁵ (NTPC, 2010).

Evidently the system of resettlement and rehabilitation is quite complex and the abovementioned information, derived from NTPC policy documents, is intended to provide a general template. It does not serve as a comprehensive review of NTPC policy nor does it fully reflect ground reality. Moreover, while examining the implementation of R&R policies would be a useful pursuit, this doesn't fall within the ambit of the present study. The present study is focused on analyzing PAP's navigation of land acquisition process and it focuses on two groups of PAPs, those currently residing in Navjiwan Vihar and Belarey PAPs relocated within Belarey. In terms of the present study, it is important to note as per information gathered from the XIDAS studies and interactions with PAPs, PAPs did not generally face any problems besides delays in securing their compensation (XIDAS, 2009; XIDAS, 2009a). While all Navjiwan Vihar respondents had received their compensation, the respondents in Belarey had either received their compensation or were in the process of receiving them. The Navjiwan Vihar respondents received their compensation generally between 1983 and 1990. Belarey respondents reported receiving their compensation 2010 onwards and it was ongoing.

⁵ Homestead oustees are PAPs who lose their house. Land loser becoming landless farmers are PAPs whose entire agricultural land has been acquired. Land loser becoming marginal farmer are PAPs who lose part of their agricultural land to acquisition and become marginal farmers. Land loser becoming small farmer are PAPs that lose partial land and become small farmers. Land loser becoming other partial land loser are PAPs that lose part of their agricultural land to acquisition but post acquisition they cannot be termed as either marginal farmers or small farmers. Agricultural labourer does not own land in the acquired area but who earns his livelihood by working on agricultural land that is being acquired. Non-agricultural labourer does not own any land but earns his livelihood through manual labour, as arural artisan or based on a client relationship with the PAP community. Land loser in long stretch are PAPs that lose part of their land for projects related to railway lines where only a narrow stretch of land extending several kilometers is acquired. Occupiers are PAPs that are identified as STs and have been in possession of forestland prior to December 2005 (NTPC, 2010).

Introduction to Field Site

Navjiwan Vihar

Navjiwan Vihar is NTPC's resettlement colony that is located 2km from the NTPC township (residential and recreational quarters of NTPC employees). It was set up in 1983 when the first batch of land outsees were given a plot in this colony. It consists of four sectors that reflect a loosely defined caste based living patterns. Sector 1 predominantly consists of upper caste Pandit households. Sector 2 houses OBCs, SCs, Thakurs and migrants. Sector 3 contains the largest population of SCs alongwith Sahus, the largest OBC group in the district that exercises political clout. Sector 4 contains a high number of Sahus and other SC populations. In Navjiwan Vihar Muslims are lower in number and largely dispersed through Sector 3 and 4. Sector 3 and 4 appear to have more integrated, densely populated and mixed communities. Sector 1 and 2 are near the main market and the environment within these sectors also appears more urban, as people don't appear to interact much with each other. Also, Sector 3, the sector with the most number of SCs was commonly understood among community members as being a "dirty" and unkept area.

In terms of the number of PAPs residing in Navjiwan Vihar, there were a number of PAPs that had either sold⁶ or rented out their plot and moved out. Also, there was no proper documentation by the municipal corporation or NTPC about the number of PAPs and/or their subsequent generations remaining on the plot. Thus, it was hard to determine the number of PAPs or their children currently residing in Navjiwan Vihar. But according to NTPC documentation there were 1636 PAPs that were allotted plots (NTPC, 2011). Further demographic information about Navjiwan Vihar can be found in the Appendix.

⁶ The PAPs were given the residential plot on a 30-year lease and since the plot was not registered in their name they could not legally sell the plot or expand it. Nevertheless, it was apparent that a number of interviewed PAPs had significantly extended their plots beyond the mandated dimensions of 60x70. Also, it was common knowledge that many PAPs had sold their plots and moved out.

Belarey

The PAPs that were accessed for the present study were relocated PAPs living in Belarey that had been displaced from a different part of Belarey. The site of relocation at Belarey appeared largely barren and people did not appear to be practicing agriculture. On the way to the relocation site, the temporary hutments that people had allegedly created for the sake of compensation were visible and uniformly unoccupied⁷. Further demographic information about Belarey can be found in the Appendix.

⁷ NTPC alleges that people constructed temporary hutments in Belarey to access homestead plot compensation. They also have documented evidence in the form of pictures. This pattern is further corroborated by the XIDAS study, which revealed that affected villages had very few people residing there and it was mostly barren land. The affected villages lacked electricity, schools and medical facilities. Most of the PAPs had second homes near the affected site, where they had access to comforts. It was only during the sowing season, between June and November that they came to the site to do farming and labour work (XIDAS, 2009). The setting up of temporary hutments by PAPs will be further discussed in chapter 7.

Methodology

Participants

The present study was conducted with two groups of PAPs: old PAPs who lost land in stages 1 and 2 residing in NavjiwanVihar and new PAPs who lost land in stage 4 and a relocated within Belarey. In NavjiwanVihar and Belarey a convenience sample of participants that were available during the daytime were accessed. In NavjiwanVihar 29 respondents were interviewed, out of which 2 are Muslim, 9 SC, 6 OBC, 6 Pandits and 1 Thakur. The remaining interviews were with migrants from UP and Bihar. From Belarey, 10 PAPs were interviewed, out of which 7 are OBC and 3 SC. Evidently, the respondents accessed at Belarey were disproportionately lower caste and either OBC or SC, as the Muslim and upper caste respondents that were reportedly economically better off were not found at the field site⁸.

Out of the 39 interviews conducted in Belarey and NavjiwanVihar, 7 were conducted with families (male and female respondents both), 20 with men and 12 with women. At Belarey half of the interviews were carried forth with families, as respondents were more available. In the remaining 5 interviews, 2 were with women and 3 with men. In NavjiwanVihar 17 interviews were with men, 9 with women and 3 interviews were conducted with families. In terms of age, the respondents varied from 20 to 75 years. In most interviews, it was possible to talk with both older and younger respondents, as even the one to one interviews had a number of family members present. Thus, in interviewing families and respondents an intergenerational perspective was gathered.

⁸ My participant observation and interaction with NTPC officials revealed that Muslims had a significant representation among Belarey PAPs. But they were not to be found at the field site because they had alternative houses in Waidhan town. This was also the case for upper caste PAPs.

Due to convenience sampling, a number of men that worked during the daytime, when the interviews were conducted, could not be accessed for interviews. A large proportion of the sample consisted of women and self-employed or unemployed men. Thus, while a representative sample of differently employed men could not be accessed due to time constraints, an effort was exerted towards accessing both male and female respondents and wherever possible families were interviewed. Also, caste representation was sought by accessing at least three respondents or families from each caste group. In NavjiwanVihar, the narratives of Sahus, SCs and Pandits are well captured. However, the narratives of Thakurs could not be accessed for reasons that will be elaborated in the positionality and limitations section. Also, ST respondents could not be located within NavjiwanVihar⁹. In Belarey, given that Sahus and SCs were the only two groups to be found in newly built houses on the relocation site, both their narratives were captured. A segment of the SC population and could not be interviewed because they were in a standoff with NTPC.

In order to attain a balanced perspective on land acquisition, in addition to observing the operation of R&R department, employees from the NTPC Human Resource Department and R&R unit were also approached for informal interviews. I interacted extensively with the Deputy Manager of the R&R unit (Jai), the office boy (Amit) and a retired land revenue officer that was hired by NTPC on a contractual basis to help out with the land acquisition processes (Tiwariji). I also informally interviewed the officer that served as an assistant to the manager and did a lot of the ground work for land acquisition (Dange). I conducted a formal interview with the head of the Human Resource Department (AGM HR), Rakesh Prasad. I developed a personal equation with Jai, as I became friends with him and his wife. Thus, my interaction with Jai regarding the land

⁹Jai and other NTPC staff related that the displaced ST population does not reside in Navjiwan Vihar and have located to rural sites closer to forests.

acquisition process was an extension of our regular interaction and occurred almost on a daily basis.

Process

The PAPs at both sites were accessed for semi-structured interviews. A couple of interviews were carried out at the NTPC office with PAPs who worked there as drivers and contractors or those that came to check about their compensation process. Typically, semi-structured interviews were carried out in respondents' homes and a driver from NTPC accompanied me to these visits. The driver and his car were both recognized as being from NTPC by most respondents. The driver would mostly sit with me inside the respondents' house while I was conducting the interview and sometimes help in translating a local term I didn't understand or join in the conversation.

Upon approaching the respondents, I explained that I was a student completing my Masters degree at Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi and that the purpose of my research was to examine respondents' experience of displacement. Thereafter, I asked if they would like to talk to me and reiterated that the information that will share will be anonymized. I did not tell the respondents that I am studying at the Central European University in Hungary because I thought it would position me as an inaccessible foreigner and serve as a hindrance in developing rapport.

During the interview, I asked some main questions pertaining to the economic activities of the participants, interaction with NTPC, conceptions of land use and comparison of life before and after land acquisition. Beyond these guiding questions respondents were encouraged to share their life experiences and struggles. I took to probing for more details when respondents talked about caste issues, labour relations, their relationship to NTPC or the state, community development and their economic struggles.

Thus, the correspondence with community members was loosely structured wherein some questions were posed and the discussion was shaped in consonance with the community's identified needs and perspectives. This format privileged the voice and experiences of the informants and allowed interviews to flow more like natural conversations. In interviewing NTPC staff, a similar approach was used although the questions were more defined. These interviews were often an extension of my everyday interactions with staff members, as I worked from the office when I wasn't in the field. The most formal and structured interview was the one I conducted with the AGM HR, where specific questions about NTPC's policies were posed.

Positionality and Limitations

My access to NTPC and its PAPs was forged due to my personal relationship with the AGM HR. This point of entry significantly influenced my interaction with NTPC staff and community members. In the office, since I had come through the head of the department, I enjoyed greater access to information. In fact, Jai mentioned he felt more comfortable sharing information with me because he could trust I wasn't going to misuse it. Also, I was able to access a driver and car to get to the field site. Evidently, this connection allowed me to access some privileges and information that would likely have been guarded from an outsider. But it also meant that in certain instances the staff was more careful in my presence. Also, my positionality entailed maintaining a low profile in the organization, so as not to invite a number of queries about my presence and purpose. Thus, I rarely interacted with people from other departments. Also, my particular positionality was managed by not interacting extensively with the AGM HR within the office. In fact, I was never publically seen with him.

My access to the community was largely defined by NTPC, as I did not interact with respondents in the community outside those that were affiliated with and on good terms with

NTPC. Also, I couldn't access certain respondents like Muslims or a group of SCs in Belarey, as NTPC officials were in a struggle with these populations over land acquisition¹⁰. Also, the NTPC driver, a Sahu man mostly operated as an observer and silent spectator, who sometimes joined me in reflecting upon a field visit. But after the visit to a Thakur house he became perturbed by the inappropriate comments the men made about me. While he did not divulge the content of these comments, he explained that since he is OBC, if upper caste Thakurs were to do something untoward with me he would not be able to intervene. Thereafter, he refused to visit Thakur houses and advised me against talking to upper castes because of their demeanour. In an effort to secure his cooperation I tried to forge a middle ground by suggesting that I would not visit Thakurs and instead only interview Pandits. However, other than inadvertently limiting my access to a segment of the population, NTPC staff did not ever seek to probe my findings or "check" what I was doing in the field.

