



Emerging Inequalities in Gender Relations: A Post-Displacement Analysis of Sardar Sarovar Project Resettlement Sites, India

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Article Info

Article History

Received on:

03 August 2019

Accepted in Revised Form on:

07 September, 2019

Available Online on and from:

23 September, 2019

Keywords

Displacement
Resettlement
Inequalities
Gender Relations
WID
GAD

Abstract

Development projects involving displacement of populations transform the gender relations within the communities. In some cases, the social impacts of projects might lead to more egalitarian gender relations. For example, in a resettlement scheme in Zimbabwe, women tended to be less constrained by past kinship patterns and had better relations with their husbands (Koenig 1995). However, in many other cases, and in this particular study, gender relations have been devalued after displacement resulting in the relegation of women to a lower status and creating gender inequalities. The Sardar Sarovar Hydro Project in India is one of the biggest multi-purpose river projects and has displaced more than 45,000 families since the 1990s. The article is based on the responses and narratives of the men and women respondents collected during the interviews at the resettlement sites. As a follow up to the focus group discussions, in-depth interviews with a purposive sample were conducted to collect responses to the tools of gender analysis framework and to understand the impact of resettlement on gender relations. The article examines the effect of displacement and resettlement on the different activities performed by men and women within the household and the community. It highlights the findings from the analysis tools of a gender analysis framework and presents them in the light of theoretical positions like Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD). It also attempts to ascertain that inequalities in gender relations have emerged spatially and temporally among the resettler community in a post-displacement scenario.

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Introduction

The spatial displacement of people due to development projects has become a common phenomenon globally. It has adverse socio-economic impacts on the affected people. In fact, these development projects in many cases have rendered a climate of deprivation and impoverishment. Cernea (2008) adds that impoverishment is the fundamental threat looming in every case of development induced displacement and resettlement. The affected communities have undergone risks pertaining to landlessness, loss of livelihood, food insecurity, loss of common property resources and cultural transformations. Against this backdrop, the affected communities have also witnessed transforming gender relations (Koenig, 1995; Yong, 2011). The resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) policies have been developed to mitigate these impacts, but traditionally, the focus of resettlement planning by planners lies at the household level. Naturally, it fails to understand the dynamics of intra-household

relations between man and woman and consideration of any gender needs. The inherent societal bias in the policy may preclude women from benefiting from the opportunities provided through the project. Such gender issues in displacement and resettlement cannot be adequately addressed unless rights and equity concerns are identified and strategically tackled. Under these, the projects are unlikely to respond to women's needs and may even have negative consequences for women.

Objectives

The development projects involving displacement of populations transform the gender relations within the communities. The objectives are:

1. to examine the effect of displacement and resettlement on the different activities done by men and women within the household and the community,



2. to explore the nature of gender division of labour from the resettlement sites of the Sardar Sarovar Project in India,
3. to present the findings of the gender analysis framework in the light of theoretical positions like Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD), and
4. to ascertain the inequalities in gender relations that have emerged spatially and temporally among the resettler community in a post-displacement scenario.

The Study Area

The Sardar Sarovar Project is one of the biggest multi-purpose river projects not only in India but also in the world. It has been planned for generating 1,450 Megawatt of electricity and to quench the water needs of the people of Kachchh, Kathiawar, North Gujarat and Southern Part of Rajasthan. However, it has displaced more than 45,000 families from the 192 villages of Madhya Pradesh, 33 of Maharashtra, and 19 of Gujarat since the 1990s. These resettled people have been taken as the subject of this study.

The Sardar Sarovar Project is an Inter-State Project in which four riparian States are involved - Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan (Fig.1). The whole gamut of resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) is governed by the provisions of Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) Award and resettlement and rehabilitation policies of the State Governments. The Tribunal decided that the state of Gujarat being the main beneficiary would be responsible for all resettlement costs similar to the case in Egypt of the Aswan High Dam. Eventually, Gujarat had given an option to the resettlers from Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra to accept land compensation and to resettle in Gujarat state.

