

ON WHOSE BEHALF IS MAPITHEL DAM?

**A Case Study of the Effects of the Mapithel Dam on Indigenous Tangkhul
Nagas, in Ukhrul District, Manipur**



Ramachan A Shimray

**A dissertation submitted for partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Philosophy in Social Work**

**School of Social Work
Tata Institute of Social Sciences,
Mumbai
2019**

DECLARATION

I, Ramachan A Shimray, hereby declare that this thesis titled ‘On Whose Behalf is Mapithel Dam? A Case Study of the Effects of the Mapithel Dam on Indigenous Tangkhul Nagas, in Ukhul Dist, Manipur’ is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Dr Sohini Sengupta, Centre for Community Organisation and Development Practice, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. It has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this institute or any other institute or university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the presentation of this thesis.

1st March 2019

Ramachan A Shimray
mm2017sw013

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled ‘On Whose Behalf is Mapithel Dam? A Case Study of the Effects of the Mapithel Dam on Indigenous Tangkhul Nagas, in Ukhrul Dist, Manipur’ is the record of the original work done by Ramachan A Shimray under my guidance and supervision. The results of the research presented in this dissertation have not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, or certificate of this Institute or any other institute or university.

1st March 2019

Dr Sohini Sengupta
Centre for Community Organisation &
Development Practice,
TISS, Mumbai.

To Tangkhul

Who have no choice, but to sacrifice their land, forest, rivers, agricultural, livelihood and cultural at the cost of the state economy

Abstract

The study discusses the social work discourse on the significance of development and cost of its implication. By analyzing development policy and philosophy viz. isolation, assimilation, and integration to understand the social dynamics of tribals in Northeast India. Development in the context of large projects like the dam is understood as affecting the social institutions in the place they situate. The study narrates the lived experiences of the communities affected by the construction of a dam. The study conducted by qualitative and purposive sampling, reveals a tragic response to dam projects due to state's negligence to handle resettlement and rehabilitation plan. The study also reveals an emerging attitude to development projects as infringement and it should provoke a strong urgency to review the academic discourse on development.

This travesty of justice by state development agency makes one relook at the whole discourse and ask 'on whose behalf is development?'. As studies pointed out compensation assessments are not rooted in the values of the local socio-culture and economy, the research finds that cultural, social identity and traditional rights of the indigenous community are snatched away with the coming of dams. This finding is true in the context of the affected Tangkhul Nagas by the Mapithel dam – Thoubal Multipurpose Project.

Keywords : Development, Mapithel dam, Rehabilitation & Resettlement, Cultural, Tangkhul Nagas

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank School of Social Work, Tata Institute of Social Sciences Mumbai for giving me space, I use this opportunity for creative articulations of this complex study. I am extremely grateful to all the individuals who contributed immensely towards enabling me to pen down the conceptions and descriptions within the framework of 'On Whose Behalf is Mapithel Dam? A Case Study of the Effects of the Mapithel Dam on Indigenous Tangkhul Nagas, in Ukhrul Dist, Manipur'. I would like to show my heartfelt gratitude to Dr Sohini Sengupta, my guide whom I constantly look up to and went to, whenever I got lost in my research. It is through her guidance that I was able to complete my dissertation on stipulated time.

This study would have just remained as a proposal without the community's encouragement and commitment. I am thankful especially to those who have given me enough time to share their ideas, perspectives, opinion, lived and shared reality of their community. All my major arguments are built upon from their voices. This dissertation pays its utmost respect to the affected communities by the Mapithel Dam.

Last but not the least I am forever indebted to my parents and my siblings for their continuous support in my unbridled actions to pursue all my academic aims.

Date: 1st March 2019

Ramachan A Shimray

TISS Mumbai

mm2017sw013

CONTENTS

| | | |
|-----------|--|-------------|
| | <i>Declaration</i> | <i>i</i> |
| | <i>Certificate</i> | <i>ii</i> |
| | <i>Epigraph</i> | <i>iii</i> |
| | <i>Abstract</i> | <i>iv</i> |
| | <i>Acknowledgements</i> | <i>v</i> |
| | <i>Table Contents</i> | <i>vi</i> |
| | <i>List of Abbreviations</i> | <i>viii</i> |
| | <i>Glossary</i> | <i>x</i> |
| | <i>List of Figures</i> | <i>xi</i> |
| Chapter 1 | Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter 2 | Literature Review | 4 |
| | 2.1 Introduction | 4 |
| | 2.2 Assessment in Development Project | 4 |
| | 2.3 Interrogating Development Approach | 7 |
| | 2.4 Understanding Conflict Theory: Large Dam | 9 |
| Chapter 3 | Methodology | 13 |
| | 3.1 Introduction | 13 |
| | 3.2 Research Objectives | 14 |

| | | | |
|------------|------|---|---------|
| | 3.3 | Research Questions | 15 |
| | 3.4 | Conceptual Framework | 15 |
| | 3.5 | Sampling | 17 |
| | 3.6 | Data Sources and Collection | 18 |
| | 3.7 | Data Analysis and Interpretation | 20 |
| | 3.8 | Limitation of the Study | 21 |
| | 3.9 | Contextual Ethical Research | 23 |
| | 3.10 | Fieldwork and Experiences as Researcher | 25 |
| Chapter 4 | | Dam as Sacrificial Land for Development | 28 |
| Chapter 5 | | Hindrances to Commission Mapithel Dam | 43 |
| Chapter 6 | | On Whose Behalf is Mapithel Dam? | 51 |
| Appendices | 1 | Turnitin Originality Report | 64 |
| | 2 | Research Location - Map of Ukhrul District Manipur | 65 |
| | 3 | Overview of Chadong and Ramrei Village after Mapithel Dam | 66 |
| | 4 | A Glimpse of Fieldwork Pictures | 68 |
| References | | | 68 - 84 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|---|
| CAG | : Comptroller and Auditor General |
| CC | : Compound Committee |
| CWC | : Central Water Commission |
| ERC | : Expert Review Committee |
| EIA | : Environmental Impact Assessment |
| FRL | : Full Reservoir Level |
| FRA | : Forest Right Act |
| GSI | : Geological Survey of India |
| Ha | : Hectares |
| ICOLD | : International Commission on Large Dam |
| IOCPG | : Inter-organizational Committee on Principles and Guidelines |
| IUCN | : International Union for Conservation of Nature |
| IFCD | : Irrigational Flood and Control Department |
| JAC R&R | : Joint Action Committee on Rehabilitation and Resettlement |
| MCPCR | : Manipur Commission for Protection of Child Rights |
| MoEF | : Ministry of Environment and Forest |
| MoTA | : Ministry of Tribal Affairs |
| Mgd | : Million Per Day |
| MW | : Megawatt |

| | | |
|---------|---|---|
| Mcum | : | Million Cubic Meters |
| MDoNER | : | Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region |
| MDAVO | : | Mapithel Dam Affected Village Organisation |
| MDMPDVC | : | Mapithel Dam Multipurpose Project Displaced Village Committee |
| NEFA | : | Northeast Frontier Agency |
| NEC | : | North Eastern Council |
| NGT | : | National Green Tribunal |
| NGO | : | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| QDA | : | Qualitative Documents Analysis |
| R&R | : | Rehabilitation and Resettlement |
| SIA | : | Social Impact Assessment |
| SHG | : | Self Help Group |
| S&LR | : | Settlement & Land Records |
| VA | : | Village Authorities |
| WCD | : | World Commission on Dams |

GLOSSARY

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Awunga | : | King/ headman/ Chief |
| Hangva | : | Village authority |
| Hao sam | : | Localricce |
| Khalinao | : | Thieves |
| Karopthei | : | Cucumber |
| Khor | : | Local rice wine |
| Leiret | : | Boundary/territory/jurisdiction |
| Marikhong | : | Boat |
| Manglarin | : | Spiritual life |
| Ngahong | : | Jungle/forest |
| Ngathum sada | : | Hidingly/discreetly |
| Phanit | : | Festival |
| Ramshon | : | New place/village |
| Seilui | : | Buffaloes |
| Shimpam | : | Plot |
| Tui | : | Language |
| Zat | : | Food/Rice |
| Ngayi | : | A large body of water |
| Zingyat | : | Weather |

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLE

| Sl. No. | Name of the Figure and Tables | Page no |
|-----------|---|---------|
| Fig 3.1 | : A conceptual framework of the study | 16 |
| Fig 3.2 | : Sources of primary and secondary data | 19 |
| Fig 3.3 | : Process of Transcription | 21 |
| Table 6.1 | : R&R compensation of 1998 and 2011 | 59 |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This research is about social, environmental, economic and political lives of the community affected by the Mapithel Dam. The study is Mapithel Dam of Thoubal Multipurpose Project as a case study for the developmental project in the Ukhrul District, Manipur State. This region is mostly inhabited by Tangkhul Nagas. One of the indigenous peoples inhabiting in the Naga Hills of the Indo-Myanmar frontier and has its own unwritten constitution based on their culture, beliefs, norms and values (Shimray, 2002).