In interacting with the community, despite elaborate explanations about my role as a student and the purpose of the research, most respondents perceived me as either a state or NTPC official. Thus they tended to convey particular instrumental discourses that were oriented towards accessing benefits. For instance, it was especially complex to disentangle the contemporary conception of land because people were hesitant to acknowledge the decreasing value of agricultural land. Especially in cases where their agricultural land was taken by NTPC, they likely thought it was useful for them to communicate land loss to me in clear terms.

Also, respondents often wanted to know how I would help them and whether I could get them a job. In response, I explained that the research was oriented at generating awareness about respondents' experiences of land acquisition and while it would not provide them immediate

¹⁰ When I asked about Muslims in Belarey, Jai actively discouraged me from talking to them because he said it could further fuel the ongoing tensions. Upon assessing the extent of the standoff, I too decided it would be most reasonable to work within the organizational constraints.

benefits, in the long term it was hoped that it would be of some benefit for policy formulation. This explanation was oriented at ensuring that the participants were clear on how the research operates and were not expecting immediate benefits. Also, it was a way to ensure that respondents were not manipulating their discourses in the hope of securing benefits, although this was unavoidable. When respondents launched into persistent instrumental discourses I conveyed empathy and then tried to direct the conversation towards a different direction by relaying a counterpoint to their claim or asking a new question.

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter attempts to develop a theoretical and conceptual framework for deconstructing the multifaceted impact of land acquisition upon the PAP community in Singrauli. There is a concerted decision to use the lens of development, modernization and caste and class to understand respondents' experiential reality because it closely aligns with the larger themes of social mobility and politicization articulated by respondents. Moreover, given that the field site is a transitioning and urbanizing rural space, replete with processes of class formation, social shifts and political identities there wasn't a single theoretical framework that could be neatly applied to the cases. The dynamics of the field site merit an interdisciplinary lens that draws upon economic and development anthropology, development economics and postcolonial studies.

Thus, this chapter summarizes and draws upon different strands of these literatures that will be elaborated and applied in the analysis section. In its first section termed theoretical framework, this chapter discusses development discourses as well as, economic and political modernization processes in the rural Indian context. Also, the political subjectivities emerging in the context of modernization are elaborated. In the second part of this chapter, termed conceptual framework the definition of caste is clarified and the theoretical approach adopted towards the analysis of caste and class is elaborated.

Theoretical Framework

Development Discourse

Post-development scholars or critics of development across disciplinary backgrounds purport that development discourse and practice reflect colonial continuities. They claim that development imposes rationality, capitalist industrialization, progress along the lines treaded by

western counterparts and centrality of nation-state (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 2006; Gupta, 1997; Ludden, 1992; Majumder, 2012). Escobar (1995) and Ferguson (2006) assert that development creates a system for producing knowledge about and exerting power over the Third World. In India, discourses on development reflect similar apprehensions and critiques of development (Gidwani, 2002).

In the contemporary scenario in India, there is a growing resistance to ideas of development that are conceived as antithetical to the ideas of democracy and social justice. In fact, much of the resistance mounted against land acquisition projects across the country pertain to the valorization of a unitary indigenous voice that is uniformly exploited and disadvantaged by capitalist processes of modernist development. The majority of academic and activist work, with the lines between them blurring, on land acquisition has tended to depict land acquisition as a hegemonic process that is defined by corporate interests and exercises a negative impact upon the local population (Bose, 1997; Gidwani, 2002; Gupta, 1997; Hull, 2008; Majumder, 2012; Singh & Sharma, 2009). Thus, much of anti-development literature both in India and outside reinforces the simplistic conception of development as inherently problematic and fails to complicate its diversified impact.

In departing from a generalized and skewed discourse on development, Gidwani asserts that development is a “differentiated, multifaceted, and ambivalent phenomenon” (Gidwani, 2002 p. 6) Gidwani draws upon the case of a large-scale irrigation scheme, The Mahi Right Bank Canal Project in central Gujarat to illustrate that class and caste relations arbitrate the irrigation projects effects on community development. While upper caste employers (landlords) and their lower caste workers both experience positive outcomes, this shift is accompanied by some negative outcomes that disproportionately play out for the workers (Gidwani, 2002). Thus, the present study uses Gidwani’s assertions about problematizing blanket notions of development

and understanding development through its lived reality as a point of departure. In pursuing grounded narratives, the present study strives to critically engage with respondents' conception of development and modernization.

Modernization Processes in Rural India

Modernity often appears as an intuitive and tangible reality that is difficult to articulate in conceptual terms. Nevertheless, thinkers such as Chatterjee (2010) and Gupta (2005) in trying to etch the contours of an alternative modernity pinpoint that in the case of rural India modernity is not an analytical category but rather a social reality. These thinkers pinpoint the changing landscape of rural India vis-à-vis its relation to the Indian state and capitalism. For instance, Chatterjee asserts that contrary to the dated conception of the Indian state as an external and extractive entity and peasants as consisting a passive marginalized community, contemporarily peasants are dependent upon and skilled at acquiring state benefits. This new relationship between peasants and the state has developed as a corollary of distinct state discourses on development and peasant participation in capitalist processes (Chatterjee, 2010).

Contemporary state discourse on development mandate that while capitalist growth persists, people's subsistence and basic life conditions must be ensured. Thus, while the provision of welfare benefits to peasants serves as a reversal of primitive accumulation, they are incorporated in the capitalist economy through their selling of goods and purchase of consumptions needs from the market. Also, there is a greater degree of linkage between peasant cultivation and the capitalist market through transport networks, trade and credit networks. This implies that peasant economies are not distinct from capitalist processes and have to be understood as part of the same complex (Chatterjee, 2010). In fact, Mitchell has relayed a similar assertion, in his analysis of economic representations vis-à-vis the operation of rural economies

in Egypt. Mitchell surmises the importance of understanding the rural subsistence household as a site of capitalist production that interacts with the capitalist economy in particular ways (Mitchell, 1998).

In further delineating capitalist transition in rural India, Lerche concedes the presence of capitalist farmers. But he also asserts that the agricultural economy has declined in its importance and contribution to the overall economic development of the country, as it has not experienced enhanced capitalist differentiation and productivity (Lerche, Shah & Harris-White, 2013). Significantly, there is an increasing movement of rural populations outside of agriculture. Historically, lower caste men have resorted to migration and engaging in non-agricultural paid work to meet basic needs. In fact, the percentage of all rural workers in agriculture has declined from 73 in the early 1980s to 53 in 2009-2010 (Byres, 2013 as cited in Lerche, 2011). Additionally, in the contemporary rural scenario there is a tremendous increase in desirability of professional employment among middle and upper caste rural populations (Kodoth, 2004; Kodoth, 2005; Mohanty, 2001; Rao, 2005; Rao, 2005a). In fact, various studies in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have demonstrated that large landowners seek to consolidate class privilege by investing their agricultural surplus into the acquisition of public sector employment. This allows them to leverage political power and access state funds (Jeffery & Lerche, 2001; Jha, 2004; Lerche et al., 2013). Thus, like Chatterjee and Mitchell, Lerche concedes the capitalist engagements of rural economies but highlights that the form of capitalist development in rural areas is not reminiscent of intensive class differentiation. (Lerche et al., 2013). Overall, Chatterjee, Mitchell and Lerche pinpoint the complex economic dynamics of India's transitioning rural economy.

Modern Subjectivities

The changing economic dimensions of rural areas also influences the emerging form of rural politics that no longer reflect resistance by landless labourers against the landlord, as was the case in the 1970s. This is explained by the declining importance of agricultural labour as a relevant issue that invokes the concerns of a majority of rural population and the emergence of a new form of subaltern politics. The new type of agitations taking place are waged by owner cultivators against supra local actors or the Indian state. Owner cultivator groups such as Jats, Gujars and Yadavs that comprise OBCs have rallied the Indian state for reservation in urban jobs and educational institutes (Gupta, 2005). This form of subaltern politics represents aspirations for citizenship through the routes of indigenouness and urban incorporation. This shift in aspirations is aptly captured by a famous Urdu saying in UP which claims, “ In this case a politician who begs for my vote is on top, followed by a salaried job, and at the bottom of the heap is the agriculturalist” (Gupta, 2005 p. 755).

In explaining this form of subaltern politics Chatterjee segments society into two entities. These are the bourgeoisie society and a large segment of the population that cannot be conceived as rights bearing citizens in the strict sense of the constitution but share a political relationship with the state. He terms these segments of the society as comprising the civil society and political society, respectively (Chatterjee, 2010). This split in the population of the nation state refers to the distinction between the “ elite domain and an unorganized subaltern domain” (Chatterjee, 2010 p. 184) and their divergent economic positioning and political strategies. The subaltern political society demands access to welfare benefits under the guise of moralistic popular demands and engages with non-corporate capital. In contrast, the elite civil society serves as the vanguard of hegemonic modernity and corporate capital (Chatterjee, 2010). The civil society

operates on the principle of accumulation and strives to impose order in public spaces, political society and the informal sector based on the idea that economic growth will propel social equity.

In contrast, the political society mobilizes modern liberal notion of rights and social justice to negotiate with the state for greater access to resources and basic rights and function within the market space. The new form of subaltern or political society politics entails the legitimization of human rights discourse that promulgates the idea of subsistence and basic rights for dispossessed populations. Thus, despite being excluded from notions of citizenship put forth in the constitution actors in the political society attempt to lay claim to citizenship and representation through the routes of indigenous liberty and autonomy (Busse & Stang, 2011; Chatterjee, 2010). Evidently, the new form of political citizenship among marginalized populations appears vested in acquiring access to state and welfare benefits.

In attempting to understand emerging forms of political subjectivities and citizenship claims vis-à-vis the state in a transitioning rural landscape it is particularly expedient to draw upon material practices and everyday discourses. In this endeavour it is useful to draw upon Gupta's ethnographically based approach towards studying modernization process in rural Uttar Pradesh. Significantly, in attempting to delineate people's understanding of the state Gupta reinforces the importance of not perceiving the subaltern class as homogenous entity. He asserts the need to consider the "multiply mediated" contexts through which the state is understood (Gupta, 1997; Gupta, 2006). In his particular case study on the understanding of corruption in rural India Gupta demonstrates that the interpretations and political leanings of the subaltern subject vis-à-vis the state derive from their class positioning. Thus, he concludes subaltern social groups are better understood through the prism of their divergent interests rather than the overarching concept of civil society deployed by Chatterjee (Gupta, 2006). In the present study,

Gupta and Chatterjee's approaches will be deployed in tandem in order to unravel the everyday practices through which the PAPs express their political subjectivities.

Conceptual Framework

Defining Caste

The caste system is a defining feature of social and labour relations in rural India and in the present study there has been an effort at understanding the operation of caste in tandem with class. While caste is often defined with reference to one's hereditary occupation and principles of purity and pollution, these linkages are highly contextualized and don't necessarily pan out in application. Caste can be more usefully defined as, "a form of differentiation wherein the constituent units of the system justify endogamy on the basis of putative biological differences which are semaphored by the ritualization of multiple social practices" (Gupta, 1984 p. 2051). Given the preponderance of caste groups under each caste category that are highly contingent on region and local context, for the purposes of the present research it is useful to think of caste groups as hierarchally differentiated at the level of upper castes and lower castes (Chakravarti, 2003). While there are fewer upper caste groups, the majority of caste groups fall within the lower caste realm, which can be further differentiated into scheduled castes (SC) and other backward castes (OBC). Scheduled tribes (ST) or adivasis refer to India's aboriginal population that falls outside the caste system but are often couched together with scheduled castes in policy and government speak under the banner of SC&ST. These two groups are benefactors of affirmative action and government programs due to their historically marginalized status (Chakravarti, 2003).