Therefore, for this particular study, the state of Gujarat in India has been selected. To resettle the affected people, around 200 resettlement sites were developed by the Sardar Sarovar Punarvasvat Agency (SSPA) in Gujarat. As a matter of fact, Vadodara District in Gujarat has the maximum number of resettlement sites which is 153. Five resettlement sites in Vadodara District were focused upon for this study (Fig.2). These sites are *Sathod (A)*, *Sathod (B)*, *Dhalnagar*, *Thuvavi* and *Sinor-2*. The method of site selection is a combination of random stratified sampling and snowball sampling. The five study sites selected for this work are now home to the members of these major tribal groups displaced from the Narmada Valley: the Tadvi¹, Raathwa², Vasava³/Bhil from Gujarat, Vasava/Bhil from Maharashtra, Bhilala⁴ and Balai from Madhya Pradesh. Sathod (B) and Thuvavi sites were selected to understand the conditions of resettlers who came from Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra respectively. Sathod(A), Dhalnagar and Sinor-2 sites were selected to understand the resettlement and rehabilitation of various tribal resettlers from the Project affected parts of Gujarat.

The participants in the household survey, focus group discussions and interviews represented the ethnic diversity of the study area. All the senior resettlers spoke only tribal dialects, some of the younger ones spoke in Gujarati and a little Hindi. Keonji (a tribal resettler and our field assistant) helped in understanding this dialogue in the field. In the initial days of the survey, informal discussions were held with people as part of

building rapport with them. The fact that Keonji was assisting helped in gelling with the resettlers easily. Discourses from daily discussions have been transcribed later.

Methodology

The article highlights the findings from the analysis tools of a gender analysis framework. It is based on the responses and narratives of the men and women respondents collected during the interviews at the resettlement sites. As a follow up to the focus group discussions, in-depth interviews with a purposive sample were conducted to collect responses to the tools of gender analysis framework and to understand the impact of resettlement on gender relations. Focus group discussions were held, conducted separately with small groups of men and women. At least two sessions at each selected sites were done with small groups of men and women separately. These sessions of focus groups extended to around thirty minutes and discussion revolved around their participation in pre-project consultation, compensation, and problems faced after resettlement and any suggestions for the same. This was supplemented with interviews of both male and female members of the households. In total, 37 respondents become part of these in-depth interviews. The respondents were representative of Raathwa, Tadvi, Bhilala and Vasava tribal communities. The respondents were purposively selected from the selected resettlement sites based on their participation in the focus group discussions. The questions were structured to open-ended ones.

Impacts of the R & R Policy Implementation on Gender Relations

The changes in production processes caused by irrigation, relocation, changes in occupational structures due to the downstream impacts of dams, all cause profound changes in social and gender relations in a community.

In some cases, the social impacts of dams might lead to more egalitarian gender relations. For example, in a resettlement scheme in Zimbabwe, women tended to be less constrained by past kinship patterns and had better relations with their husbands (Koenig, 1995).

Displacement and resettlement have changed gender roles in the context of displaced Muslims in Sri Lanka which were displaced by the ongoing civil strife with Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) from the Northern Province. The displaced women after resettlement worked as wage workers on onion and chilli farms and earned a sufficient income to become economically independent and managed to establish new social networks. On the other hand, the men became used to doing household chores that only women had been doing in the past. This included taking children to school and collecting food rations from cooperative stores.

During the initial phase of resettlement, many men did not engage in any productive activity to contribute to the household income as they were experiencing the trauma and shame of being displaced as landless refugees. During this time, they depended on their women to earn a living. This reversal of gender roles brought in social, cultural, and economic changes among these displaced communities (Ghani, 2014).



Contextualising the Gender Relations in Tribal Communities of the Narmada Valley

Indigenous tribal groups in India are mostly egalitarian where their division is characterised by age and not by labour or by sex (Banu, 2001). In such egalitarian societies, tribals also do not have a preference for sons, as they do not provide any assurance of salvation (Banu, 2001). Instead, daughters are welcomed as they bring bridewealth upon marriage. Centre for Social Studies, Surat in its reports has also confirmed the presence of the bride-price system among the tribal communities affected by the SSP in the Narmada valley. The prevalence of relatively high female-male ratio in many submerging villages reveals the importance of women in the consumption and productions processes, and in decision making (CSS, 1997). It can be understood that the gender relations in the pre-displacement context were an indicator of a particular localised way of life shaped by the topography of the region. The subsistence economy required collective hard work that involved the participation of all family members, irrespective of gender. This allowed women to share most of the physical and social spaces with men in various everyday life situations.