Coming to the development issues, the Northeast¹ region of India is no stranger to dam-related conflicts (Vagholikar, 2011). As Hurtwiz (2014) said large dams as development project often build in the region of the world where the law is weak and affected community have little involvement in decision making. Which means that development is more concern about building infrastructure, setting up industries and construction of a large dam in the country. This concept of development can be seen as means exploitation of mineral and forest resources of tribal (Xaxa, 2003). There might be no harm if development project undertakes under local values of equity, efficiency, participatory decision-making, sustainability and accountability (WCD, 2000). Similarly, if it addresses impoverishment risks cause by the development (Cernea, 2002). But if the development comes in order to diminish indigenous identity and attempted to integrate cultural, political, social and economical to the main population (Ramesh, 2005). Then, the basic and fundamental question is, is there really any magnificent significance about such development projects if it implies exclusivity? This is necessary to look basic question, because, the development policy is seen as power, inequality, and struggle (Giddens, 2009; Foucault, 1980). For the reason that, the dam builders will keep on constructing and the indigenous communities will be continually marginalized (Moore et al. 2010). So then again, what is the purpose of the development project.

The matter can be a concern to the affected Tangkhul peoples that they are displaced for the national economic interest and leave the locals without the proper addresses of dam policies. The rise of various socio-cultural issues of losing their traditions, culture and their means of livelihood provides a suitable case to study and understand the views and experiences of the indigenous community; who have been

¹ Northeast India consists of eight states such as Assam, Arunachal, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, and Sikkim.

affected by this development project. The study is not against to development but development that is antithetical to Tangkhul communities.

For the purpose of this thesis, I organized in six chapters. Each of the chapters has interconnected, which means it does not stand alone in the chapter. The following paragraph is a brief introduction to the chapters.

Chapter I ‘Introduction’, this chapter introduces the study and the purpose of the study. This chapter explains a brief summary of six chapters that are organized depending upon to research objectives and questions.

Chapter II ‘Literature Review’, begins with the introduction of the chapter and followed by presenting various academic literature that is related to this current study. This chapter is arranged in three sections, such as assessment in a development project, interrogating development approach and understanding conflict theory: Large dam. Each of the section has different discussion yet, they interconnected each other. The first section explained about various debates of the large dam and this section is concluded by addressing the need of various development assessments, taking an example of Hiraakud and Mulshi dam impact. The second section explained the development debates between the state development agencies and indigenous communities, with special references to Northeast region as propounded by Nehruvian Panchseel and Jairam Ramesh policy of development. Followed by brief criticism to colonial and postcolonial development paradigm. The third section attempted basic understanding of conflict theory through the lens of Karl Marx. To explained that society exists two class such as oppressor and oppressed in the development project. This section shows that conflict theory remains relevant today and continues to serve as a useful tool of inquiry and analysis. The chapter is concluded by presenting a brief discussion of all the above three sections and introducing the Mapithel Dam as a development project in the indigenous region of Tangkhul Nagas.

Chapter III ‘Methodology’, begins with the introduction of the chapter and the purpose of this chapter is to present the process of research typology from the literature reviews, data collection, data analysis and interpretation. This chapter also exhibits the framing of research objectives, research questions and sampling. This chapter shows that research is not a linear process, but, it takes multiple and continuous processes of the re-edit, re-work, re-order, re-write and re-frame until it has drawn to contextual. Lastly, this chapter is concluded by expressing an ethical concern and experience in the field.

Chapter IV ‘Dam as Sacrificial Land for Development’, begins with an introduction and explained ethnographic research conducted at the Mapithel dam site from June 2018 to September 2018. It is an attempt to explore the effects of the Mapithel dam from the point of the affected Tangkhul peoples. The Tangkhul *sacrifice* land, paddy field, forest, water, rivers, livelihood, home and even led to diverse losses of their cultural *phanit* (festival) for the state development project. This expression are based on the narratives (stories) of affected people's experiences on development, dam, change of cultural practices, social conflict and community disintegration, various demand; experiences of displacement and resettlement. This chapter is presented as a free flow of narratives expression.

Chapter V ‘Hindrances to Commission Mapithel Dam’, begins with an introduction and presents an analyze a range of documents, reports, press release, letters, memorandums and to understand the various dialogue, debates, discussion amongst state development agency and various local organisations. This chapter presents the issues of various Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) of Mapithel Dam and also analyse why Mapithel dam projects took more than three decades construction.

Chapter VI ‘On Whose Behalf is Mapithel Dam?’, begins with an introduction and this chapter is the summary, discuss and finding of the study that drawn from the literature, methodology, analysis, and interpretation. This chapter presents the social reality based on the lived experiences of the affected Tangkhul Nagas and analyse of development policies. This is followed by a brief critique of the ‘Mapithel Dam Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy’. The chapter concludes by asserting that the role of the state is to ensure that affected communities are not subsumed, culture crippled and especially their history distorted in the name of development. If it does, then, the whole latent objective of development is defeated outright. On whose behalf is Mapithel Dam?

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces to a stretch of academic literature in relevance to subject of the study. They are retrieved from books, journals, articles, unpublished work, magazines, newspaper etc. The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings and argument, the chapter is arranged in three sections.

The first section explained about the construction of a large dam as a means of development by taking developed (western) countries and developing countries. It also discusses the various impacts which resulted to economic hardships and community disintegration taking a case study of Mulshi and Hirakud Dam in India. Essentially This section introduced the need for development assessment like Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Social Impact Assessment (SIA).

The second section explained the various development debates between the state development agencies and indigenous communities. To present these debates, I have taken approached of colonial and postcolonial paradigm. This section is concluded by taking various welfare scheme or policy that implemented in the Northeast region as propounded by 'Nehruvian Panchseel' and Jairam Ramesh policy of 'development paradigm'.

The third section attempted to prelude the understanding and relevance of conflict theory (of Marx and Weber) whereby society is explained in class dichotomy; the oppressor and oppressed, which gives a frame of analysis in any development discourse.

The chapter concludes by presenting a brief summary on the above three sections and introducing Mapithel Dam as a development project in context of indigenous Tangkhul Nagas.

2.2 Assessment in Development Project

When the western nations were devastated in the aftermath of Second World War, nations were refocused on energy as economic development by constructing the mega developmental project. Consequently, in developing countries when colonial power had withdrawn from controlling. Developing countries also took opportunities and strategies like the framework of western modernization such as

‘Mega-Project’, which became a dogma of the modernity. Constructing large dams become the symbol of development because of multipurpose utility, such as generation of electricity, irrigation, flood control and navigation; which it contributed to the growth of the nations (Joyce & McCully, 1997; Nayak, 2010). In spite of growing economic development and high demands for hydropower across the world. The rates of constructing large dams were slowly coming down to 75 % in the 1990s as compared to its peak period in 1970s. In 1970 to 1975, there were 5,000 dams were built worldwide, but it declined (Khagram, 2004, pp. 8–19). Similarly, the International Commission on Large Dam (ICOLD) reports that there are more than 58,000 dams that the world registered in the database from 1958 - 2018.

In spite of rejecting large dam’s construction through protest or rejection of projects by the local population with the help of anti-dam international organizations. The dam builders keep on building. According to Moore et al., (2010) article, entitled, “*the World Commissions on Dam +10: revisiting the large dam controversy*”, said that after 10 years of WCD report until today (i.e. 19 years), the conditions on large dam issues have not gone away instead new sets of problem have crept in. The large dams are still building in the region of the world where the law is weak and affected communities have little involvement in decision making (Hurtwiz, 2014).

The large dams made a significant contribution to human development and considered as one of the potent symbols of economic growth, yet, it also causes substantial environmental damage, including the extinction of aquatic species, massive losses of forest area, wetlands, and farmland. Their impacted had brought extremely economic hardship, community disintegration, indigenous; peasant communities have suffered disproportionately (Bosshard et al. 2002). There are ample evidences of dams-induced displacement across the world in different region and even in India since the British colonial period. For instances in 1927, indigenous communities of Maharashtra discord against Mulshi Dam² construction, and became a landmark in the history of involuntary displacement. Similarly, there was large-scale opposition in the construction Hirakud dam³ by the local population to protect land, agriculture, livelihood and culture (Nayak, 2010) The large dams are known as development trends in infrastructural development policy. But there are innumerable questions that remained unanswered in today’s dams development discourse. Mostly development project are undertaken without the knowledge of the local population which later created unintended hardships to them. Although dam project generates huge economically

² Mulshi dam is located in the river of Mulshi river, Pune Maharashtra, With a height of 48.8 m and 1533.38 m length. This dam is known for the movement by the farmers that took away for the construction.

³ Hirakud Dam is located in the state of Odisha. It is one of the major multipurpose dam that was constructed after India’s independence. In spite of more than 150,000 people affected and 22,000 families displaced.

benefits, the effect and adverse consequences is even more detrimental. Local people are forced to give up their homes, lands, jobs and relocate for development projects (Mathur, 2011). Even in the work of Burdge et al. (2003) expressed that there are always a consequences either to accept or reject the schema of development project. However developmental agencies construct large dams to benefit themselves largely at the cost of vulnerable individuals, groups and communities. At any cost various development assessments like Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Social Impact Assessment (SIA) needs to conduct before and after any development project to curb and minimize the impact.

The main purpose of an EIA is to minimize the environmental impact of any development project. This activity is undertaken to ensure that the ecological environments are kept accounted. Environment Protection Act, 1986 considers that the relationship of 'water, air and land with human beings, other living creatures' is all that made an ecosystem. Therefore in any developmental project, it often deals with the environment and its interrelationship by taking into account various factor such as environmental, social and cultural considerations. All of these factors are critical to determining the viability of a project and granted environmental clearance. For instance, the National Green Tribunal under the NGT Act 2010 addresses all this multi-dimensional issues belated to environment. .