Scheduled castes, scheduled tribes (adivasis) and other backward castes have historically been subjected to systemic economic and social discrimination. While caste-based discrimination

was abolished by the Indian Constitution at the time of its formulation, institutionalized forms of discrimination and violence against adivasis and lower caste groups, especially scheduled castes persists. Contemporarily, in many regions of India such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh Other Backwards Castes or OBCs are also perceived as the middle caste as they have begun to gain economic and social mobility (Chakravarti, 2003, Valmiki, 2003).

Thus, we can speak of caste categories in terms of lower castes, which includes Dalits¹¹ or scheduled castes that have historically been considered polluting. Middle castes, which refers to castes like the Yadavs, Jats that are technically identified as OBCs. But they may be dominant in certain regions and have not historically been deemed as polluting. Higher castes include Brahmins and Thakurs among others (Chakravarti, 2003). These categorizations while analytically useful do not always neatly map onto social reality. For instance there is generally significant variation between the different OBC groups in a village. While a particular OBC group may be dominant another would be similar to a scheduled caste group in their social standing. Thus, when referring to empirical data, the divergences and congruencies with these general categories will be delineated.

Caste and Class

In terms of examining the interaction between caste and class, debates between scholars from the Marxist and culturological traditions have revealed divergent conceptualizations. Culturists instate caste is the infrastructure of society that serves to shape material reality and is thereby, deemed an “irreducible and immutable given” (Gupta, 1981 p. 2093). A logical conclusion stemming from this assertion is that caste serves as an enduring social identifier that

¹¹ Dalits is a political form of self-identification for people that have traditionally been deemed untouchable and are legally termed as scheduled castes. A subset of the Dalit population also self identifies as Harijans and generally these diverse identifications among scheduled castes refer to divergent political ideologies. While Dalits are seen to have adopted Ambedkar’s discourse on caste, Harijans are assumed to identify with Gandhi’s view (Chakravarti, 2003). Nevertheless, like many other caste categorizations, these identifications don’t always map onto their supposed political affiliation. For instance, in the present field site a number of Mayawati supporters (a Dalit leader that has arisen on the plank of Ambedkar’s version of Dalit politics) identify as Harijans.

does not cease to exist and exercises an impact upon people despite class mobility, so a rich Dalit will remain a Dalit regardless. In contrast, Marxists claim that caste identities are not a given but rather it's material reality and operation is established in consonance with class relations. For instance, they assert that caste identification and caste loyalties are activated based on people's class positions (Gupta, 1981). A demonstration of this approach is a study conducted by Steur (2013) on the adivasi land rights movement in Kerala. In this study Steur shows that agricultural labourers' class position and the concomitant access to community networks, alternative employment opportunities and economic resources impacted their propensity to partake in the caste-based movement and mobilize their caste identity. Thus, an upwardly mobile adivasi woman that was more integrated into the social and economic mainstream of the village was unlikely to participate in the land rights movement and utilize her caste identity for political maneuvering (Steur, 2013).

The present study strives to incorporate both these perspectives in charting the interaction between caste and class. While the present study acknowledges caste as an enduring reality, it also strives to examine the influence of class mobility upon caste based labour relations and the presence or lack of social mobility among lower caste respondents. While this approach is closer to the Marxist position, it diverges from the Marxist tendency to collapse caste and class wherein caste oppression is necessarily conceived as exploitation of the ruling class (Gupta, 1981). Thus, instead of presuming a one to one correlation between caste and class, the present research will chart respondents along the independent axis of caste and class. Thereafter, the interactions between the two forms of social organization and differentiation will be discussed. In addition to relaying a nuanced narrative of caste and class mobility, the present study will probe whether and in what ways class mobility allows lower castes individuals to resist forms of caste-based oppression or disadvantage.

Economic Trajectories: One foot in the rural, one foot in the urban

Introduction

Diversification of livelihoods is an important feature of agrarian shift and industrialization that is best understood through its context specific correlates (Ellis, 1998 as cited in Razavi, 2003). Thus, this chapter attempts to analyze the diversified livelihoods and land use depicted by respondents' vis-à-vis modernization processes. A significant claim about the impact of modernization on livelihood practices is that it facilitates a movement, especially among upper and middle castes, away from agriculture towards professional employment (Gupta, 2005; Jha, 2004; Lerche et al., 2013). This chapter seeks to interrogate this claim about the impact of modernization by analyzing the economic practices and livelihoods of PAPs.

In its first and second part the chapter engages with people's conceptions of and engagement with land. The third part of the chapter highlights the diversified livelihoods depicted by the PAPs in the context of urbanization. In the fourth part of the chapter land investments, a central component of diversified livelihood strategies are discussed. In conclusion, it is ascertained that contrary to the abovementioned claim, agriculture continues to occupy a significant role in the livelihood trajectories of PAPs. This pattern is explained with reference to Verdery and Majumder's analysis on the symbolic importance of land.

Conceptions and Utilization of Land for Agriculture

At the onset of the research, people were often asked to relay their conceptions of land use and importance. However, a sole reliance on narratives of land served to reinforce a romanticized construction of land. Thus, it was deemed relevant and useful to examine both the narratives around land and the material livelihood strategies people engaged with. It was thought that this

process would yield a more comprehensive understanding of contemporary land use and its contribution to livelihood trajectories.

At the level of narratives, people stressed, in both functionalist and romanticized terms the use value of even a small piece of agricultural land that could be utilized for subsistence agriculture. Maintaining access to some form of agriculture appeared economically important, as it entailed low input costs and allowed respondents to engage with small-scale agriculture to produce items for everyday family consumption. Moreover, there was a strong negative connotation attached to purchasing food from the market. Most respondents across the caste groups appeared invested in facilitating subsistence agriculture to “meet one’s everyday needs”.

Despite the normative discourse privileging subsistence agriculture there were marked divergences from this perspective based on generational status, caste and relatedly previous experience in agriculture and professional employment trajectories. In terms of generational status, a number of younger respondents perceived agriculture as an undesirable pursuit. These youth were either upper caste or middle caste men seeking a movement away from rural livelihoods towards professional employment or SC men that have historically not had agricultural land in their family. Rakesh is a twenty four year old Sahu boy that has a Bachelor of Commerce degree and is in the process of completing his ITI¹² diploma and seeking employment or internship opportunities. When he was asked whether people nowadays prefer employment or agriculture he says:

People want a job that is the best...agriculture should also be there but if one is able to study and get a good job somewhere then it is better Everybody wants that their son is well educated and gets good posts and does well in life that is why people move from the village to the city.

¹² Refers to Industrial Training Institutes are government run organizations that render post-school technical training. Normally a person who has passed grade 10 is eligible for admission to the institute.

Significantly, Rakesh's immediate family does not practice agriculture. His father's brothers live in a village close to the Essar plant and practice agriculture on 5 acres of land. Rakesh's grandfather bought this land in the 1990s, ten years after their displacement from NTPC. He thought that not everybody has jobs to earn their livelihood, so some people will have to do agriculture to make a living. Thus, the family's livelihood strategy indicates that agriculture served as back-up strategy that one conceded to in the absence of other opportunities rather than the occupation that one aspired to. This was confirmed by Rakesh's response to the question about whether his father asked him to be involved with the family's agriculture. Rakesh said, "*no he hasn't ...I have studied and I get settled somewhere its good but if that is not happening then what is one to do then one will have to go and work on the land*". Thus, Rakesh narrative underlines that a move away from agriculture is associated with an aspirational drive towards urbanization and professional employment. This narrative is representative of younger generation of Sahus, whose immediate families don't contemporarily practice agriculture. Among Sahu families engaged in agriculture, the younger generation also perceived it as important.

Thus, across castes respondents that had previously either owned or worked on agricultural land as sharecroppers were inclined to maintain agricultural land. For instance, despite making a more concerted move towards professional employment and regardless of generational status previously landowning upper caste Brahmins perceived the maintenance of agricultural as important. Among the middle castes, Sahus depicted this tendency. Also, SCs that had practiced agriculture on government land or were sharecroppers prior to their displacement echoed a similar narrative of land use. For instance, Sita, a Harijan woman that was residing on government land when displaced attests that prior to displacement she had 4-5 acres of land. Further in comparing life before and after displacement she says, "*before our life was more easy going and we produced our own source of income...we had no worry now if we don't go to earn*

then what will we eat before we had income through our own work in the house through agriculture". Nevertheless, Sita's idealized construction of agricultural work stands in stark contrast to her emphasis, later in the conversation, upon social mobility and development that has been facilitated through land acquisition and compensation money.

Who is engaging in commercial agriculture?

While there was greater concurrence on the usability of subsistence agriculture, none of the respondents with the exception of one upper caste family indicated engaging with commercial (this was also technically deemed productive¹³ agriculture) agriculture. For most respondents it didn't seem to be something that they had really considered. Especially, small landholders expressed that commercial agriculture was an infeasible option due to the logistical and financial commitment it entailed. Also, Rakesh, an upper caste Pandit man who worked at the Essar plant as the Deputy Manager indicated the difficulty of managing full time employment with agriculture due to time constraints. Another upper caste Pandit respondent that was permanently employed with NCL expressed that he did not have enough helping hands to extensively pursue agriculture, as his children were still school going. These upper caste respondents tended to enter into sharecropping arrangements for the land they currently owned. As this enabled them to set aside the land for the time being so that in the future once their fathers retire and children grow older they can engage with agriculture more substantially.

Among the Brahmins interviewees, one of the families' engaged with commercial agriculture and had 32 acres of land near the border of Chhattisgarh, which was worked on by employed labourers and sharecroppers. This family's ability to engage with commercial agriculture was linked to a number of factors. The household had a younger son that was able to

¹³ According to NTPC productive agriculture was defined as multicrop agriculture that was not dependent upon the weather and had a continual source of water supply.

dedicate his time towards the management of agriculture due to being a self-employed businessman. Also, having purchased land near Chhattisgarh, they were able to recruit local families to till the land. These families have been working on their land since 1983-1984 and are reliant on this work due to the absence of alternative employment opportunities. In terms of water sources for agriculture, the younger son mentions there is a river close by and also a well and mechanized water supply was set up to ensure continual water supply. With their agricultural practices, the family is able to get enough rice from the land so that they never have to purchase it from the market and they also grow wheat and lentils. Importantly, when the family was asked about whether they think agriculture is still profitable, they said that if you engage with agriculture carefully it's more profitable than employment. The younger son asserts, “*If I work the full year I will not make as much and in agriculture I will earn 10 lakhs in one year*”. Thus, it seemed that for upper caste respondents despite the move towards professional employment, commercial agriculture does not become obsolete but rather a long-term engagement. They pursue it substantially once they are able to invest in agricultural inputs and/or one of the family members is able to take over a prominent role in managing agriculture.