The Adivasi (indigenous) communities of the Narmada valley represent a relatively egalitarian gender organisation compared with caste Hindu societies (CSS, 1997; TISS, 1997; Whitehead, 2010), but none can be said to be entirely free of discrimination towards women. Despite a relatively high status, they accorded to women, the tribal society whether patrilineal or matrilineal is still patriarchal in nature. As a result, man controlled the resource and inheritance while the woman was in charge of production and of the rest of the family economy and household chores. Any alteration in this status could deprive her of the relative autonomy she enjoyed and make her entirely dependent on men.

The notion of power was not absent among these groups, but it was expressed through the division of roles (Klesing-Rempel, 2001 quoted in Fernandes, 2009) between the family and social spheres. Because of this division, the woman was in charge of the family decisions and economy, while the man represented the family in society (Fernandes and Menon, 1987). Thus both had the power within their own spheres. If this division of roles was weakened, it could easily lead to power imbalances because attaining a new status is a dynamic process while the concept of power is deeply entrenched and unchangeable. Gender relations are “fundamentally power relations” (Cornwall, 1997). In the tribal tradition, the division of work between family and society did not involve equality because power in the social sphere was perceived to be more important than power in the family. As a result, tribal communities never ceased to be patriarchal. However, partial control of common property resources (CPRs), minor forest produce, agricultural production and household decision-making processes made them less unequal when compared to their counterparts in a mainstream caste society. Thus, this concept of gender relations is crucial in understanding the impacts of development induced displacement for this study.

R&R Policy and Gender Relations: Putting Gender Analysis Framework in Action

The impacts of Gujarat's R&R policy on individuals can be well understood by understanding the post resettlement social

changes within the family and the community (i.e. gender relations). Gender Analysis Framework is the practical instrument designed to integrate gender analysis into social research and at the same time, it highlights the pains and gains of a particular development intervention (March, et al., 1999). This tool to assess these transformations in gender relations has been developed on the basis of different analysis frameworks which have been also mentioned in the Oxfam Guide to Gender Analysis Framework. The following discussion dwells in detail upon these frameworks.

Gendered Division of Labour

This section examines the effect of resettlement on the different activities of men and women within the household and community. For this, an *activity analysis tool* has been developed and put to use in the field. This tool, broadly adapting Moser's Framework (1993), identifies the gender division of labour both before and after displacement. This is used to reveal any changes in the gender division of labour post displacement.

Conceptual Rationale for the Framework

In order to understand women and the development process, there appears to be a variety of theoretical positions. The 'Women in Development' (WID) approach focuses on the need to integrate women in the development process through legal and administrative systems. The WID perspective mainly focuses on women in isolation. In contrast, the 'Gender and Development' (GAD) approach offers a holistic perspective by analysing the subordination of women in development processes from the vantage point of the gender relations between men and women. “In reaction to the WID approach which encouraged treating women's issues as separate concerns, the GAD approach argued for an integrated gender-planning perspective in all development work, concentrating on the power relations between women and men”(March, et al., 1999). Moser's Framework is positioned within the locales of the GAD approach and aims to carve a niche for 'gender planning' as a type of planning with the fundamental goal of women's emancipation.