Ironically there are reports that are incomplete and provided with false data. EIA reports ignore several aspects while carrying out assessments and significant information is found to omit. Many EIA report is based on single-season data and is not adequate to determine whether environmental clearance should be granted. All this makes the entire exercise contrary to its very intent. Moreover when environmental clearance is granted despite public objection/rejection, the reasons for the same are not conveyed to all those who have sent in written objections and attended the public hearing. There are very few ways to get information regarding project clearances. The environmental clearance process after the public hearing appears to be a closed-door secretive process as far as the public is concerned. In cases of environmental clearance being granted, the people have no access to the rationale behind which the consent was given. All that emits from the ministry are the conditions and recommendations based on which clearance is granted which often does not address the whole gamut of concerns and issues raised during the public hearing. Some projects with significant environmental and social impacts have been excluded from the mandatory public hearing process. There are also concerns about how much value is given to opinions expressed during the public hearing.

In regards to social impact assessment (SIA), Inter-organizational Committee on Principles and Guidelines for Social Impact Assessment (IOCPG) clearly explained the need for assessment. For it is

not only affected physical⁴ but it also includes cultural impacts involving changes to the norms, values, and beliefs thus assessment guide and rationalizes their cognition of themselves and their society (IOCGP, 1994). In such a manner, it becomes mandatory for the developmental agency to have a social impact assessment to understand each norm, values, beliefs, and culture in the project area. According to Kaul (2000), SIA is not only concerning about the minimizing social costs or negative impact on events but it also responsiveness of policies to people's needs and putting people first. On the contrary, SIA can be the first planning of any development project implementation, but it became mere a documents or guidelines where the development agency manipulates ably for their economic interest. This is clearly seen in the work of Vanclay (2003), which he argued that 'International *Guidelines and Principles*' for social impact assessment was flawed concepts for the reasons, documents tend to emphasize on guidelines rather than the principles. Further, he argues that instructions are implemented in non-participatory processes. SIA should deeply root in the values of the community to bring ecological, socio-culturally and economically sustainable and equitable environment. There is also contrary a difference between guidelines and principles but it came to some outcome that "SIA is analyzing, monitoring and managing the social consequences of development... is a field of research and practice" (Vanclay, 2003).

2.3 Interrogating Development Approach

To understand development of any contexts question of benefits and the implications always arise. The Fundamental questions that needs to deliberate is 'what kind of development?', development at what cost? Development for whom? Etc. In the liberal economy, development is seen as a mechanism for the improvement of economic and social; also perceived as a transformative agency for the betterment of the lives of peoples. According to Damodaran et al. (2011), development can narrow down as 'means, change, and progress, either whole or, partial'. In the article *Tribes in India* written by (Xaxa, 2003), expressed that the national event is far more critical in future growth and resource mobilization than the concerning welfare and interest of tribes in India. His argument reiterates that development is more concern about building infrastructure, setting up industries and construction of a large dam in the country. These concepts of development legalize and justify exploitation mineral and forest resources from tribal areas. In fact tribals have been living in close association with the forest for long period in which their world views, livelihood is dependent upon and they manage, control and protect the forests. This inter-dependence of forest have recognized by the government of India by passing Forest Right Act of

⁴ This is refers to displacement, lost of forest, paddy field or agriculture, and compensation.

2006. The act acknowledges occupation of forest land in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers.

Over the years various welfare policies and programs had been implemented by the government of India for tribal development, especially in areas of health, education, poverty alleviation and employment. However, one needs to evaluate and interrogate from the different indigenous development approach from the past to the present. To understand indigenous development approach, it is also necessary to bring different themes expressed by different scholarship. For instance, (Akhup, 2016) from social work perspectives and (Dilip, 2016) from the economics perspective. Akhup situate from *colonial and post-colonial* premise whereas Dilip locates tribal development from *pre-independence and post-independence* paradigm. In the recent shift many scholars have argued the notion of tribal development positioning the perspective from within. According to Akhup (2016) during British colonization, tribal peoples and areas were considered as uncivilized, backward regions, un-surveyed, and un-administered. This notion of the tribal areas has further classified as Five and Sixth Schedule area, depending upon the demographic classification. Tribal people in the Northeast region are referred to as Sixth Schedule, and Fifth Schedule referred to tribal people that located in the different part of the country. However, this territorial demarcation has done within the confines of the outside national boundary, and they are interested in isolating the tribal by forming excluded and partially excluded areas.

Tribal development approach can be strongly explained by three important theories that emerge from Pre-colonial and Post-colonial namely, the policy of *isolation/segregation*, the policy of *assimilation*, and policy of *integration*.

The policy of isolation is emerged from Elwin Verrier, an English anthropology, who wrote the *Philosophy of NEFA, 1960*. This system was adopted in the colonial period or pre-independent. His understanding of tribe was usually referred to as isolationist, popular known as, 'National Park theory'. His suggestion is to preserve their culture as their survival and protection from exploitation and oppression (Xaxa, 2003). G.S. Ghurye propounded the *policy of assimilation* into a mainstream Hindu society. He appropriate his views that Tribes are backward Hindus and thus for the tribes to develop they need to assimilate into mainstream Hindu society which is also called a framework of Tribe-caste-class continuum. However, both the isolationist and assimilationist perspectives were not reflected in the constitutional making of India. Instead *policy of integration* was embraced and adopted in the constitutional framing of independent India. Integrationist was propounded by the Anthropology Survey

of India; this policy came after rigorous research on tribes in India. Their primary objectives are social integration and cultural assimilation (Dilip, 2016).

In the above three approach i.e. *isolation, assimilation, and integration*, (Xaxa, 2003) argued that it may be assumed to be adequate for tribal but none of these has provision meant for benefit and welfare of the tribal peoples. He articulates constitutional arrangement of integrationist policy having a structural issue for the tribal's.

With this backdrop in mind, the state's development policy towards tribal communities particularly in the north eastern region needs to understand the *Nehruvian Panchseel*, written in the book, *Philosophy of NEFA, 1960*. The book advocates, tribal rights over land and forest which needs to be respected, avoid imposition of any cultural, economic and political regulation on them. Along the similar stretch, Jairam Ramesh (2005) proposed a different development approach in article *North-east India in New Asia* questioning India's government policies towards development to Northeast. He pointed out four dominant paradigms, such as *cultural paradigm* (the 1950s - 1960s), *security paradigm* (mid-1960s), *politics paradigm* (early 19970s) and *development paradigm* (in 1980s). In the development paradigm, he pointed out, 'if we build schools, bridges, internet centers, IITs and refineries, the people will be happy'. Give them development and they will forget about problems of identity, problems of assertion, problems associated with creating a nation out of essentially tribal communities. This development approach into the region has a strong tendency to extract the natural resources of the region, increase public investment in physical and social infrastructure which they believed that all the problem especially security concerning by the state will fade away. This type of development approach can be seen by establishing different agencies or ministries such as North Eastern Council (NEC) nodal agency for the economic and social development of the North Eastern Region established in the year 1972. Similarly, Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region (MDoNER)' was created in 2001 and became a full-fledged ministry on May 2004 to exclusively look after the development and welfare of the region (Ziipao, 2016). The Act East Policy (also known as Look East Policy) which is strongly based on an economic strategy to have relations with the Southeast Asian. By looking all these development paradigms or an integration (cultural, political and economic) there is no doubt that 56 per cent fund is contributed by the state government and the rest by the central government to build roads, railways, airways, waterways, power, and tourism (NEC, 2016) .

With the emergence of development paradigm in the region, there is also an emergence of academician, activist, leaders concerning to address the varied issues faced by the region. However for the state it

largely concentrated on those projects which yield quick results from the accumulation of resources rather than the wellbeing of the population. The regional economic progress is greatly determined by its history, sociopolitical conditions and natural factors (Jamir, 2016). In other words, this development approach does not sustainable as it redefined by the state or development agencies. Development agencies alienated indigenous population from their land, rivers, and forest. These models of development give socio-economic advantages only for the urban centers, where the rural areas remained at periphery of development.

2.4 Understanding Conflict Theory: Large Dam

The conflict theory looks at society as class antagonism with limited resources. It engages on the issues of power, inequality, and struggle and tends to see society as composed of distinct groups pursuing their interest (Giddens, 2009). A German philosopher and sociologist Karl Marx (1818-1883) saw society as being made up of individuals in different social classes, who must compete for social, materials and political resources. Marx describes a society in two major social groups, the ruling class and a subject class. The ruling class gain power from its ownership and control over labor force. The power of governing class exploits and oppresses the subject class. As a result, there is a fundamental conflict of interest between the two classes. The various social institutions like legal and political system are an instrument of ruling class domination and serve their attention. This social institution like governments, education, and religion reflect this competition in their inherent inequalities and help main the unequal social structure (OpenStax, 2015). According to Marx and Engel in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, expressed that the existing society is the history of class struggle between oppressors and oppressed. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps into two great classes directly facing each other and resources were unjustly distributed among them (Marx, 2012). With this system, an unequal social order was maintained through ideological coercion which created consensus and acceptance of the values, expectations, and conditions as determined by the ruling class (Crossman, 2017). In contrary, George Simmel maintained that conflict was a constructive process that could produce meaningful social change and integration within society.