Diversified Livelihoods

While respondents depicted the propensity to maintain subsistence agriculture, this was not the primary preoccupation for any of the families. Most of the respondents pursued diversified livelihood trajectories that centralized simultaneous involvement in various activities such as: employment, setting up one's own business or becoming a contractor and purchasing land for investment. In a well off Brahmin family in sector 1, Navjiwan Vihar (this family is also discussed above with respect to commercial agriculture) the two older sons had permanent positions at NCL, as clerk and driver. The younger son was running a driving business in the

adjoining town of Waidhan. He owned four cars and managed agricultural work. The father also worked at NCL. This family had lost land to both NTPC and NCL. When they lost land to NTPC, the father was already working at NCL so the sons, when they grew up, decided to attain employment in NCL. In fact, the younger son mentioned he is planning to use some “jugaad” (exertion of influence) to get a job in NCL. In terms of land investments, the family has purchased more land near NCL that has been evaluated for acquisition and they are awaiting compensation. They have also bought land near the Hindalco plant and 50 decimal of land near the Essar Plant that have not been acquired yet. All the three brothers were not that educated and had only graduated from high school. The two older sons lived in NCL quarters and their children studied in the well-established English medium school, DAV that was accessible for NCL employees and PAPs. The family also appeared to have a continual linkage with land in the village, as they spoke about having a large house in the village and visiting it once or twice a week with the entire family. Importantly, this upper caste family is quite affluent and reflects a heightened level of livelihood diversification. However, their narrative is representative of all upper caste families’ simultaneous engagements with permanent employment positions, land investments and agricultural land.

Akin to upper caste respondents, upwardly mobile lower caste respondents also depicted diversified livelihoods. Sita, a Harijan woman that resides in sector 3, Navjiwan Vihar works as contract labour for 10-20 days in a month. She mentioned that she did not work in the last two months because of the hot weather. Her husband does not work, as he is not well. She has four children one of whom is handicapped. Her other son has a contract job in Maharashtra at an electrical plant and earns Rs 10,000-12,000 per month. She also has two daughters one of whom was married locally. The second daughter was married off to a Bengali family residing in Malda, West Bengal and now both husband and wife reside in Maharashtra. The Bengali son-in law has

a private job in Maharashtra, in which he earns Rs 20,000 a month. The other son-in law does not work, so both the daughter and son in law live with Sita and the daughter does domestic chores at the houses of NTPC employees. In terms of land investments, Sita bought land near the Essar plant in 1983-1984 when land prices were lower. Sita reports that she got 1 lakh for each plot when it was acquired and Essar also gives Rs6000 per month to the PAPs, regardless of whether you work for them or not. She has also bought land near the NCL plant and a relative has started with the process of building a house there. In summarizing her livelihood strategy Sita says, “ *we are moving forward with that money...over there (Essar plant) they are giving us money on a monthly basis and over here (NTPC) they are not...so we are doing duty here and the money we get from there we are saving and we are eating from the money we make through laboring here*”. While Sita’s narrative is not representative of all SCs and represents a more magnified form of diversification, it captures the diversification of livelihoods that was evident among upwardly mobile SCs and most OBC families.

Taken together, the livelihood patterns of respondents combined urban employment, either permanent or contractual with land investments and maintenance of agriculture, wherever it was feasible. In fact, the livelihood strategies depicted by the Pandit and Harijan families discussed above represent ideal livelihood patterns in the context of Singrauli, as they effectively combine and utilize opportunities in the rural and urban landscape.

Investments in Land

Evidently, the livelihood trajectories of families indicate that investing in land around power plants was a widely utilized strategy across caste groups to get access to compensation and benefits. However, not all lower caste families had the means to buy land and many SC and non-Sahu OBC families claimed they were unable to purchase land. Nevertheless, the presence of

multiple thermal power plants and coal mines in the region meant that people could strategically choose to buy lands in particular areas to further their opportunities for securing higher compensation or employment. There are approximately fourteen coalmines and power plants in Singrauli district and most of these are located in Mara tehsil and Singrauli tehsil ¹⁴(see Map 1.0 in Background Information chapter).

At the level of general conversation, one sensed high levels of know-how about where it is best to purchase land for acquisition, the facilities offered by the different plants and the opportunities one could garner based on land location. While NTPC offers higher salaries compared to NCL, even for a low level job such as that of a clerk, they no longer offer permanent jobs. Thus, a number of people were keen to have their land acquired by Northern Coal Limited (NCL), as they offer permanent employment for one family member for every 2 acres of land. In fact, a land surveyor of the region told me that people who had less than 2 acres of land around NCL were seeking the cooperation of other community members, so as to register their collective lands together to make a total of 2 acres. In this arrangement, the party that was seeking employment would be able to access it whilst the other parties involved in the deal would be able to attain compensation money. Thus, for less educated PAPs, having land acquired by NCL served as sure shot method for attaining permanent employment. NCL also allows a PAP to pass on the guaranteed job to his child by showing a medical certificate, claiming he is unable to work.

Among those unemployed youth that had completed ITI diplomas or were in the process of doing so they were seeking employment across the power plants, wherever a vacancy existed. Also, if their parent was employed at either NTPC or NCL they talked about attempting to use “jugaad” (exertion of influence) to get in. Generally, government owned enterprises such as

¹⁴ This was an approximation that was relayed to me by Tiwariji. Tiwariji has spent his entire life in the region and has worked extensively with land records and various power plants in his previous position.

NTPC and NCL were perceived positively as compared to power plants run by private companies like Reliance, Hindalco, Essar and Jaypee. The private power plants and coalmines apparently provided lower compensation and benefits than NTPC and NCL. Thus, land investments were a significant component of the diversified livelihood strategies that people depicted. These investments allowed people to not only strategize around compensation but also employment and social benefits that were strongly associated with the social mobility perceived by respondents, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusion

The larger milieu of multiple power plants in Singrauli spurs processes of urbanization and diversified livelihood patterns. In these emerging livelihood trajectories, land use either for investment or agriculture is conceptualized in tandem with employment and business activities. In this urbanizing context land is not the sole means of sustenance for people but rather a supplementary resource. Moreover, purchasing land for investment rather than agriculture is taking precedence. Land investments are oriented at ensuring high compensation and access to permanent employment in the formal sector. Nevertheless, despite the sway towards land investments, subsistence agriculture remains both economically and symbolically important. However, large-scale agriculture is not affordable and pragmatic for almost all respondents. Even upper castes maintain agricultural production on their landholding through sharecropping agreements that are reportedly not profitable.

Thus, in some ways the findings reverberate assertions about the declining value of agriculture (Lerche et al., 2013). As the abovementioned findings suggest that with the exception of one family, all others are contemporarily engaged in subsistence agriculture. Nevertheless, in speaking with the respondents it was clear that there was significant underreporting of

engagement with commercial agriculture. This is in line with previous experiences of fieldwork in rural India, where respondents generally downplay their economic successes to communicate greater poverty and “need” for assistance. However, even after accommodating underreporting of engagement with commercial agriculture, it is clear that productive agriculture is on the decline. The reasons for this decline according to respondents are that commercial agriculture required significant investments of time, labour and agricultural inputs like fertilizers and continual water supply.

Nevertheless, despite the decline in productive agriculture, subsistence agriculture was purported as both economically and symbolically important. Respondents commonly relayed that subsistence agriculture entailed producing enough for one’s own needs and felt this was economically beneficial as it saved them money on buying things from the market. In fact, previous work on land reforms in East Asia has suggested that small plots of well irrigated land in close proximity to other sources of income and services has the potential enhance household income (Hart, 1995 as cited in Razavi, 2003). However, it is difficult to decipher with the data available whether subsistence agriculture facilitated economic self-sufficiency among respondents.

Additionally, the symbolic importance of land articulated by respondents can also be understood through Verdery’s work on land meaning in Transylvania and Majumder’s work on land acquisition in West Bengal. Drawing on her empirical research in the village of Aurel Vlaicu in Transylvania, Verdery demonstrates that under decollectivization land ceased to produce economic value. Yet it was crucial for village elites, as it allowed them to assert and leverage their status. Even labourers and sharecroppers worked on people’s land only for as long as they could not afford to buy their own piece of land. Once they obtained access to land

previous sharecroppers and labourers perceived the upkeep and productive use of their land as crucial in establishing class mobility and status (Verdery, 2004).

Majumder demonstrates that anti-industrialization protests in the case of land acquisition in West Bengal cannot be reduced to emotional attachment to land. Rather she extends Gidwani's concept on politics of work to the idea of land to assert that in the context of land redistribution in West Bengal, land became an important social marker. According to Gidwani work does not merely pertain to actions undertaken with the aim of meeting material needs but it is also a way to create and assert one's identity. Thus, choices about work are not merely rational calculations but also informed by symbolic priorities. In extending this concept to the politics of land, Majumder asserts that in the context of West Bengal the anti-industrialization protests were an effort to hold on to the social status symbolized by land ownership as well as, prevent the commodification of one's labour and land by corporate capital (Majumder, 2012).

In utilizing Verdery and Majumder's conclusions as a point of departure, it is possible to perceive the continued importance of subsistence agriculture in Singrauli as assertions of rural identity. The rural identity may be conceived with respect to rural systems of hierarchal organization that don't become obsolete due to the process of urbanization. In fact a respondent encapsulated this notion when he said, *"This money could have been better spent in another business but since we have inherited land from our forefathers and used to have land we should also have land"* Thus, subsistence agriculture may have some economic value. However, its continuation may not be premised upon rational decision making but rather a desire to maintain one's source of power and status, as understood in the rural context. In this framework, the spatially dispersed livelihood practices of respondents while serving to manage risk and facilitate mobility also enable respondents to simultaneously maintain accessibility to urban modernization and rural identity. Taken together, contrary to the notion of a linear and complete modernization

process from rural to urban, the respondents in Singrauli appear to be in a transitional stage in which they strive to have one foot in the rural and one in the urban.

Social Mobility

Introduction

At the level of general discourse within the community, especially in Navjiwan Vihar development is often correlated with the image of unhindered social mobility that was uniformly accessible. This speaks to an internalization of the neoliberal development model avidly referenced by Ferguson (2006) and Escobar (1995). Nevertheless, in reflecting upon the material reality and discourses of differently placed respondents, it becomes evident that development has a contextualized impact. Thus, this chapter attempts to engage with the processes of development that are broadly conceptualized in terms of social mobility. Social mobility, defined as an elevation in social status refers to occupational mobility, access to education and caste mobility wherein ruptures in caste hierarchy are interpreted as caste mobility. This definition of social mobility functions as a primer for development, as per the emic construct of development, which was construed with regard to urban lifestyle and economic opportunities. Class is conceived in terms of type and status of employment (i.e. permanent versus temporary and self employed vs. contractor vs. labourer) and land ownership. Thus, caste and class are analyzed as related but independent dimensions. Further, their interrelationship and interaction with social mobility is analyzed.

The first part of this chapter discusses continuities in caste hierarchies in terms of the occupational mobility and access to educational opportunities exercised by Navjiwan Vihar PAPs. The second part of the chapter etches out ruptures in caste hierarchy with reference to shifting caste relations and class mobility as experienced by Navjiwan Vihar and Belarey PAPs, respectively. In conclusion, it is asserted that social mobility and ensuing development in the context of land acquisition is mediated by continuities in caste hierarchies.