Existing Gender Frameworks: A Backdrop

The authorities concerned with development planning have either ignored or shown reluctance in accepting gender as an important planning issue. Gender planning has challenged the assumptions in current stereotypes of the Western planning models. These assumptions were related to the “structure of the household (assumed to be nuclear), the divisions of labour within them (man as the 'breadwinner', woman as the 'homemaker'), and to the power and control over resource allocations within the household (the concept of the household as a joint utility function)” (Moser, 2014). A gender analysis framework seeks to establish an inductive mode of analysis by replacing the abstract theorizations which lead to empirically ungrounded generalizations (Kabeer, 1994): “The form that gender relations take in any historical situation is specific to that situation and has to be constructed inductively, it cannot be read off from other social relations nor from the gender relations of other societies” (Young, et al., 1981, quoted by Kabeer, 1994). Many gender analysis frameworks have been created as a



response to the need for practical instruments useful for integrating gender considerations in development interventions:

The first framework is the Harvard Gender Roles Framework, published in 1985.

The second is the Moser Framework, also developed in the 1980s. The other two relevant gender frameworks are, Rani Parker's Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM) published in 1993 and Longwe's Women's Empowerment Framework developed in 1994 by Sarah Longwe. Naila Kabeer too presented the Social Relations Approach in 1994.

Critical Analysis of Gender Framework Tools

All the gender analysis frameworks as mentioned in the preceding section have recognised the importance of reproductive work along with productive activities. However, the Moser framework was flexible enough to include community involvement. The activity analysis tool used in this study (adapted from the Moser's Framework and DPU Framework) attempts to make that work visible which usually tends to be invisible. For example, women and girls in all societies do most of the domestic and reproductive work while men are less likely to be involved in it. This kind of uncompensated domestic labour is generally not recognised and recorded as an economic task. Some other studies and institutions have also employed these tools like an assessment of gender mainstreaming in the planning and implementation of UNICEF programmes in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mannheimer, 2003), WHO Gender Assessment Tool (2011) for determining gender responsiveness of any policy or programme, to name a few.

Gender roles and relations are not static and change within a community gradually or sometimes even rapidly, due to the occurrence of some specific events. In this research, displacement by the construction of a dam and the resultant resettlement is the event that might have transformed the gender roles and relations within the resettler community. In the original frameworks, the time has not been included as a variable. This gives these frameworks a static, limited unidimensional perspective. Therefore, in the framework used in this study, time as a variable has been incorporated in the tool on activity analysis to identify the gender division of labour both before and after displacement.

It is important to mention that this is not a simple role analysis. A framework specifically focussing upon gender roles will treat gender division of labour as a relationship of separation and neglect its social interconnections. This was the major flaw of the Harvard Framework, which encourages users to take men and women as separate groups and may result in a dissection of gender relations while missing the complete picture. According to Whitehead, 1991 quoted in Kabeer, 1994:

“It is necessary to recognise that the division of labour is about connection as much as separation” (Whitehead, 1991).

The Social Relations approach of Kabeer focuses on the analyses of the power relationship between people. However, the potential limitation of this is that gender becomes subsumed among other social categories like class, ethnicity, etc. in the examination of cross-cutting inequalities. Also, it is difficult to use with communities in a participatory way (March, et al., 1999).

The Moser Framework falls somewhere in between. Moser has correctly drawn attention to the multiple roles played by women through her concept of 'triple role', but as March, et al., 1999 comment, Moser emphasises that roles need to be seen clearly in

the context of relations between men and women. DPU in its framework has adapted Moser's ideas and includes the social, economic and political relations between women and men in order to identify the 'multiple roles' of both men and women. Therefore, Moser's triple role analysis and DPU's framework has been adapted and redesigned to analyse the gender division of labour in this study. The redesigning is an attempt to eliminate the shortcomings of the existing frameworks and to create an effective research tool.

Similarly, in the context of another tool on gender needs assessment, a modified version of the Moser framework has been used. Assessment of gender needs becomes imperative following an analysis of gender roles and relations. Moser built the framework on Molyneux's concept of women's gender interests. It has been argued that the tools of practical and strategic gender needs are powerful and necessary in order to analyse the impact of development intervention on gender relations. Besides, other frameworks either miss the gender needs component or do not have a proper tool to assess this dimension of gender relations. However, a major limitation of the Moser tool on gender needs assessment is that it emphasises upon the strategic gender needs of only women. It has been argued by scholars that the inclusion of the strategic gender needs of men, too, must be done. Some of the scholars are of the view that the strategic gender needs assessment should be limited to women only, as this makes the tool powerful because it underlines women's subordinate position in a patriarchal system. While another view insists on broadening the concept of gender needs and on including the strategic interest of men as well. This would help to understand men's position as a catalyst for change or in maintaining the status quo. Therefore, DPU in its framework has redefined gender needs and identifies the men's gender needs in the context of gender relations. However, in this study, an adapted and refined version of the DPU has been used with the intention of being gender-just with the participants of the research.