Let's us take a look at how conflict theory can be understood in the development project especially large dam as a development project. In applying the conflict theory it is necessary to questions the essence of

conflicts such as, what are the issues and how are the disputes arising? What are the relations of power in the construction of a large dam?

To highlight these issues, Sardar Sarovar dam that was recently inaugurated on 17 September 2017 by Prime Minister of India stated, 'I decided that with or without the World Bank, we would go ahead with the project' (EPW, 2017). Further, he claimed that when the World Bank had refused to help Sardar Sarovar dam, the saints and seers of Gujarat donated money to make it possible. In any development project of large-dam construction, their main objectives are to provide water, irrigation, flood control, and electricity. There is a report of acute shortage of water, electricity and gas supply in western India (Times, 2017). Minister of Water Resources claimed, Sardar Sarovar Dam will bring drinking water to 4 crore people, the income of farmers will double by 2022, the dam will help irrigate 22 lakh hectare land. On the other hand Greenpeace India and other environmentalist and human rights activist had condemned the installation of Sardar Sarovar Dam of which the Dam will ruin 10,000 helpless and poor farmers. The states need the response on the question of who is going to benefit while there are thousands of men, women, and children who has lost their livelihood. Medha Patkar founder of Narmada Bachao Adolan, said the project was a 'fallacy' and a "flop show" (PTI, 2017).

Coming into Northeast region, dam-related conflicts is not a new phenomenon. Such economic development may improve India's economy and improve the lives of people, but the chances of displacement are higher as compared to the possibilities of improvement. For instances, in 1970s, Gumti Dam in Tripura state submerged large tracts of arable land in the Raima Valley and displaced massive local tribal population, leading unrest (Vagholikar, 2011). The construction of Tipaimukh dam on the Barak River which has a serious adverse impact on loss of inhabiting area, their agriculture land, forest and livelihood even extended on the downstream part of Bangladesh (Kibria, 2005). In the year 2001, the Central Electricity Authority (CEA) did a preliminary study of the hydroelectric potential of various basins in the country. The studies identified that the Northeast has the highest potential to construct 168 projects with a total installed capacity of 63,328 MW. In 2002, the Northeast Business Summit was held in Mumbai and the country tagged northeast as 'Future powerhouse' of the country (Vagholikar, 2011). The title of 'Future Powerhouse' is a matter of pride for the country but it also means that the region will be highly vulnerable and will be at a greater risk of disasters and damages. There will be large-scale displacement and loss of life, which will result in the substantial loss of hard-earned gains by the local communities of the region.

Similarly, Riparian communities of Arunachal Pradesh in Siang hydroelectric project would almost lose the entire length of the Siang region and there will be complete submergence of Twenty-three villages inhabiting on the banks of the Siang river. On the other parts, the region had a tremendously impact on socio-economic and environmental, especially to the indigenous communities of Adi's and Galo's. On 11th September 2010, Adi's Student's (AdiSU) body has appealed to the former Union minister of Environment Jairam Ramesh, to reconsider setting up of a hydroelectric project. AdiSU body has appealed that "construction of so many dams would lead to submergence of vast areas resulting to loss of forest and cultivable land. In the event of natural calamity like Earthquake, flash flood which is beyond the control of human and the vast cultivable land of three districts of Siang Valley would be submerged". With concerns being raised, Jairam Ramesh addressed in Assam on 12th August 2010, quoted "I cannot assure that the project will be stopped, but we will take all necessary measures, I can't become the minister to stop all project. The dams are also of strategic importance. If we don't build dams on the Siang River (in Arunachal Pradesh), our claim from China will weaken". Vijay Taram, an anti-dam activist with the Forum for Siang Dialogue, said, "We are not against small dams and dams on tributaries of Siang, but big dams will spoil our lives and livelihood. If completed they will flood all fertile agricultural lands, destroying flora and fauna of entire Siang belt and displace thousands of people...".

In spite of all contentious and refutation for environmental clearance for the project, the state-central government proceeded to build hydroelectric sidelining all expertise recommendations advisory committees in an attempt to harness green hydropower. The state/central government and company assured that setting up of a dam will provide ample job opportunities and economic development of the area. With this kind of assurance given by the government and companies some of the villagers had accepted to construct the hydroelectric project by receiving packages, compensation like resettling infrastructure facilities. On the contrary, some indigenous communities came to find out that they do not receive what is supposed to compensate and received packages, it turns out to massive protest and leads to mistrust amongst government, companies and indigenous communities.

Laying conflict theory into large dam construction in the country, one can visualize how the material relations of society contribute in producing the conflict. We can see that the ruling class with its control over states, legal and political institutions has less concern with the subject class, especially for the indigenous community. It is understood that a large dam is constructed where there is poor socio-economic but have abundant natural resources. To an extent, the large dam has also improved human quality of life by providing drinking water and to support economic growth by diverting water for power, navigation, flood control, and irrigation. But there is larger motive of the ruling class is to have an

economic gain from the subject class or from communities having land and resources. Identity and culture associated with land and forest becomes less important for them.

When the ruling class who controls state failed to assure to provide ample job opportunities and economic development of the area and compensation and other infrastructure facilities, it turns to reactionary with massive protest and lead to mistrust amongst government and companies. The politics of construction of large dams have become contentious in any development model across the country. The discourse is also much debated on the issue of violation of the indigenous people's rights under ILO 169.

To conclude, the discussion in the literature presents the various developmental debates and trajectories in context of constructing big Dam particularly in India. The importance of various social, cultural, environment and legal parameters are also interrogated and deliberated in the chapter. It appears a very strong limelight on the negligence of state and infrastructural development agency on Social impact assessment and Environment Impact Assessment in construction of Big Dams. Vanclay (2003) clearly pointed out that these assessments are not rooted in the values of the local socio-culture and economy. Then, it became necessary to interrogate development policy propounded by the state/central government or any development agencies. This literature discussion has also significantly brought to discuss, debates and dialogue, on how development policy played as power, inequality, and struggle (Giddens, 2009; Foucault, 1980). The people and the communities are not only deprived of their livelihood, their cultural and social identity and rights are snatched away with the coming of dams. And the questions of environmental concerns need to occupy a space in any development discourse of the country. The questions of whose behalf large dam is constructed? Who is the beneficiary of the so-called development (Dam construction)? Etc. what are its implications? Etc. posed a serious attention in the construction of Mapithel dam- Thoubal Multipurpose Project in Ukhrul district.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Before I introduce this chapter, I want to elucidate that this study is not related to the natural sciences of construction of a large dam. Instead, the study is concentrated and looked from the lens of social work research that deals with the social, environmental, economic and political lives of the community. The purpose of this chapter is to present the process of typology from the literature reviews, data collection, data analysis and interpretation. This chapter also exhibits the framing of research objectives, research questions and sampling. Lastly, this chapter is concluded by expressing an ethical concern and experience in the field.

In any social work research, robust research methodology is required to achieve the objectives of the study. However, framing a robust methodology also seems bewildering as it may not be able to receive a subjective qualitative study. Looking at this, the word ‘research’ is very much preconceived knowledge for the reasons that while planning a study, a researcher already had some basic assumption of findings or outcomes, which may be either true or false. I am not proclaiming this can be applied to all; neither, I do not reject subjective in nature.

To search for truth and knowledge an attempt is made, by taking Mapithel Dam of Thoubal Multipurpose Project as a case study for the developmental project in the Ukhrul District, Manipur State. This region is mostly inhabited by Tangkhul Nagas. Who is one of the indigenous people inhabiting in the Naga Hills of the Indo-Myanmar frontier. According to Tangkhul folklores, this tribe move from China to Myanmar and settled in the present location. Every Tangkhul village has its own unwritten constitution based on their culture, beliefs, norms and values (Shimray, 2002).

The Tangkhul Nagas are a community who are very dependent on the environment⁵. Not only does their livelihood depends on it but their beliefs, values, custom, ideas, and practices are deeply rooted in their environment. Unfortunately, development in the form of Mapithel Dam of Thoubal Multipurpose Project has brought disintegration amongst the community and conflicts between the state government and local communities. In addition, the locals whose lives depend on the environment are experiencing a wave of cultural changes. For instance, the *Luirā Phanit*⁶ also known as ‘seed sowing festival’ which is celebrated in the months of January, February and March to give thanks to the almighty and asking blessing to ensure prosperity in the agricultural field. However, because of the construction of the dam, the locals no longer celebrate the festival as they used to earlier for they have lost their paddy field, forest, river and their means of livelihood. Needless to say, this Tangkhul cultural are massively uprooted for the national economy interest and leave the locals without the proper addresses of dam policies. The rise of various socio-cultural issues of losing their traditions, culture and their means of livelihood provides a suitable case to study and understand the views and experiences of the indigenous community who are been affected by this development project.