Continuities in Caste Hierarchy

Occupational Mobility

In relating their experiences, OBCs, SCs and Muslims residing in Navjiwan Vihar often couched their experiences of social mobility in terms of development and progress. In contrast, while upper caste Pandits in Navjiwan Vihar can be seen to have experienced the greatest access to permanent employment positions at NTPC, they were the least likely to identify their mobility, even in occupational terms. In fact, with the exception of one family all the interviewed Pandit households had one or more family members employed at either NTPC or NCL as permanent employees. Jai also related that during the first phase of land acquisition when NTPC carried forth the hiring of permanent staff the person conducting the hiring was a Pandit, so he gave preference to Pandit applicants. Also, given that historically Pandits have exerted social and political clout and are better educated than their lower caste counterparts, they likely experienced greater access to permanent employment positions in the power plants. This is also evidenced by the data on permanent employment maintained by NTPC, according to which out of the 242 PAPs that have permanent employment at NTPC only 73 are SCs and STs. Thus, the remaining employment positions are occupied by OBCs and upper castes, with upper castes likely having the greatest share.

Nevertheless, among the older generation there are some Sahus and Muslims that managed to get permanent employment at NTPC, but these were very few in number. Also, some respondents from the present generation of Sahus and Muslims are seeking access to professional employment in the formalized sector. However, for a majority of OBCs and SCs occupational mobility entailed moving up from being contractual labourers to becoming contractors or running their own business. According to the approximations relayed by different respondents, there was

one Muslim person and six Sahu permanently employed at NTPC. In terms of the incidence of OBC and SC contractors, despite the larger narrative about the preponderance of non-local contractors, I came across approximately two SC and five OBC contractors and one Muslim contractor. Interestingly, these respondents were not as transparent about how they forged access to contractual work. When asked how he got into contractual work despite the difficulties, Irfan, a Muslim contractor mentioned:

I got opportunity...after leaving studies I got into politics and am the member of a party...I took the support of a political party and they enabled me to move forward...Those officers and politicians above me they called Delhi and from there call came here and that is how my work was set up otherwise it wouldn't have happened...

Also, in conversing with Sahu respondents, it became apparent that occupational mobility was inextricably linked to the influence one could exercise, either due to class privilege or personal contacts. For instance, Durgaprasad, a Sahu respondent that has a good personal and professional equation with the AGM HR currently runs a driving business, while his family works on agricultural land. He is also planning to reopen his grocery shop within NTPC quarters. While Durgraprasad did not mention how he got access to the space for the shop or contracts for an expanding driving business, he has cultivated respect and reliability for himself among NTPC HR officials. Similarly, another Sahu respondent, Jawaharlalvishya started working for NTPC in 1990. He worked as private contract labour for fifteen years before he was permanently hired as a clerk in NTPC's HR Department. When he was asked about how his experience compares with the displacement experience of others, he concedes that since his family had 61 acres of land and were doing well with agriculture prior to displacement he probably had a better experience than others. Thus, it is likely that given the economic and social stronghold of Sahus in the area, some of them that were previously privileged in terms of class status had greater access to opportunities for occupational mobility.

The majority of OBCs and SCs in Navjiwan Vihar were engaged in private contractual labour at different levels. While SCs were employed for low-level manual labour, their OBC counterparts took on supervisory or mid level jobs. A conversation with OBC and SC labourers that have been working at NTPC for 15-20 years revealed that while they started at the lower rung of the unskilled labour hierarchy, they were slowly promoted to skilled work, as they were able to learn skills over time. None of these respondents were educated beyond grade 8. Moreover, they felt that their level of education was unrelated to their ascendance in the work environment, which was premised on skill acquisition. At the level of general discourse there was discontent among contractual labor due to not being given permanent jobs and enough work. Specifically, local laborers alleged that contractors did not want to hire them because they feared that due to their local status they have the potential to mobilize and create problems in case of an accident. Yet the laboring population appeared to derive comfort and flexibility from the proximity of NTPC employment, as it allowed them to etch out diversified livelihood strategies. In fact, when discussing the compensation packages offered by the different power plants, a number of respondents mentioned that a distinct disadvantage of Reliance was that their rehabilitation site was 10-12 km from the office. This served as a disincentive because it meant that one had to travel extensively for employment and to lodge any complaints with the company. In contrast to Reliance, NTPC was located only 2km from Navjiwan Vihar and this proximity operated at multiple levels to define the economic trajectories, social formations and political subjectivities of Navjiwan Vihar PAPs.

Access to Educational Opportunities

The most striking aspect of the mobility experienced by upper caste Pandits in Navjiwan Vihar was their children's access to English medium schools that were located in the NTPC and

NCL living quarters. In fact, almost all Pandit families related a modification of living patterns wherein the married daughter's male child was staying at Navjiwan Vihar with his maternal family to attain access to NTPC schooling. Also, in many cases upper caste NCL employees decided to stay at the NCL quarters with their immediate family, although their extended family was residing at Navjiwan Vihar to access the schools at NCL for a subsidized fee. In contrast to upper caste Pandits, OBC and SC families did not appear to prioritize English medium education or even Hindi medium education from NTPC schools (NTPC schools had a higher fee than other private schools in the area). While in many cases they could afford the schools, in other instances it was simply not deemed a worthwhile or desirable expenditure.

In elaborating upon the reason for his parents not sending him to English medium NTPC schools, Rakesh related that his parents were not as aware and educated. He said that while his father did start to work at NTPC, his thought process didn't necessarily change. Also, they were anxious about how they would assist him with his homework, as they couldn't understand English. With Hindi medium they felt that they could at least oversee his work and provide guidance. Thus, for many lower caste respondents, who had the means to purchase land and buy expensive consumer items, spending on "privileged" educational institutes was not deemed as important. This is likely due to the occupational trajectories followed by lower caste groups, in which education was not essential to mobility. It is also possible that institutionalized discrimination has made lower castes more cynical about attaining mobility through education. In contrast to lower caste locals that were ambivalent about the value of sending their children to NTPC and NCL schools, migrant families from Bihar were very pleased about the access to good schooling that their children could enjoy due to their proximity to NTPC. All the migrant families that were interviewed sent or were in the process of sending their children to the Hindi medium schools at NTPC.

Ruptures in Caste Hierarchy

Shifting Caste Relations

It has been commonly noted that a move away from the agricultural economy entails greater freedom for lower castes from systems of economic and social bondage to landlords (Waghmore, 2012). Similarly, in the urbanizing space of Navjiwan Vihar a number of SCs reported preference of employment in the plant as opposed to working on someone else's land. Majiri is a deserted Harijan woman who resides in a *kucha* house in sector 3 with her two sons and daughters. She describes that prior to displacement, her father used to do menial jobs and labour on the fields of Thakurs for 1.5kg of food. When asked how the family's present situation compares with their situation before displacement she says:

This is better than before...before we used to do cleaning work in Thakur families and they used to give us handful of rice and lentils to eat...they used to fill rice of 1.5 kg in a box that weighed .5 kg and in that you can imagine what we could do we didn't know whether to eat it in the day or night you think of it...to think of our condition before I get tears in my eyes...we have left working for the Thakurs since we have come to the plot..they don't call us and now no one salutes Thakurs. Before when Thakurs used to come to our house and disrespectfully talk to my father not now..now Thakurs also live here and we also live here...

An older Pandit man that has a permanent job with NCL that he had secured prior to land acquisition also echoed the narrative of shifting caste relations. He says, "*For the lower castes this (displacement and land acquisition) is really good in the village they did not have land...so today these people have become owners of land and they used to live on our land...what compensation we got even they got so it is very fortunate for them...*" Moreover, when discussing his agricultural work he laments the lack of willing and available labour in Singrauli area. In fact he says, "*The people that were working under us no longer want to do that...they want to go to the plant where they get 100 rupees (says this resentfully)...where we have bought land now that is jungle area so people don't have land there...they cannot survive so they take our land and*

work on it.” Thus, it is evident that a shift in caste relations arose from the opening up of alternative employment opportunities to lower castes in the power plants.

Class Mobility

While a number of lower caste PAPs in Navjiwan Vihar expressed class mobility; among the SCs and Sahus in Belarey class mobility was more explicit. Compared to the old PAPs residing in Navjiwan Vihar, the new PAPs in Belarey received higher levels of compensation based upon increasing land prices and NTPC’s revised land acquisition policy, as outlined in the Appendix. According to NTPC officials the compensation amounts have also been hiked to prevent resistance from the community. Thus, the Sahu and SC interviewees in Belarey received between 2 to 10 lakhs in compensation packages just from NTPC. In addition, they received a separate compensation for the land from the government. This immense inflow of cash translated into stronger assertions and claims of class mobility that was gleaned from the business ventures, expensive weddings and consumerism engaged in by Sahu and SC respondents in Belarey.

Nandlal, an SC residing in Belarey related that his family received approximately 29 lakhs in total for their homestead plot in another part of Belarey. This amount was divided among numerous family members and in the end Nandlal and his wife received 6 lakhs. Nandlal then invested this money in the purchase and upkeep of a bus that he was hoping would be utilized and contracted by NTPC. But when I went to interview him he expressed the loss he suffered because of the bus that he purchased with a loan. He paid the bus’ installments for a year and a half and incurred additional expenses to make the bus operational and then sold the bus when nothing was working out. Nandlal’s post displacement effort at establishing his own business is in contrast with his pre displacement occupation, which entailed agriculture and doing stitching work. Nandlal’s post displacement experience depicts the opening up of some opportunities for

occupational and class mobility. For instance, he was able to enroll his children in private school, build a semi pucca house and invest in a business venture. Nevertheless, given the failure of Nandlal's business venture one cannot claim that Nandlal has attained social mobility. Rather he appears to be in the process of forging access to social mobility.

Moreover, it is telling that the Sahu NTPC driver who is of a higher caste than Nandlal felt the need to express to me after the interview that Nandlal did not make a very smart investment by buying a big bus. Also, during the interview, when I asked Nandlal if he looked up tenders prior to purchasing the bus he got quite defensive and his wife told the driver how come you have put your car in NTPC and you are not even a PAP. The driver responded by saying that he had told Nandlal if he got a smaller car, he would be able to get it in but *“you wanted to buy a big car”*. To this Nandlal said, *“Big cars are not used by NTPC? There are so many big cars, buses and our bus with 40-50 seats is too big?”* Thus, despite the familiarity between the driver and Nandlal's family, Nandlal's decision to buy a bus as opposed to a smaller car seemed to be a point of contention for the driver. This tension can be interpreted as linked to the size of the vehicle purchased by Nandlal, which may appear at odds with his position in the caste hierarchy and thereby, serve as source of conflict.

Atmaram Sahu's family received a compensation package of 2 lakhs and 41 thousand for homestead plot and they are currently residing on a different property in Belarey purchased by Atmaram's father. Prior to displacement they were living on a small 50 decimal plot of land and were employed in different jobs. Atmaram Sahu's father worked as a gardener at NTPC and left his job a year ago. Atmaram Sahu himself was driving and continues to drive a car locally. The compensation money has been directed towards building a pucca house and hosting an expensive wedding for their only daughter. In fact, Atmaram Sahu's wife shows me the decoration and wall painting they had done especially for the daughters wedding (see picture 1.0 in Appendix).

Moreover, since they only have one daughter, it's likely (mentioned by Amit and also confirms my suspicions) that the family has allocated some of the compensation money to their son-in law. The son-in law, Dinesh who resided with his in-laws also affirmed the purchase of some land for acquisition and allocating money for an ITI diploma in order to secure a higher-level job. Dinesh has previously worked in power plants in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu and now is hoping to secure a local job. However, he reported having trouble in making connections and gaining entry into the local job market.