Emerging Inequalities- Findings on Gender Division of Labour

Keeping Moser's (1993) triple role analysis and DPU framework (1997) in the backdrop could help to sense the impact of development interventions in various spheres of activities of men and women. As part of the key informant interviews, respondents were asked about the division of labour within their households before and after resettlement with respect to production, reproduction and community activities. Table 1 shows the inputs to the activity analysis which is followed by a discussion on the participation of resettlers respondents in different activities.

Production Activities

Production activity involves the production of goods and services for consumption and trade (in employment and self-employment). Both women and men can be involved in productive activities, but their functions and responsibilities often differ. Women's productive work is often less visible and less valued than men's. Moser, 1993.

As observed in Table 1, female respondents have reported a massive change in agricultural tasks. Ploughing has been a male task, though some women said they ploughed small tracts of land in original villages and assisted their husbands. At the resettlement sites, women's participation in field activities like sowing seeds, harvesting crops, weeding has registered a significant decline. At the new sites, using fertilizers has become



common so women of the household help their men in fertilizing the crops by carrying water to the fields to be dispensed with fertilizers.

A completely different type of agricultural pattern at the new resettlement sites has taken away the women's voice in the decision on the type of crop to be sown and the quantity to be kept at home. Traditional crops are being replaced by crops like wheat and rice that are determined by the market forces to earn cash. The quantity to be kept for self-consumption also follows the market prices.

However, post resettlement all the women have to gather fodder due to the scarcity of fodder at the resettlement sites. This has increased their household workload. This was not so before displacement when fodder was easily available to animals through grazing and very few women were involved in gathering fodder.

The percentage of women engaged in wage labour post resettlement has seen a significant increase. Women reported working as wage labourers out of compulsion as the family expenditure had increased at the resettlement sites. However, Shankaran quotes that one must not homogenise the oppression of working women. Displaced women from different socio-economic backgrounds have experienced the empowering effects of wage work to varying extents (Shankaran, 2009). Nevertheless, as communities have moved from a system of minimal cash to a competitive economy, they enter such 'labour market institutions' that reinforce gender inequality (Elson, 1999). This fact is evident in low wages paid to women as compared to men. It has also been shared that now the labour wages of women are being usurped by the males of the household, which was never the case at the original villages. Also, the number of women attending agricultural information and training sessions remains zero even after resettlement.

Domestic and Reproductive Activities

The term domestic and reproductive activities used here involve the same tasks as Moser's 'Reproductive activities'. This includes the care and maintenance of the household and its members, including bearing and caring for children, preparing food, collecting water and fuel, shopping, housekeeping, and family health-care. In poor communities, reproductive work is, for the most part, labour-intensive and time-consuming. It is almost always the responsibility of women (Moser, 1993).

Every woman respondent said that they were involved in domestic chores. Some of the activities like childcare, preparing meals, housekeeping and washing utensils are considered as women's tasks so only women perform them either alone or collectively with other women. At the resettlement sites, these activities were being carried out exclusively by women as they did in the original villages. However, men too were responsible for the care of children in the original villages but this particular practice has disappeared at the resettlement sites. Women's burden of the collection of fuel is being shared by men at the resettlement sites as fuelwood is not easily available now. The task of fetching water has been reduced at resettlement sites. Both men and women are involved in house repairs. Women maintain the floors and walls by applying a mixture of mud and cow dung. Men fix the roof and conduct other physical repairs and replacements.

The above discussion shows a clear gender division of labour with respect to domestic activities at the resettlement sites. The division of labour in the household with respect to domestic activities has not changed at all for women at the resettlement sites when compared to the original villages.