3.2 Research Objectives

Drawing from the literature reviews, I agree that there are a variety of themes that have been explored in cases of projects on dams but there can also be different areas of studies which needs to be looked at from a different perspective or explore and extend the areas which have already been studied. I cannot deny that dam studies which has globally been studied, clearly shows anguish that the construction of such dams has greatly affected the community or people’s lives in the aspects of social, environmental, economic and political. It has been noted that, in spite of the large dam policies in the regions like China,

⁵ Contextualizing Tangkhul Nagas environment can be understand as way of lives. Where everything is dependent to their surrounding for living, from the sunrise till the sunset. To illustrate this let me explain the role of *harva* (Roaster), in the olden days they do not know the concept of 8 am or 8 pm. Speaking of fact, they do not have a wristwatch or wall clock. This type of time management knowledge came into existence only when colonial Christian missionary came in the Tangkhul region. But the question remain are they not have time? Indeed, they do not follow colonial time management. However, forefather used to listen to each and every sound give out by the *harva khon* (Roaster sound). They took *harva khon* as a time to remind to wake up, time to go for paddy field and preparing food. The *harva* (Roaster) is not only reminding about time. It is also used for the sacrificial in their lives. Forefather used to sacrifice roaster to see future fortune.

⁶Luirā Phanit is significant to the Tangkhul because of its importance in bestowing the community for better crops around the year. The Chiefs, Pastors, and elders of the village pray for the community at the beginning of the year for seeking blessings from God for better food crops production and safety.

US, India, Japan and Brazil for the purpose of irrigation, hydroelectric power, flood control, water reservoir, and drinking and many other purposes, the project seemed to be a failure and has also affected the region (Moore, Dore & Gyawali, 2010). Though there has been a repeated failure of dam policies, construction of it has never stopped. The development funders or financial institution keeps on investing and dam builders keep on hunting for these kinds of the huge amount of project. If then, on whose behalf large dam is constructed? Who is the beneficiary of the so-called development? When there is massively adversely affected by the local population, is there any alternative way by not construction of a large dam? If it was so much interested in the national economy, why is it not interested in the local population⁷ ? Having highlighted a brief sketch on the research's purpose, three core objectives arise, which are the base of the research. They are:

- To understand the lived experiences of the Tangkhul Nagas community affected by the Mapithel Dam.
- To analyze government policies and resolutions regarding the Resettlement and Rehabilitation plan for this project.
- To analyze the policies with the demands presented by the local Communities and leaders.

3.3 Research Questions

Framing methodology for studying Mapithel dam is one of the critical parts. It is critical to put what comes first research objectives or research questions. I believed framing typology depends on what studies are looking for. The social sciences research methodology author likes (Bryman, 2006) explains the different volume of methodology. Therefore, it is not about what comes first and what comes later. The main concern is 'what is the knowledge that a researcher is searching for? How this knowledge can be acquired? Thus, in order to seek this knowledge, four core research questions arise. They are:

- What are the changes caused by the Mapithel project to the way of life of the affected Tangkhul communities?
- What are the provisions for Resettlement and Rehabilitation in relevant Government policies?

⁷ Local population refers to Tangkhul Nagas villages such as Chadong, Ramrei, Riha, Louphong, Nongdam that are massively affected by the Thoubal Multipurpose Project Mapithel dam.

- What has been received by affected Tangkhul as compensation and/or rehabilitation as per these policies?
- What are the main demands raised by local communities and traditional leaders (village, authority, headman, church and local organizations)?

3.4 Conceptual Framework

How can one call it as a development, when indigenous communities are forced to sacrifice their own homes, land, forest and livelihood? What do I say when development agencies constructed development project such as a large dam, transnational highway, railway, set up factories and industries without concerning the local communities. If concerns of the locals are ignored then how can such projects bring development for the indigenous? And on whose behalf is development? These are the fundamental question that needs to address for the interest of the national economy.

Drawing from the literature and objectives of the study, the study is conceptualized that there are two systems such as *state development agencies and indigenous communities*. The state development agencies refer to the Irrigation Flood Control Department (IFCD), Government of Manipur and also refer to the Ansal Properties and Industries, Limited New Delhi and Progressive Construction Limited Hyderabad as private companies. These agencies played a very important role in spreading the gospel⁸ of development. On the other side, indigenous communities are referred to the affected Tangkhul villages (the study concentrated in Ramrei and Chadong village). The people living in this area often lose their home, land, forest, rivers and their traditional livelihood due to the construction of dam in this area which not only gave rise to various socio-cultural and environmental issues but the community slowly started losing their identity in their own home as it is the land that binds them to their identity. Every activity they carry out and every experience of the community all revolves around their environment. To address this social reality, it needs to contextualize any developmental project as the well-being of the society, not as the accumulation of wealth. Fig 3.1 shows an illustration of the conceptual of the study.

⁸ This refers to the development agencies on how they came to indigenous communities and enlightens them about the benefits of constructing the dam which will help the community in removing poverty, inequalities, bringing out more job opportunities, improvement of electricity and better road.

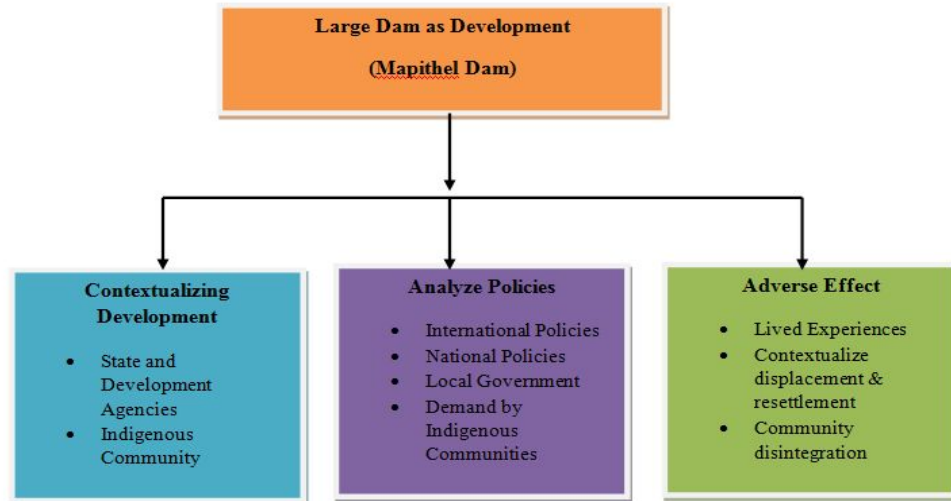


Fig 3.1: Conceptual framework of the study

This framework presented large dam as one of the development projects, and the main focus is to search *what is meant by development according to the state's development agency perspective?* Also, need to explore *what is a development for indigenous communities?* In implementing this, the state's government often played as a powerful institution in the indigenous communities. Consequently, it will also need to see how indigenous communities' response to power that has been exercising by the state. Thus, the basic fundamental questions are who holds power? How power was/is exercised and what is the conflict arising between them?

Further the need to explore how indigenous communities are adversely affected by losing their land, home, forest, rivers and livelihood was also felt necessary. There need to contextually explore the meaning of displacement and their effect on community disintegration. This does not mean that the study is opposed to any development project but it is a way forward to contextualize development by analyzing different policies both international and national.

3.5 Sampling

For the purpose of this study and to achieve the objectives set, purposive sampling and snowballing sampling has been employed. As the study mostly looks at the phenomenon of the Tangkhul lived experiences, these techniques help to unravel their lived experiences which are subjective. Consequently, the process of selecting participants became *subjective in nature*. For the reasons that each of the selected such as *key informants, villages, homestay, male and female participants, church leaders, hanga (village authority), activist, a local organization and fieldwork transportation* became purposive for the study.

All of the research participants can be said homogenous purposive in nature i.e. all the participants belongs to the indigenous Tangkhul. There are also other communities like *Kuki's, Meitei and Kom* which is neighbouring to Mapithel dam sites and they are also affected by this development project. However, they are not intentionally part of the study for the reasons that they do not share a set of strong characteristics with *Ramrei (Khunou & Khullen) and Chadong* villages. These two Tangkhul villages have common norms, values, belief, customs, practices and speak *Tangkhul tui*⁹ (language). Out of these two village, Ramrei Khunou¹⁰ became the focal point in order to access Ramrei Aze and different Chadong village¹¹.

Coming to key informants and research participants from both the villages. Each of the participants is selected into forms of knowing the history of the village, displaced families who received compensation, families not receiving compensation, teachers, government employees, and farmers.

In doing this sampling, the purposive technique could not be employed as there was a limitation to select research participant. For instance, I went to Old Chadong village¹² without any impression about the

⁹Tangkhul tui (language) is spoken by the Tangkhul. Tangkhul tui (languages) belong to Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan languages.

¹⁰Ramrei village is divided into parts i.e. Ramrei Ato and Ramrei Aze (Khonou and Khullen literally basically refers as North and South). Though the village is divided into parts but they have one village Hangga (king). The distance between Ramrei Ato to Ramrei Aze is about 3 – 5 km.

¹¹ Before the construction of dam Chadong village is one the strongest village amongst in the Tangkhul Nagas. But after dam is constructed. The Chadong village is divided into four villages, such as Old Chadong, New Chadong Sites, West Chadong and C. Maphou (C. Maphou is exist from before)

¹² Old Chadong village refers to the village that currently not receiving any compensation or funds from the state. They are still living adjacent to the dam. This village cannot be access easily anymore. If anyone have to buy rice or medicine. One has to ride village a boat for about 15 minutes in the cost of Rs. 50 (two service in a day .i.e. Morning 9 am and evening 3 pm) but if there is an emergency one has to pay more than Rs. 800.

social conflict and community disintegration that is going on. So, when I had a meeting with the Chadong *Awunga* (King)¹³, he refers to me to discuss with the *Ashang* because he knows the history of the Mapithel dam and is currently residing in C. Maphou. Speaking of the fact, I will not know *Ashang* if Chadong *Awunga* (King) did not refer. Doing this kind of techniques can be known as snowballing. According to Biernacki & Waldorf (1981), explained snowballing as :

- ‘ the snowballing method yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest. The method is well suited for a number of research purposes and is particularly applicable when the focus of study is on a sensitive issue, possibly concerning a relatively private matter, and thus requires the knowledge of insiders to locate people for study’

Employing referral sampling help to find a participant who shares deeply of the purpose of the study helps to enrich data. Getting this kind of participant or I can be called *Khangathum*¹⁴ *participant* that I did not aware to select them.