Overall, among the new PAPs residing in Belarey with the exception of one Sahu family who lost approximately 21 acres of agricultural land through acquisition, most of the respondents seem to have gained through displacement. Almost all of these respondents did not own agricultural land and thereby, is likely that some of them are among the PAPs that set up temporary hutments to access homestead plot compensation. While this speculation cannot be confirmed it is evident that securing high levels of compensation has translated into class mobility for most of these families. They have been able to build pucca houses, invest money in land and businesses and purchase motorcycles and other household amenities such as cooler and fan. Thus, the type of class mobility experienced by the new PAPs came forth more clearly due to the inflow of immense capital and corresponding improvement in lifestyle and living conditions. In Navjiwan Vihar while a number of SC and OBC PAPs had experienced class mobility, it was more incremental and less manifest in explicit indicators of wealth.

Conclusion

The abovementioned findings indicate the resilience of caste hierarchies in the sphere of accessing and utilizing educational and occupational opportunities. Nevertheless, these continuities do not preclude the incremental increase in educational and occupational mobility

among lower caste populations, especially among the upwardly mobile Sahus. In terms of ruptures in caste hierarchies, caste and class mobility while linked do not necessarily occur simultaneously. The case of Majiri exemplifies that caste mobility is not predicated on accessing a job much higher in the employment hierarchy. But rather a different type of job that becomes available in an industrializing economy. Thus, caste mobility does not necessitate class mobility.

Nevertheless, experiences of caste and class mobility coincide in cases of social mobility, as exemplified by the cases of Nandlal and Atmaram in Belarey. Both these respondents have experienced an elevation in their social status that is marked by their increased access to education, opportunities for occupational mobility and capital for better housing and amenities. But these respondents, in their thwarted attempts at occupational mobility also demonstrate the resilience of caste as an institutional barrier. Both Nandlal and Dinesh appear to be aspiring for occupational mobility through the routes of business investment and education to secure a higher-level job, respectively. Nevertheless, as the case of Nandlal and his interaction with the NTPC driver reveal that class mobility does not always enable access to the requisite interpersonal connections and know how that comes with caste privilege. Moreover, it is difficult to make conclusive statements about Belarey PAPs, seeing as they are currently in the process of or have attained their compensation in the last year or so. Thus, it is possible that these PAPs are currently in a celebratory mode and their class and social mobility will recede overtime.

Overall, these findings indicate that social mobility and development in the case of Singrauli is mediated by caste. Thus, upper castes while having to adjust to redefined caste relations that lower their power in their local area continue to experience greater class and social mobility. In contrast, lower castes while able to attain some form of class mobility are struggling to achieve enduring social mobility. These findings mirror Gidwani's assertions about development as a "ambivalent" process, as there don't appear to be any clear losers or winners

(Gidwani, 2002). Rather, the case of Singrauli depicts a magnification of previous caste and class hierarchies as well as, aggressive assertions of class mobility by historically marginalized groups. Importantly, the lower caste PAPs in Singrauli appear invested in advocating for and accessing urbanization and modernization, despite the disadvantages and disproportionate obstacles they may experience.

Political Subjectivities

Introduction

Across the PAP groups i.e. new and old PAPs, there seemed to be a general reclamation and utilization of the PAP identity to lay claim to benefits and entitlements from NTPC. While respondents did not use the term PAP, they used another term in Hindi that translates to displaced people, which is also the term that NTPC officials utilized in talking with them. In fact, PAP was a term that was only used in NTPCs documents and in conversations between staff members. Thus, in this discussion PAP is used as shorthand to refer to the identity of displaced people, which respondents laid claim to. Importantly, the PAPs in their interface with NTPC present different concerns depending on their positioning as new or old PAPs.

Thus, this chapter attempts to engage with firstly the divergent relationships to NTPC sought by old and new PAPs through conceptualizations of entitlements. Secondly, the political strategies used by the two groups are elaborated upon. In relaying the political strategies of PAPs, NTPC narratives are often used as an entry point due to limited access to PAPs side of the story. Also, wherever possible the responses of NTPC are indicated to provide a balanced analysis. In conclusion, it is asserted that the forms of politicization depicted by the PAPs reflect the internalization and redeployment of the organizational discourse. Also, while the PAPs can be conceived as operating within the larger paradigm of the “political society” proposed by Chatterjee, they reflect a high level of multiplicity and divergence from the notion of a homogenous political society (Chatterjee, 2010).

Entitlements and NTPC dependency

The old PAPs articulated their impressions of NTPC at two levels: at the level of generalized critique and targeted claims for entitlements. At the level of generalized critique, respondents expressed dissatisfaction and disappointment with the inability of NTPC to provide permanent employment and basic amenities in the rehabilitation colony. Unanimously across caste groups Navjiwan Vihar residents complained about the condition of the roads in and around the colony, open sewage systems that served as a breeding ground for mosquitos, dug up holes and the absence of reliable or tap water supply. Also, labourers lamented not getting enough employment due to the preponderance of migrant contractors that preferred to hire migrant labour. In relaying these generalized narratives, the succeeding generations of the original PAPs did not express an iota of doubt about their claim to the PAP status. Thus, among the older PAPs of Navjiwan Vihar the notion of being a PAP had transgressed generations. Children and in some cases grandchildren of the original displaced population were claiming entitlements on the basis of PAP status.

Moreover, while seemingly commonplace and part of people's everyday reflections, this generalized critique served to reiterate the positions of NTPC as the benefactor and PAPs as legitimate beneficiaries. Respondents used the complaints as an entry point to pinpoint infrastructural deficiencies in the rehabilitation colony were well within the ambit of NTPC responsibilities. In voicing this sentiment a young Harijan boy, Prakash who works as a driver for NTPC exclaimed, "*NTPC doesn't clean the drains properly and says Nagar Nigam should do it but when it came to moving us you (NTPC) are the people that displaced us so you should talk to Nagar Nigam*". While the arrangement set up between NTPC and the municipal corporation dictates that while NTPC would set up basic infrastructure in the colony like water storage tanks,

hand pumps and toilets, the maintenance of these facilities would be the Municipal Corporation's responsibility, this hasn't panned out in application. In practice, while the facilities are installed by NTPC, their maintenance falls by the wayside and the community tends to obfuscate or overlooks the role of the municipal corporation in ensuring the maintenance of the facilities and holds NTPC primarily responsible.

In addition to the generalized narrative, which sets up the positionality of NTPC and the PAPs, the old PAPs deploy a concerted discourse of entitlements and rights. This discourse serves to further reify the expectations from NTPC to function as a quasi-state paternalistic entity. Older PAPs residing in Navjiwan Vihar exhibited greater dependency on NTPC, both in terms of their tangible livelihood strategies and political discourses. The sense of dependency upon NTPC was most pronounced among OBCs and upwardly mobile SCs, as they likely perceived greater benefit in rallying NTPC for certain benefits. The upper caste Pandits, while making cursory remarks about the sorry state of Navjiwan Vihar, tried to distance themselves from the PAP identity. Also, SCs that were not experiencing economic mobility appeared more resigned to the status quo likely for reasons such as the internalization of insurmountable barriers and institutionalized discrimination. Strikingly, both non upwardly mobile SCs and upper caste Pandits appeared comfortable in their present scenario. In contrast, OBCs, upwardly mobile SCs and the two Muslim respondents appeared to be actively vying for a greater share of the pie and tended to articulate their claim to benefits in the language of entitlements.

It is interesting to note that the discourse around entitlements, while often veering into the language of rights does not always explicitly draw upon it. Respondents enact multiple strategies and vocalize different discourses geared at attaining access to benefits. The discourse of rights is one of the many available strategies. For instance, among new PAPs choices about residential location appear geared at engaging with NTPC as a beneficiary. All the Sahu and SCs families

interviewed in Belarey have relocated within Belarey. This continuation in residential location can also be explained by the motivation to maintain social ties and proximity to urban areas and related facilities. Nevertheless, Dange expressed that approximately 40% of people have relocated 40-50 kms away from Belarey and those that stay on generally stand to gain the most benefit from NTPC.

The benefit the new PAPs seek to derive from proximity to NTPC diverges from the motivations and entitlements of older PAPs. Most new PAPs perceive themselves to be independent individuals that are engaged in a temporary and contractual relationship with NTPC. A Harijan family located in Belarey exemplified this relationship in their residential pattern. This family had set up a temporary and transitional residential space in Belarey that seemed to lack the amenities one associates with permanent house structures. They claimed to be living off the compensation money and were waiting for NTPC to acquire the land they were residing on so that they could buy agricultural land near Chhattisgarh and settle there. In fact, they were rather vociferous in their claim for this entitlement and said that if NTPC does not acquire this land, they will protest. Thus, largely in the case of new PAPs the concerted effort to be close to NTPC through residential location is a way to magnify their transactional relationship. This is not to say that there were not any new PAPs attempting to diversify this transactional relationship. But the dominant narrative was one characterized by transitional homes and residential strategies oriented at acquiring more compensation.

In contrast to the new PAPs, the old PAPs expressed dissatisfaction with the hands off approach currently being practiced by NTPC, wherein they were awarding higher compensations in lieu of employment. A number of old PAPs asserted that NTPC should provide permanent employment instead of higher compensation. It was felt that people, especially lower castes, are not necessarily well equipped to utilize the compensation to their advantage. They end up

blowing off the compensation money instead of investing it wisely. This difference in the political sensibilities of the PAPs was also reflected in the political mobilizations carried forth by two groups of PAPs. While my time at the field site did not allow me to explore and delve into the gamut of political strategies being employed by PAPs, some of these methods did come to the fore.

Political Strategies

Older PAPs reflected an orientation towards collective mobilization and resistance that is tied to institutional reforms. Mohan, a Sahu shopkeeper who rents a shop in the NTPC quarter recounted that his father, who lost land to NTPC in 1983 was a community leader up until three years ago when he lost his vision. Mohan's father ran an informal organization that mobilized on issues such as permanent employment at NTPC, education for PAP children and health facilities for PAPs. Also, Mohan himself seemed to be well versed in the eligibility criteria for availing of NTPC benefits and the language of entitlements. He objected to that fact that NTPC does not allow for PAP benefits to be passed down the generations and asserted a seemingly logical explanation for why this should be the case. Mohan says, “ *From land that NTPC has taken its inherited land and its useful for grandchildren, their grandchildren and they would have benefited from it but the land has gone to NTPC so we should get the benefit of it no?*” Mohan also mentioned that ten years ago the shopkeepers collectively mobilized to protest the hike in their rent amounts from Rs 40 to Rs 400. After paying the high rent for a year, 8-10 shopkeepers including Mohan refused to pay the increased rent. While some shop owners were threatened, the people who were unfazed by the threats and stuck with the protest did not end up paying rent for ten years. Mohan emphasized that the protest and standoff was, “ *About our rights... that despite being a PAP we are asked to pay rent when actually we should be given the shop free of*

cost". Finally, the issue came to rest when a new official called the shopkeepers for a meeting and decided on an acceptable amount.