In the original villages, women had time to interact and spend time with friends for long as they had private space in the forests or along the river. The to and fro journey for fetching water was also spent talking to friends. At the resettlement sites, this aspect has been lost as women are restricted to their homes or in the resettlement sites all the time. They have also lost their old friends. Though young women have made some new friends, the older women still remember their friends from the original villages.

Mehta and Srinivasan (2000) found that changes in the division of labour amongst SSP-affected tribals were more negative for women than for men. For example, they found that a shift from dryland rain-fed subsistence agriculture to irrigated commercial cash cropping changed the division of labour within the household. Moreover, they found that women were left out of discussions and consultations pertaining to land and other resources. Moreover, women's ability to make decisions and to control the amount of seeds and crops used for the home decreased over time, as households moved away from subsistence farming.

Community Involvement

These activities include the collective organisation of social events and services - ceremonies and celebrations, activities to improve the community, participation in groups and organisations, local political activities, and so on. This type of work is seldom considered in economic analyses, yet it involves considerable volunteer time. It is also a vehicle for community organisation and self-determination. Both women and men engage in community activities, although a gender division of labour also prevails here. - Moser, 1993.

In the analysis of community activities, the women participate in community meetings only when required or when issues related to them are being discussed. In all other matters or when community decisions are being made at village meetings, primarily it is the men who are at the helm of affairs. This has been the case both at the original villages and at the resettlement sites. It is interesting that at the resettlement sites, most men said that they attend the community meetings but are hardly able to say anything. It is the Vasahat Saathi and his loyal friends who have the final say. The Vasahat Saathi is the one who interacts with the officials and outsiders and is an intermediary for any issues of the resettlers, and thus, has a greater say in all the community meetings.

Women have no presence in leadership roles either at the original villages or at resettlement sites. Mostly young men and a few elder men are in charge of the many leadership roles at the resettlement sites while only senior men held leadership positions in the original villages. Women's participation in religious functions is negligible. A man known as *Pujari* (priest) conducts all the religious ceremonies without sharing with the rest of the people any details of these religious proceedings. The *Pujari* is appointed on a hereditary basis. A high level of ignorance was observed when the Bhilala men were not able to name their gods when images of them were shown to the researcher. They said that only the *Pujari* knew about them.

Many women performed the function of a local *dai* (midwife) at the original villages. The number declined post resettlement through the institutional (hospital/clinic) deliveries are still not being opted for by the resettler families. On social visits to relatives, before resettlement, the relatives and acquaintances were located nearby, so the frequency of social visits was more because they used to meet regularly. After resettlement, the frequency of social visit has reduced because the relatives have



scattered and to save transportation costs and time, the resettlers avoid these visits.

Conclusion

On the basis of the discussion in the previous sections, it becomes pertinent to mention here that women and men both, are likely to take part in some activities of work, but men are much less likely to be involved in domestic and reproductive activities. The activity analysis tool recognises that women perform domestic and reproductive, and community management activities alongside productive work, it makes their work visible that tend to be invisible. Moreover, this tool also shows that women's share of production activities have declined post resettlement.

New gender roles after the resettlement dictate that women no longer remain productive and equal partners in the community and are meant to remain at home taking little part in income-generating activities. Overall, there has been a devaluation of the roles and tasks that women traditionally performed, and also a relegation of women to a lower status, as gendered roles and functions have taken on different meanings. This devaluation has directly to do with the way gender roles have been created during the process of compensation and rehabilitation established by the Project authorities. Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt (2006) also submit that in the context of mining projects the R&R agencies have created devaluation in gender roles through their half-hearted and gender-insensitive resettlement and rehabilitation policy. Long-standing assumptions of gender roles must be questioned in order to give women their due space. Sexual differences can only be a starting point for establishing one's identity and not be a tool for disempowering and marginalising them. The analysis on the gender division of labour, in fact, being everybody's issue, needs to be re-examined and discussed threadbare particularly in the context of unsettling situations of displacement and resettlement and how they impact the lives of real women and men.