3.6 Data Sources and Collection

For the purpose of this research, knowledge consists of both the primary and secondary sources (see fig 3.2). For the primary sources field work becomes the sole of its collection. The duration of data collection was of three months and fifteen days, i.e., June, July, August and till 15 September 2018. I started the data collection by starting a pilot visit in the second week of June. The main purpose of the pilot visit is to observe the current scenario, searching for the local host, key informants and most importantly taking consent¹⁵ from the village headman, Church, and local organization. The five days pilot visit gives information whom to contact the key informants, what time¹⁶ should I proceed and when to collect. Most

¹³Awunga – means village king. The role of the Awunga is to look after the village. All the development project or schemes should come under through him or I can say that Awunga should aware what is going on in their village.

¹⁴Khangathum literally means hidden or buried. In the context of the study, if there was no referral than I might not able to contact them or not select them. Therefore, receiving this kind of participants help to overcome problem data.

¹⁵ See ‘ethic consideration’ in this chapter.

¹⁶ The month of June, July, and August is the busiest time for the Tangkhul and it is a monsoon seasons.

importantly to find out means of connection to Mapithel areas¹⁷ by walking, riding boat, hiring vehicles and communication.

Thus, after locating and getting consent for the study, I return back to hometown¹⁸ for further enhancing my literature knowledge and the key concepts that need to be searched for the study. Then the following months (i.e. July, August and September) became the primary sources of data collection through fieldwork. The fieldwork sources are based on the individual research participants who knew (history) the knowledge of the village, Mapithel dam, experiencing the reality of displacement, receiving compensation, not receiving compensation, activist, local organizations¹⁹, church leaders, government employees and farmers.

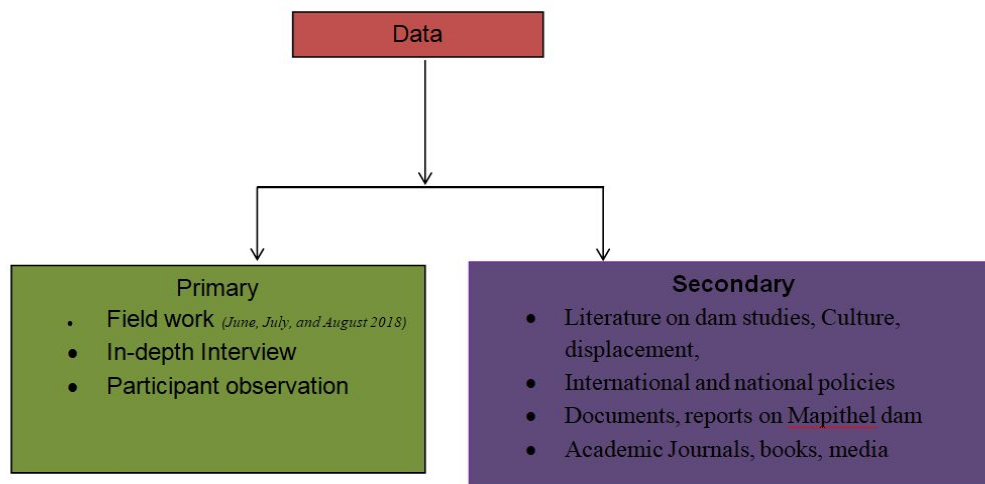


Fig 3.2: Sources of primary and secondary data

Since the study is qualitative research, the sole primary sources of data were collected through in-depth interview. The in-depth interview was conducted without proper structural questions but only the key concept/areas that have been derived from the existing literature. This helps to free flow of discussion

¹⁷Mapithel area consists of six villages such as Chadong, RamreiAze, RamreiAto, Louphoung, Riha and Nongdam.

¹⁸Ukhrul district is located in the North from the research field. Which is about 75 Km away from Mapihtel dam.

¹⁹Mapithel Dam Affected Village Organisation (MDAVO), Mapithel Dam Multipurpose Project Displaced Village Committee (MDMPDVC), Joint Action Committee on Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Chadong Village (JAC on R&R Chadong Village), Tangkhul Mayar Ngala Long (Tangkhul Youth Organisation), Village authority (Chadong and Ramrei),

without any limitation of time but to the convenient of the participants. In addition, participant observation is employed in the fieldwork to collect non-verbal information and build psychological conscious. This observation helps to observe the reality that the Tangkhul are facing. For instance, I participated in the *Mangkham Phanit*²⁰. Therefore, primary sources are collected with the consent of voice record, pictures, field note, and dairy.

In the context of the secondary sources of this study, the literature on dam global, national and local has been explored. Since these studies not only confined to the large dam as development but it also linked to the related studies such as cultural studies and social policy. These kinds of literature enclose multiple narrations and mostly mixed, yet, it came down by contextualizing to the research objectives. The study is not limited to academic literature such as academic journals, website, blog, videos, and books as secondary sources. But it extended to documents, files, and reports that are collected during the fieldwork. Getting documents and reports for the Mapithel dam was difficult to access (see limitation section of this section).

3.7 Data Analysis and Interpretation

For the analysis collected from the fieldwork as well as through literature review i.e. primary and secondary sources, an *inductive analysis* was employed. This analysis helps to begin by narrowing down the research questions from the collected raw data, which means by building *coding, editing, patterns and categorizing themes*. The analysis of data which was derived from the *field notes, audio recording, video and transcription* was carefully examined. Following fig 3.3 shown in the next page is an illustration of transcription.

²⁰Mangkham Phanit is a festival after planting of paddy. This festival is celebrated to give thanks to almighty and asking protection their food crops.

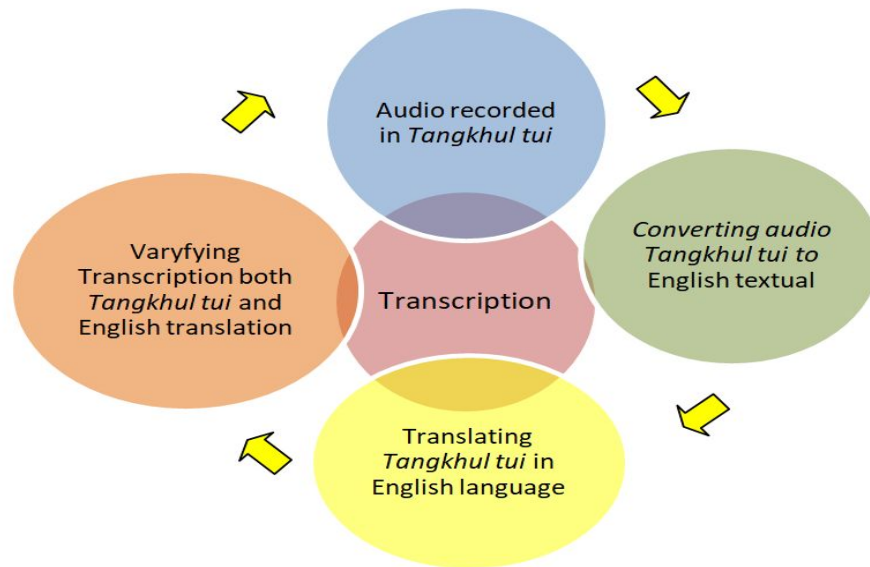


Fig 3.3: Process of Transcription

After all the translation is over and prepared raw data in the English character, the inductive analysis begins by reading of each text and identified multiple meaning arose from the raw textual. This led into *manual coding* and each code are interconnected from different research participants. Finally, the connected manual coding presented or interpreted in free flows of narratives expression base on the research objectives.

3.8. Limitation of the Study

For the study, I have attempted to avoid errors so to bring out the experiences of the affected Tangkhul community for the so-called 'interest of national economy' and I do not proclaim that this study can be the ultimate knowledge or truth. However, this study can be much related to other indigenous communities. By doing this, I had an intensely prepared research methodology after reviewing all the related literature. However, there are huge differences preparing before entering the field than reality. This led to expanding multiple areas and difficult to contextualize. The study is also difficult to unravel their lived experiences for the reasons that I thought or conceptualized in *Tangkul tui* and written/express in English. Which means their exact meaning was lost while interpreting. The study is also limited because of the monsoon season, transportation, misconception, insecure to participate or provide secondary data. Following paragraph is a brief explanation of the limitations, as

Monsoon Season: who can control natural seasons of the year and Northeast India agricultural is fully dependent on monsoon rain. In the context of Ukhrul District, Manipur, monsoon season starts at the end of May till the end of September. Unfortunately, the time allotted for data collection happened to be at this time of the season. Due to the heavy monsoon rain, the process for data collection kept delaying and also in many instances I had to keep waiting for the rain to stop which even went for hours that in some occasion participants were not able to come to the meeting point or I was not able to make it. In order to reach the village, I had to cross the river but due to heavy rainfall and strong wind, the helmsman denied to help me commute even after repetitive request because of the high risk in crossing the dam. This limitation brought down to the next issues.