In contrast to the strategies of collective mobilization evidently employed by the previous generation, in the contemporary scenario people appear motivated to mobilize on the basis of individual mobility. A political strategy that was contemporarily being practiced was the filing of right to information (RTI)¹⁵ requests that were oriented at clarifying the compensation and employment benefits NTPC offers. I could not gain access to the content of these information request forms, as they were confidential. But Amit briefly divulged the RTI report of a Muslim respondent who asked whether multiply displaced people are getting some compensation and whether he will be eligible for it. Apparently the same guy has filed three RTI requests in a row and he is one of Muslim land outstees that is creating a problem for the organization. The HR Deputy Manager reported that he receives fifteen requests in a month and half of these are from PAPs in Navjiwan Vihar and Belarey, with a disproportionately higher amount from Belarey . Contrary to my speculation about NGO involvement in this activity, the HR Deputy Manager told me that PAPs file these requests. He said:

A lot of people like villagers whom you would think don't know about RTI do and while they may not understand it in any complicated fashion they broadly know that you can put a 10Rs stamp and ask your questions...this knowledge is like how they know they have to get to the railway station to take a train

According to NTPC there are some community leaders that regularly filed requests in an effort to get the company to commit something in writing, which would allow them to extract benefit from it later.

Another strategy for individual mobility used by new PAPs was political leveraging. A section of new PAPs from Belarey were seen frequenting the R&R office to negotiate with the

¹⁵ The Right to Information Act came into force in October 2005 and it allows any citizen to request information from a public authority and mandates that the public authority response within thirty days. This Act applies to all states except Jammu and Kashmir (for more information see <http://righttoinformation.gov.in>)

R&R unit for higher compensation. The Muslims in Belarey, according to the account relayed by NTPC staff and non-Muslim PAPs appeared to have a stronghold in Belarey. Further, they were using their position to demand higher compensation. As per Jai the case of Raez Mohammad, a Muslim PAP whose family was extended PAP benefits due to being thrice displaced, became a case that subsequent PAPs referred to in order to gain greater compensation. When relaying the story of Raez, Jai emphasized that whatever was done for him was within the ambit of NTPC rules. Also, most recently the compensation that was going to be given to Raez's daughter was taken back, given the furor it was creating within the community. In another account of Raez Mohammad relayed by Amit he said that Raez was close to the collector, as his son used to do fishing and then send fish for the collector. So in addition to him being multiply displaced, Raez's special treatment was likely also linked to his closeness to the collector.

In response to the demands relayed by the Muslim PAPs from Belarey NTPC and the government had taken to appeasing the population. Jai related that they pointed the Muslim PAPs to a piece of government land and told them they could relocate and make their house there. In reality, according to Jai the government and NTPC was duping the population through this tactic because when the current collector and Jai cease to be around, the PAPs would not be able to exercise any claim over the land. Nevertheless, even NTPCs act of deceiving the PAPs spurred a number of non-Muslim PAPs in Belarey to contend that while Muslims were given land in addition to compensation, they were being denied this.

Thus, the new PAP community used cases of seemingly "privileged" PAPs as points of contention and bargaining chips. But rather than launching a mass mobilization in response to these seeming discrepancies, they engaged in a process of individual negotiation¹⁶. Multilayered

¹⁶ In the case of Muslim PAPs it is possible that they mobilized on the basis of shared religious identity and membership in a common social group. However, this cannot be conclusively determined from the interactions I witnessed.

tactics defined NTPC and PAPs interaction around the issue of compensation. These tactics were oriented at simultaneously appeasing the other party by making reference to ideas of trust and community and exerting one's bargaining position. A rather telling manifestation of this interaction was between Jai and a Muslim PAP, Nasir. This interaction played out in the NTPC office and I only had access to it from the vantage point of an observer and Jai's subsequent reflections.

In the first encounter that played out in the NTPCs office Jai spoke to Nasir in a harsh tone and communicated that they will only receive the compensation once they leave the land. Jai frequently used the tactic of showing people their cheque and saying: if you leave the land you will get this cheque, but does not give them the cheque unless they leave the land (as per NTPC rules). Nasir for his part was trying to use the language of trust and interpersonal connection to instate his position and convince Jai that they will leave the land as soon as they receive the compensation. While this encounter ended with Jai engaging in a public display of one-upmanship and Nasir appearing less vocal but unyielding, early the next day Jai left to meet Nasir. When I asked Jai how come he is meeting Nasir and being nice to him while he was yelling at him previously, he said that it was about showing them who is boss and that they can't take advantage of us. Also, later that day Jai's had asked both Nasir and another Muslim guy to come to his house. Following the meeting Jai mentioned to me that they are asking him for something in writing but he refused the request.

I was not privy to the latter exchanges and was unable to access the Muslim PAPs to get their version of the story due to reasons highlighted in the methodology section. Nevertheless, based on a corroboration of facts that were available to me, it seems that that political strategies contemporarily being deployed were geared at securing higher compensation amounts. In addition, according to NTPC people were resorting to fraudulent practices to access the high

compensation amounts¹⁷. There was a burgeoning industry of temporary constructions that was building hutments overnight. Apparently, people paid a constructor to construct a hutment and then the day that NTPC was scheduled for a visit, they would set up a cooking fire in the hutment to make it seem that they have been living there all along (see picture 2.0 that demonstrates the construction of hutments in Appendix).

Thus, the use of RTI, political leveraging and building of temporary hutments are emblematic of political strategies for individual mobility rather than structural change. Moreover, the enactment of political leveraging as a strategy reflects a personalized approach that depends upon the leanings of the individual in certain positions and their interpersonal equation with the PAPs. In such interactions, while the position and limitations of NTPC are a guiding factor, the actual exchange is shaped by the social dynamics of the community and the particular approach of the PAP and NTPC staff member. In contrast to the forms of individual mobility and politics practiced by the new PAPs, the old PAPs appeared to be engaging with NTPC and acquiring access to benefits through appeasement and nepotism. Nevertheless, despite pursuing a system of individualized advancement, a number of old PAPs articulated the need for a stronger and aware citizenry, so as to be able to mobilize around benefits from NTPC.

Conclusion

As a whole the PAP community depicts a high level of internalization of NTPC rhetoric and appears to be working within the systems set up by NTPC to mobilize for greater benefits. Thus, the types of political strategies deployed are not oriented at radical mobilization or an upturning of the system but rather extracting the greatest amount of individual benefit from it.

¹⁷ NTPC alleges that people constructed temporary hutments in Belarey to access homestead plot compensation. They also have documented evidence in the form of pictures. This pattern is further corroborated by the XIDAS study, which revealed that affected villages had very few people residing there and it was mostly barren land. The affected villages lacked electricity, schools and medical facilities. Most of the PAPs had second homes near the affected site, where they had access to comforts. It was only during the sowing season, between June and November that they came to the site to do farming and labour work (XIDAS, 2009).

This could be gleaned from the use of RTI requests, construction of temporary hutments, political leveraging and change in residential patterns enacted mostly by new PAPs. The old PAPs appeared to rely on interpersonal leveraging and nepotism to forge the path to individual mobility in the contemporary context. But they recounted a more engaged citizenry and forms of collective mobilization enacted during the presence of the World Bank and in the early years of the project..

Interestingly, the state is missing from discourses of political mobilization vocalized and enacted by PAPs. Some lower caste old PAPs mentioned that Indira Gandhi had come at the beginning of the project and promised free electricity, water, medical facilities and jobs for all PAPs. In fact, this was the only mention of the state and in the contemporary context, new and old PAPs failed to reflect upon the state's involvement in their lives. Moreover, there was a distinct difference between the transactional approach of the new PAPs and the yearning for collective mobilization and NTPC incorporation sought by the old PAPs. While in the contemporary scenario both groups of PAPs enact political strategies for individual mobility rather than collective empowerment, the old PAPs seek the continuation of a more paternalistic and involved relationship with NTPC.

In applying Chatterjee(2010)'s model of political and civil society to this scenario, it becomes apparent that the PAPs cannot be conceived as neatly fitting into the mould of a political society. However, since Chatterjee assumes a political society that has internalized hegemonic discourse and is not posing a form of radical opposition, the larger correlates of the political society map well onto the PAP community. However, beyond this general similarity, the "unorganized subaltern domain" of the PAP community has various internal ruptures and differences (Chatterjee, 2010). The upper caste Pandit community does not appear embroiled in any form of political mobilization. Rather within the PAP community it occupies the position of a mini civil society that is in cahoots with NTPCs power centre and enjoys privileged access to

economic and social resources. The upper caste community in embodying the ideal form of modern urbanization in Singrauli that is focused on the move towards professional employment whilst maintaining access to traditional forms of organization through agriculture serves as the vanguard of hegemonic modernity in the local context (Chatterjee, 2010).

The interests of the OBCs and SCs can be conceived with regard to their positioning as old or new PAPs. The old PAPs in attempting to forge a more paternalistic relationship with NTPC, as has been typical of the relationship of rural populations with the Indian state, can be seen to be demanding access to welfare benefits using rights based and moralistic discourses (Chatterjee, 2010). Nevertheless, even old PAPs were not always appealing to a social justice framework, as a number of their strategies pertained to leveraging interpersonal connections. In contrast, the new PAPs unlike the prototypical political society are not asking for doles or subsistence but are engaged in a process of capital accumulation through political strategies. Thus, taken together Chatterjee's model provides a useful framework to think through the divergent interest groups within the entity of political society. However, it cannot be mapped on directly to the political subjectivities depicted by PAPs in Singrauli and merits further fine-tuning at the level of multiplicity of local discourses. Thus, unlike Gupta's dismissal of Chatterjee's conceptualization, the analysis above shows that it is conducive to the process of mapping varying political subjectivities in the subaltern domain (Chatterjee, 2010; Gupta, 1997; Gupta, 2006).

Conclusion

Development and Land Acquisition

PAP discourses on economic practices, social mobility and political subjectivities reveals that the movement towards urban modernization in Singrauli is a diversified and mediated process. It is defined by rural continuities in economic practices and diverse forms of political mobilization. Further, this movement towards modernization is hindered by the operation of caste hierarchies. Contrary to the notion of development as an equalizing and linear process, it is clear that caste privileges transverse the urbanizing space and ensure that upper castes experience disproportionate benefits. Nevertheless, this does not preclude lower castes populations from advancing, albeit gradually. Especially, lower castes in Belarey demonstrate that an inflow of capital corresponds with increased access to occupational mobility. Nevertheless, in the contemporary scenario occupational mobility is a potential and it remains to be seen whether it will actualize into social mobility in the long term.

It is particularly revealing that despite aspirations for urbanization lower caste populations do not necessarily perceive education and professional employment as indispensable to class mobility. Rather diversified livelihoods that are spread between rural and urban spaces and combine secure employment, self-employment or business ownership in an urban area with land investment and agriculture in rural areas is ideal. Evidently, spatially dispersed livelihood practices serve to manage risk and facilitate respondents' mobility, especially through investments in land. Additionally, it enables respondents to simultaneously maintain accessibility to urban modernization and forms of power and status in the rural context. Thus, a resilient marker of modernization processes in Singrauli appears to be the etching out of diversified

livelihoods. Often this corresponds with class mobility because it entails the purchase of land for investment but it may not translate to social mobility for lower caste groups.

The political subjectivities of PAPs appear to be an extension of their larger struggle for class mobility. Both old and new PAPs channel their political activities towards individual mobility. While new PAPs are rallying for greater compensation, old PAPs are vying for secure employment and welfare benefits. Interestingly, in the political strategies enacted by both sets of PAPs the state ceases to function as an important player. NTPC has become the entity around which all claims for modern citizenship and compensation revolve.