End Note

¹Tadvi, also known as Tetariya, are one of the scheduled tribes of Gujarat. According to a local belief, those who live on the river bank (tat) are called Tadvis. Another story is that those who eat the meat of the bird Teta, came to be known as Tetariya. This tribe is largely located in Bharuch, Vadodara and Panchmahal districts of Gujarat.

²The name of the tribe has been derived from the term 'rathbistar' which means the forest and hilly areas. Thus the people who are the inhabitants of the rathbistar are called Raathwas. They are spread in Vadodara and Panchmahal districts.

³Vasava Bhil from the Bhils is one of the dominant tribes of Gujarat. Bhils commonly use bows and arrows and it is believed that their name emerged from the Dravidian word 'billu' meaning bow and arrow. They occupy the hills of Vadodara district.

⁴Bhilala belong to the Bhil tribal group spread out in Madhya Pradesh. They are inhabitants of Jhabua, Dhar, Barwani and Nimar region of Madhya Pradesh.

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Table 1: Activity Analysis

Activities	Women N=16		Men N=21	
	BD	AD	BD	AD
Production Activities				
Ploughing fields	3	0	20	20
Sowing seeds	15	10	20	20
Fertilizing crops	2	9 (assist their men)	4	20
Harvesting crops	16	9	20	20
Weeding	16	9	0	8
Purchasing new agricultural implements	5	0	16	20
The decision on the type of crop to be sown	15	0	21	21
The decision on the quantity of crop to be kept for the home	12	10	20	20
Gathering Fodder	3	16	0	12
Cleaning grains	12	11	0	0
Other wage labour	2	13	11	18
Attending Agriculture training sessions	0	0	2	18
Purchasing household items	12	9	15	19
Domestic & Reproductive Activities				
Bearing and caring for children	16	16	10	0
Preparing meals	16	16	0	0
Collection of fuel	16	16	5	14
Fetching water	16	0	0	(when water availability is hampered)
Housekeeping	16	16	0	2
Washing clothes/utensils	16	16	0	0
Taking care of livestock	16	16	2	5
Community Involvement				
Attendance at village meetings	As & when required	As & when required	21	21
Leadership roles	No	No	Only Senior males	Both young and senior males
Religious activities	0	0	21	21
Talking with friends	Most	New friends made	-	Yes
Local dai (midwife)	Most	Few	0	0
Frequency of social visits to other places	More as most were nearby	Less as relatives have scattered	More as most were nearby	Less as relatives have scattered
Taking care of old/ailing persons	16	16	21	21
Social functions/festivals	16	12	21	17

Based on multiple responses: Source: Field Survey, 2015



Fig.1: Sardar Sarovar Project and other major Narmada Valley Projects

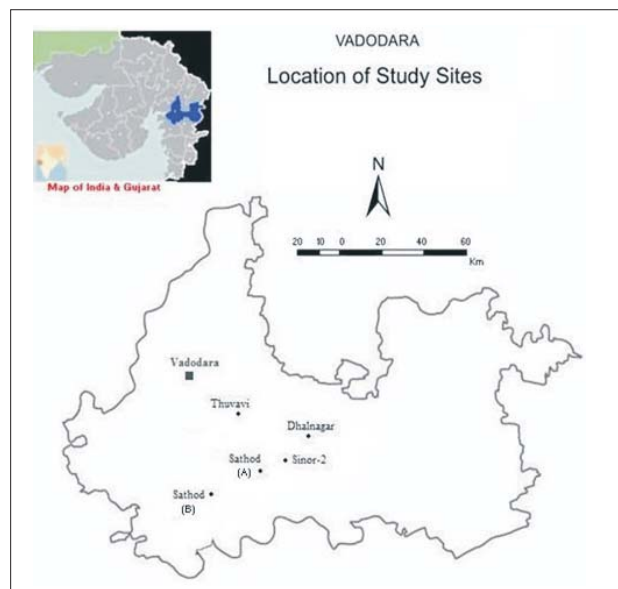


Fig. 2: Vadodara (Gujarat) Map showing the Location of Study Sites



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