Transportation: As I mentioned in the above paragraph, by not only having heavy rain or the helmsman were not secure to cross the dam, there is also the unavailability of proper transportation and poor road condition. The only way to get transportation is to hire a boat to access Old Chadong village from Ramrei *waiting shed* with Rs. 800 for 15 minutes (one way) or I have to wait for local service that runs in the morning and evening. The other means of transportation to access C. Maphou, Chadong Sites and West Chadong is to hire an auto rickshaw, an amount of Rs. 500 to 1000. These things are not available all the time; sometimes, even an auto driver went to *Yangaphokpi*²¹ for their own purposes. Therefore, the only way is to walk miles and conduct an interview with the participants. Walking from one village to the other was a time-consuming process which was a disadvantage for my research as I could not cover the entire village, hence limiting my research to people whom I could get access to.

Misconception: Though I am an insider belonging to the same community yet there are more than 200 Tangkhul villages and each of the villages speak different local languages but for common understanding, everyone communicates with *Tangkhul tui*. Therefore, whenever they saw/meet for the first time, they took me as *ayarwui mi (outsider)*. Some participants took me as a government agency or company worker. For instance, when I went to C. Maphou village on 13 August 2018, I met elderly women who she was working in the *Khamatheilui (corn field)*, she asked

aboynavakhikhanaokhalei? Khisakazatkalei?

²¹Yaingangpokpi village is located in the Imphal east district, 24 Km away from Imphal city. This village is nearest market for the Mapithel area.

(Trans. a boy, where are you from? What are you doing here?).

When I responded to her about the purpose she reluctantly denied that she was not willing to participate. For the reasons that she's already experienced that some government agencies came to do a survey and nothing good has happened.

Insecure to Participate or Provide Secondary Data: There are some participants who can really provide rich raw data for the study. I have personally requested them to have an interview but they strongly denied for the reasons that they had threatened not to participated or speak anything from the states as well as Northeast arms groups. And I do not inquire their rationality behind for safety. Regarding the secondary data such as documents, files, reports can be found from contractors, states employees and development agencies but they are not willing to share to the public domain, even for the study because of their security concern (I do not know their real intention). However, I received a few documents, reports from the participants which helped for the study but not extended to large knowledge.

3.9 Contextual Ethical Research

In this paragraph, I will be explaining some codes of ethics for professional and academic, which is explained by different qualitative social research authors such as informed consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) , Bryman (20012). Here, the main focus is on the informed consent that I employed during the fieldwork or in the process of primary data collection.

Drawing from the literature and bringing from the analysis chapter, it came to the conclusion that the Mapithel dam was conducted without having informed consent from the indigenous communities. It was agreed and constructed from a few signatories' members, or I can say this was constructed without having knowledge from all the Mapithel areas. Few of them are not aware of the rationality behind not informing properly the purpose of constructing the dam by the developmental agencies to the indigenous communities. In the 1980s majority of the people in neighbouring Mapithel areas were lacking in education and have no knowledge about the purposes of large dams. The only things that they were concerned are to do fishing from the river and other activities. Since the majority of them do not have a high income; everyone desired to acquire wealth. At those time, few educated people and politician came and told them, the construction of a large dam would earn a lot of money and yield a lot amount of fishes.

In this context, a 58 years elderly woman name Awon, who she is a cultivator and also one of the active members of the self-help group (SHG) from the *Ramrei village* narrated.

She said,

haokaphokatamli, kong thing kahaieinakhaikahakhashailakhapamrei kala nathum hi yorakhuiwuiringkaphanailimalaihaorei...kha!!... aruingashanvayanglu, maukkhanangna mala? Arava government wuilamnei da khikhamaphashaipaimareikachiwuiatamrarasarei,

(trans: in the beginning , when the river was blocked (dam), we were assured everyone will get to do fishing for big fishes and will forget about it (referring to the state development agencies provision for rehabilitation) for we will be happy after selling this fishes....but!!... Now look at this (at the situation), don't we feel sad? The government might say this is our (government) land you cannot have anything from there).

These very lines suggest that agencies came as deception within misinformation. As I said, at those days people were not educated and they lacked knowledge in the developmental project. Therefore, few of the community took them as good fortune and allowed the dam to be constructed. Now, those signatories are regretting that they sign an agreement without having proper knowledge and consent from all communities.

This illustration can be very much applied to the study. For the reasons that if I did not get informed consent from the village headman, church leaders, local organization and the participants the study will be no different from the development. However, the study is strictly employed in codes of social research ethics. The main concern is how I employed this code of ethics to the illiterates, uneducated and educated. I assumed any research participants that can share ideas, belief, and values are the key knowledge sharing. Therefore, in order to get the information, I personally introduced myself, the purpose of the study and shown Student ID Card and a bonafide letter from the institution stating that I am a MPhil student. Before, going to the field, I laid down a few informed consent forms stating from the privacy of participants to the knowledge they would be sharing. However, as I went about with the consent form, it was to my notice that few of the people do not know how to write and some showed very less attention or no attention even after showing them all the necessary student document. But this doesn't mean that I did not get their consent. Before I conducted an interview, I got the consent orally that he/she

is willing to participate and there will be no harm to research participants. Getting *khamayakakhui* (consent) also depends, how I as a researcher build rapport to the community.

There is also a limitation in getting informed consent especially voice record. Some of the participants are not allowed to use voice recording. For instance, when I discussed with Asing who runs an NGO in the Imphal, did not allow me to record, nor to write down anything but to listen. With this instance, I do strictly employ their privacy and confidentiality that I should hold for any research participants. Also because of the disintegration amongst the communities and between the state and communities, I did not disclose 'the opinion share between Old Chadong village (not received compensation) and Chadong New Site (received compensation)'. For the reason that this might bring social cohesion between and most important the study is not to solve their internal conflict. Thus, I tried to maintain the codes of ethics in carrying out data collection, analysis and interpretation.

3.10 Fieldwork and Experiences as a Researcher

Doing fieldwork in the state of Manipur is both challenging and enriching experiences, especially in the context of the Mapithel dam as a development project. Dealing with different research participants such as displaced families received compensated and families which were not compensated, activist, local leaders, Church leaders, state and private bureaucrats; school teacher, farmers and daily wage earner (fishers, small shop owner, vegetable sellers). They informed different opinion with *for and against* the development project. Speaking of fact, challenges begin by framing with an objective of the study. For the reason that it is needed to explore the subjective reality of the Tangkhul lived experiences. I experienced that non-participants of the study such as *unknown arms groups*²², state security and bureaucrats gave me a tough time to conduct the study. Before entering the field or during the process of literature review, I was totally aware that this area became a disputed area because of the development project. The *unknown arms groups* informed indirectly not to conduct the study. I don't know what is the rationality behind not allowed to conduct the study in the middle of the field work and I do not know who they are? But the information came through research participants. To avoid such thing whomever, wherever I had discussed the development project in the field I had shown a student ID card and a bonafide letter from the institute

²²There are numbers of arms groups in the state of Manipur having different agenda. In this particular study area there are different communities such as *Nagas, Kuki and Meiteis* and I do not know whose groups is giving a warning not to conduct the study. This information came through one of the research participant after I had discussed with him about the compensation policy. So, I do not know which groups it is and what is the reason not allowing to conduct this. This incident does not directly affect me but for the precaution my local host also suggest me to stop for a while or change the location.

stating that I am a student doing research for the MPhil degree. However, this seems to be invalid for both bureaucrats and *unknown arms groups*. Here, bureaucrats such as contractors and grade I government employees does not take much attention, even though I requested to share documents for the purpose of the study. Documents or reports of dis/agreement with different villages, details compensation, and policy are supposed to be publicly available, but each of them is hidden like treasure. Whenever I pursued to share, the only answered that they could conveniently be informed either directly or through personal assistance are *'please come tomorrow, come next week, Oja (sir) is not available, misplaced documents, couldn't find it'*.

In regards to an audio recording with a cell phone in the fieldwork became one the most challenging task. Some of the participants agreed to record; what they are sharing/expressing. For them, this is the one way to express their grievances and they wanted the researcher to share it in an academic field so that their voices could be heard. This is exactly what I wanted to do unravel. It should also be noted that even though they accepted to use the voice recording yet a lot of rapport and confidentiality was needed to convince their security. I have to build a strong rapport between them by introducing myself, the purpose of the study and the place where I am staying in their village. Informing about the place where I stayed (i.e. localhost) is one of the most key ingredients to build up the rapport. If the research participant and localhost are relatives than I have a golden opportunity to spend more time to discuss and the participants themselves are more secure to express their experiences. This is not applied to all participants, but, it depends on the situation. In doing this, I also experienced that I could not able to record all the participants' voices. For the reasons that they are not willing to record their voices because they felt insecure that something may be happening in the future. I was totally aware of their insecurity because of past incidents that different agency came for survey and which ended up in uprooted their land, home, forest and livelihood. In these types of situation, I wrote down in field note and listened to them carefully so to captivate their experiences.