Taken together, the economic, social and political narratives of PAPs suggest heterogeneities and internal fissures in the experiences of PAPs. The notion of a normative modernization process that entails ruptures in caste hierarchies, urbanization, uniform class mobility and easily delineable political strategies does not map onto the experiences of PAPs. Rather, the PAPs in Singrauli demonstrate different trajectories of modernization based on caste and PAP type (old or new). Significantly, forms of political organization demonstrate that all lower caste PAPs do not similarly conceptualize class mobility. While new PAPs are seeking heightened influx of capital through a transactional relationship with NTPC, old PAPs see a welfarist relationship with NTPC as indispensable to their class mobility. This translates into different versions of class mobility wherein new PAPs are striving for occupational and social mobility, old PAPs are attempting to engage with class mobility without necessarily investing in education or occupational mobility. Thus, modernization and development, as conceptualized by respondents' appears to be occurring but cannot be reduced to ideas of neoliberal development and corporate hegemony. Instead, PAPs depict a concurrence of varying and sometimes contradictory tendencies towards protecting their rural identity, forging social and class mobility

and forming pragmatic relationships with NTPC. Thus, the study demonstrates that probing the multiplicity of modernization trajectories is essential to uncovering the dynamics of development.

Limitations and Contributions

Evidently, this study shows that uncovering the mediated and contextualized discourses of development necessitates a fluid, grounded and multidisciplinary lens for inquiry. Nevertheless, this research is limited in its generalizability due to its specificity and limited access to diverse groups of PAPs. This research presents a very defined case of land acquisition, wherein the presence of multiple plants and a history of multiple displacements has contributed to the high levels of competence visible among contemporary PAPs (Singh & Sharma, 2009). Thus, the findings of the present study merely relay a snapshot of the more historicized processes of land acquisition in the area and cannot be extrapolated widely across different sites of land acquisition.

Another drawback of the present study is its exclusion of key respondent groups. Significantly, the present study excludes the ST population that typically experiences various negative ramifications of land acquisition (Singh and Sharma, 2009). Moreover, given that access to research participants was influenced by NTPCs interaction with them, the research study does not reflect the PAPs mediation on their political strategies. This limits the extent to which the findings on political subjectivities can be used to draw conclusions about the ongoing forms of political mobilizations in the community. In fact, the Muslim community in Belarey, which presents a strong case of contemporary political mobilization, could not be accessed due to my particular positionality.

Nevertheless, despite the abovementioned limitations, this study successfully reveals the heterogeneities in experiences of development vis-à-vis land acquisition. Moreover, it demonstrates the usability of a grounded and open-ended approach in exploring multidimensional

modernization processes. Future work on land acquisition in Singrauli can fruitfully engage with the drawbacks of this study by carrying forth a study that encompasses PAP populations from other power plants. This will allow for a comparative and comprehensive perspective on land acquisition to be developed. Also, future studies could attempt to produce a balanced narrative on land acquisition by accessing organizational and community perspectives. While the present study attempted to incorporate an analysis of NTPCs positionality and negotiation with PAPs, since it wasn't the main focus it hasn't been explored in depth. Nevertheless, it would be very useful to engage in an inquiry on institutional narratives and their bearing on the process and experience of land acquisition for PAPs. This type of research would also allow ethnographic work to inform and shape policy in the area of land acquisition and resettlement and rehabilitation.

Appendix

NTPC's Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy

The Resettlement and Rehabilitation policy framework, designed with a view of reducing the impact of land acquisition has evolved considerably over time. In the decade starting 1980 in the absence of R&R policy directives from the government, NTPC designed its own guidelines and this was implemented for stage 1 PAPs. In 1984, NTPC received a World Bank loan of USD 150 million through the government. The subsequent R&R plan formulated in 1993 was designed in consonance with World Bank suggestions and NTPC's own experience, which was approved by the government. The 1993 Rehabilitation plan was implemented for stage 2 acquisitions. The Resettlement Action Plan (RAP) was further revised in 1995 to enhance the monetary packages given to PAPs. This revision was motivated by feedback from PAPs, the delay in displacement after payment of compensation packages and the inability to implement certain rehabilitation schemes like land for land¹⁸. The modified RAP was implemented in 1997 for stage 2 acquisitions. In the year 2010, during the third stage of acquisition the R&R package was further modified and a one-time settlement package was decided upon in consultation with the affected villagers of Belarey. The formula on which the 2010 R&R package has been based is included in the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act 2013 passed by Government of India (NTPC, 1999; NTPC, 2010; NTPC 2011).

Thus, as per these transitioning R&R policies, stage 1 homestead oustees were given: compensation amount for their land and houses, a plot of land in Navjivan Vihar (Rehabilitation colony of NTPC), shop allotments, employment at NTPC, contractual work through PAP cooperatives, concession in school fees for their children at par with NTPC employees and discounted medical services at the NTPC hospital. Stage 2 PAPs, in line with World Bank suggestions were provided a one-time resettlement package. Land outstees were given Rs 1.4 lakhs as one time resettlement package grant for less than or equal to 2 acres of land, Rs 70,000 per acre for between 2 and 5 acres of land and Rs 70,000 per acre for above 5 acres of land subjected to a maximum of 5 acres. They were also given construction and disturbance allowance of Rs10, 000 each. Homestead or landless PAPs were given: a rehabilitation grant of Rs 70,000, construction allowance of Rs 10,000, disturbance allowance of Rs 10,000 and a plot in the rehabilitation colony or Rs15, 000 in lieu of plot. Stage 3 PAPs are being given compensation for land and houses (on government rates) and a one-time settlement package in lieu of employment amounting to Rs 4 .25 lakhs for one acre of land or less. Those who have lost more than one acre would be given Rs 4. 25 lakhs per acre. Additionally, a subsistence amount of Rs 82,500 is being given to PAPs. Also, PAPs losing homestead land are given an additional 2.41 lakhs for self-resettlement. Approximately 58 PAP families in the stage 3 land acquisition are getting displaced for a second time and are being offered 3 lakhs, as special allowance for a second displacement from Belarey. In addition to the monetary compensation new PAPs are accorded medical and education concession akin to those provided to old PAPs (NTPC, 1999; NTPC, 2010; NTPC 2011).

¹⁸ The modification of the RAP in 1995 was lead by an activist who was supported by some of the NGOs. They found that all the guidelines of the World Bank had not been implemented and the benefits may not have reached the target group. After a thorough consultation process a three member panel was set up in 1997 to oversee the implementation of R&R (NTPC, 1999).

Demographic Information of Field Sites

Navjiwan Vihar

A study conducted by XIDAS in 2009 with a random sample of 603 PAPs in Navjiwan Vihar revealed significant demographic information about the colony. In terms of caste break down, OBC are the dominant group and comprise 46.3% of the sample followed by general category, which comprises 26% of the sample. 21.9% of PAPs in the sample are SC and 5.3% are ST. The PAPs are predominantly Hindu (98.3%) and only 1.7% are Muslims. Table 1.0 in the Appendix reveals the, age, gender, marital status, literacy levels and family sizes of the PAP sample. Further, Table 2.0 and Graph 1.0 in the Appendix reveal that post displacement there was a sharp decline in the percentage of PAPs practicing agriculture, from 70.1 to 18.2 and there was an increase in the percentage of PAPs doing service from 5.3 to 19.6. Also, the percentage of PAPs working as labourers rose from 11.9 to 39.3 (XIDAS, 2009a).

Belarey

A XIDAS study that was conducted in the ward of Belarey that was subsequently acquired revealed important demographic information. Since the site of relocation is located next to the site of displacement, this information can be perceived as an approximate for the field site. According to the study, a majority of respondents (60%) are illiterate. In terms of caste breakdown, most respondents (68%) are OBC, 23% are general or upper case, 5% are ST and 4% are SC. Also, prior to displacement a majority of the PAPs (26%) were labourers, while only 17% of PAPs were engaged in agriculture. Also, it is interesting to note that 23% of PAPs are dependents and don't have jobs (XIDAS, 2009)

Tables and Figures

Table 1.0: Socio-Economic Background of NavjiwanVihar PAPs

Background Characteristics	Percentage of PAPs (N=603)
Age	
Below to 30	2.5
31 to 40	14.9
41 to 50	23.2
51 to 60	26.2
61+	33.2
Gender	
Male	91.2
Female	8.8
Marital status	
Unmarried	0.2
Married	89.7
Separated	0.2
Widow/ Widower	6.0
Remarried	3.3
Caste	
Schedule Caste	5.3
Schedule Tribe	21.9
Other Backward Class	46.3
General	26.5
Religion	
Hindu	98.3
Muslim	1.7
Christian	0
Status of Families	
Joint	54.2
Nuclear	43.9
Single	1.8
Education	
Primary	10.0
Middle	9.8
High School	9.3
Graduation	2.2
Post Graduate	1.0
Illiterate	67.8
Mean Family size	4.64 ±
Mean Dependent	3.96 ±
Mean Annual Income	69086.4

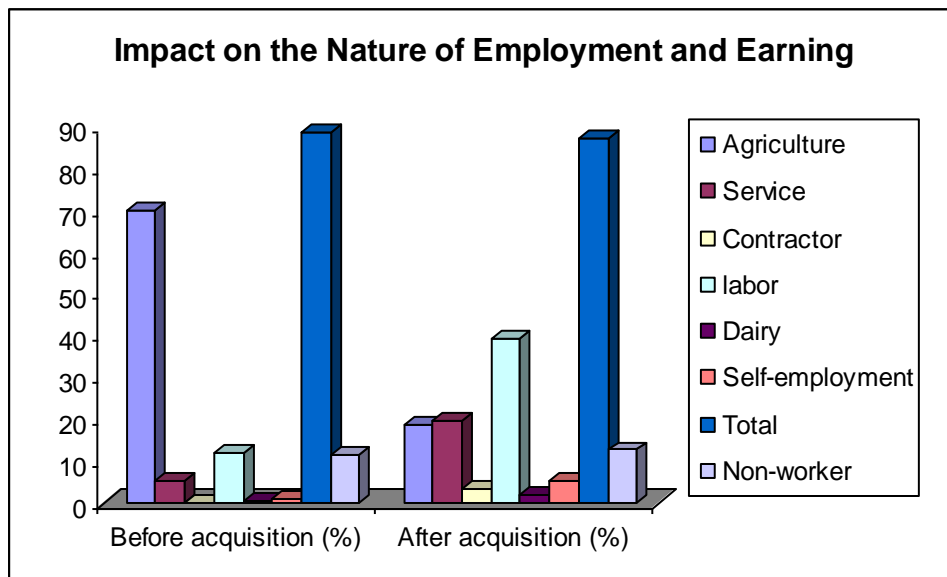
*Source XIDAS Field Survey 2009

Table 2.0: Impact of Displacement on the Nature of Employment in Navjiwan Vihar

Nature of employment	Before acquisition		After acquisition		
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Agriculture	423	70.1	113	18.7	
Service	32	5.3	118	19.6	
Contractor			19	3.2	
labor	72	11.9	237	39.3	
Dairy	2	.3	10	1.7	
Self-employment	5	.8	30	5.0	
Total	534	88.6	527	87.4	
Non-worker	69	11.4	76	12.6	
N	603	100.0	603	100.0	

*Source XIDAS Field Survey 2009

Graph 1.0: Impact of Displacement on the Nature of Employment in Navjiwan Vihar



*Source XIDAS Field Survey 2009

Picture 1.0: The entrance to Atmaram Sahu's house. The decorations below were done for their daughter's wedding and feature the name of the bride and groom.



Picture 2.0: Construction of Temporary Hutments in Belarey



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