Crossing one village to another village through dam is one of the challenges that I experience. The challenge was not only about the expense of taking a boat to commute to the other village. It is undeniable how expensive it was to hire a private boat which cost me Rs. 800 for one way which took me only 15 minutes (minimum) to reach. I as a researcher commute for a couple of months while I cannot sympathies more how the locals, the affected communities would be living. They are earning Rs 100 – 500 (maximum) in a day by selling a few vegetables or engaging some other daily wages. I am very sure that these things will not sustain their livelihood. During the time heavy rain or strong wind, even boat driver themselves are not willing to drive due to the danger that accidents may occur anytime. This experience

had happened when I was returning from Old Chadong village to *waiting shed*²³ (market). On this day, I was not able to return before sunset, and I have waited more than 4 hours for the rain to stop. Before the dam was constructed, it was just Rs. 40 auto fare to pass through it and anyone can walk at any time. This issue is not only related to the researcher but, this is daily experiencing by a 5-year-old boy and a 7-year-old girl studying in Ramrei primary school from Old Chadong village (see appendix for Old Chadong village to Ramrei).

I also experience how local communities took me as one of them. Initially, they mistook me as government or companies' agencies surveying to sell their land or forest. Yet, eventually, after formally introducing myself, they understood my purpose of the study and they welcome me as their own. I built the rapport by doing community work such as attended the church services whenever I had time, visited the school and in the evening joined playing football and volleyball with them. In addition, I also helped them in the garden and also extended my help in selling vegetables in the *waiting shed*. In this fieldwork season, each of the families in the villages that I visited had offered me to eat cucumber to relax or to fill my empty stomach.

Field work can be one to one individual or group discussion about social reality by taking field note, audio record and picture capture. With this study, fieldwork can be understood as a difference of social reality between pre-conceived knowledge (i.e. before entering into the field) and going out with a different understanding of social reality with multiple of experiences of thought, feeling, emotion by living with them. With this experiences of the study, I situated fieldwork is not only limited by taking notes, record and capturing the picture of the research participants, but I also included fieldwork from the day that I am conceptualizing the study in the room, classroom, library, knowledge sharing with a guide and academic circles. These are all becoming a fieldwork space, which means that it is not limited predefined fieldwork, but it is expanded, yet, it broad down to contextualize of the study.

²³ Waiting shed is located adject to Mapithel dam (Ramrei village), where tourist visited. This place became small market area for selling vegetables, food and other local food items.

CHAPTER FOUR

DAM AS SACRIFICIAL LAND FOR DEVELOPMENT

Kongrana long thuikahai chi malut ung lui paimanei...

(Trans. A stream of water that flows away wouldn't be back again...)

- Ayi

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the effects of the Mapithel dam from the point of the affected Tangkhul peoples. The Tangkhul *sacrificed* land, paddy field, forest, water, rivers, livelihood, home and even led to diverse losses of their cultural *phanit* (festival) for the state development project. The sacrificial by the affected Tangkhul is occurring for the interest of the national economy. The following articulations are based on the narratives (stories) of affected people's experiences on development, dam, change of cultural practices, social conflict and community disintegration, various demand; experiences of displacement and resettlement. To unravel these experiences, I have presented in *Tangkhul tui*²⁴ and also translated in English the narratives that I have collected during in the months of June, July, August and September 2018 fieldwork. However, in this process, there is also a limitation in translating, and to present their stories, yet, I had attempted to contextualize and presented by changing their names for confidential purposes. This chapter is presented as a free flow of their narratives and expression.

The above quotation at the beginning of this chapter was narrated by Ayi, age 59. She said as I helped her to carry *karopthei* (cucumber) in the *waiting shed*. It was in the monsoon season, that I went to the Mapithel site for the data collection. It was also a season of rice planting in the paddy field and all the neighbouring villagers were working under the strong monsoon rainfall for the *zat* (food/rice). Whereas Ayi was selling *karopthei* (cucumber) in the newly open small market called *waiting shed*, which is adjacent to the dam. For her selling *karopthei* (cucumber) is the source of income after her paddy field and along with other villager has submerged by dam water. Ayi's narration is based on her experiences of anger, anguish, regret and helpless. It was an expression of anger because they cannot fight against the powerful state development agencies²⁵. It was an expression of anguish for they lose land, paddy field, forest, water, rivers, livelihood, home and they are cultural. It was expression of regret for they blindly

²⁴ Tangkhul tui (language) is spoken by the Tangkhul Nagas. Tangkhul tui (languages) belong to Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan languages.

²⁵ Refers to the Irrigation Flood Control Department (IFCD), Government of Manipur and also refer to the Ansal Properties and Industries Limited New Delhi and Progressive Construction Limited Hyderabad as private companies.

believed in state agencies without having proper knowledge of the dam; it is helplessness because they don't have choices but to sacrifice what they have. This expression of Ayi's experiences is a similar view by shared by all the affected Tangkhul peoples. Like, a 58 years old women Awon, who she is a cultivator and also one of the active members of the self-help group (SHG) from the *Ramrei village* narrated,

haokaphok atamli, kong thing kahai eina khai kahak hak phashai lakha pamrei kala nathum hi yorkakhui wui ringkaphana ili malai haorei...kha!!... arui ngashanva yanglu, mauk khanangna mala? Arava government wui lamnei da khikha maphashai pai marei kachi wui atam rara sarei,

(trans: In the beginning , we were told 'when the river is blocked (dam), we assure you that everyone will be fishing for big fishes and will forget about it (referring to the state development agencies provision for rehabilitation) for we will be happy after selling those fishes....but!!... now look at this (at the situation), don't we feel sad? The government might say this is our (government) land you cannot have anything from here).

Awon's and Ayi's narration have similar stories of regret that their community blindly trusted the state government. They felt like *running river water* that would never come back again. Looking in this context, it can be said that development agencies come to the region where there is a lack of proper knowledge of state development policy. They came with an assumption and believe that local communities will gladly accept a development model through extraction of natural resources by proposing good roads, job opportunities, electricity, education institution and health centre in return. This type of policy of luring people is not strange to the area especially when we look into the process of construction of Mapithel -Thoubal Multipurpose Project in Manipur. According to Awo²⁶, who is the *hangva* (village authority/headman) and one of the key informant of the study expressed that the state development agency came like a *khalinao* (thieves) and went away *ngathum sada* (hidingly/discreetly). He called this act as *khali* (theft) for the reason that no one knows when robberies will come and robbed. In a similar understanding, even local communities were not fully aware of the rationale behind construction of Mapithel dam. They were not able to foresee this much of effect losing land, forest, river, livelihood and culture. I believe they did not have knowledge of a large dam and its purposes. During the 1970s and 1980s, among Maphithel Dam Tangkhul residents only a handful of people were educated, in

²⁶ Awo refers to elderly male in an age about 60 years above. It is a way of addressing elderly male in a respecting manner. Awo can be refers in different ways but for this context it is refers elderly male who is above 55 years of age.

fact, they can be counted as few literate group in the region . However, the state government should have not take advantages of their lacking and uprooted their rich cultural. The state government should have disseminated proper information about the dam and should have conducted basic procedure of getting consent from the project areas before construction. According to Aso, a school teacher says that,

Imasha phaoda katharan ngaralului survey rasakhalei kachila mathei? Arava khi luinah, Iwui lui, yamkui kala shim dam hiwuivang chikat mirahaodala

(Tans. even I myself don't know when came and did the survey in my paddy field? Now, I have to sacrifice my paddy field, garden and my home for the dam).

Aso told me that he did not know, when the state government come for the survey. He was quite surprised to hear that his paddy field is going to be submerged. I came to know through his narration that the state government had not taken a consensus from all villager, permission from paddy field, garden, forest and river owners. In spite of absent of pre-development project assessments, one incident that brought attention for the state development project was signing an agreement between state development agencies and a representative from the Mapithel Area²⁷ in the 1980s. This agreement was done without proper clarification/understanding of its policy between project area's indigenous communities and state government. To highlight this agreement issues from the field, Angam narrated as,

ithum chi huinada phaning khui kahai, governmentli thada agreement makhui rang sanishi chiva rights leifayei. Arava agreement sangarok haida ... hiwui ngaleilui kala size hiyakha wui ngaralui. Ithumva phangshap khilei, government chi government nei ara khi masarar marei

(We realized too late, if we haven't made an agreement with the government, we would still have the rights to fight at court, but now we already had an agreement...for this land and for that size of the paddy field. We don't have power, the government is the government, we cannot do anything).

Angam was one of the signatories of an agreement his regret expression, informed that the not only state government did not follow the basic procedure of getting consent. It is communities themselves that signed an agreement in the first placed, without understanding their development policy. Now, the

²⁷ Consists of six village namely, Chadong, Riha, Louphoung, Ramrei, Nongdam and C.Maphou.

problem is, whom to blame? The communities lacked knowledge in large dam policies, poor in education and the state government acted like *kalinao* (thieves)? This signatory was not an individual interest that Angam signed an agreement for the project. There were six signatories representing each of the Mapithel areas and signed an agreement with the government. Presently, affected Tangkhul peoples are bewildering as of how to fight against the powerful, inequality, injustice and authoritarian system (Foucault, 1980). The communities still demanding to revise R&R Plan based on their cultural rights of forest, river, water and livelihood. Since they had an agreement the state government notified that water would be reached till tracepath, anyone can settle above the tracepath but it is not allowed to settle below tracepath. This clearly shows that affected village settlement is based on the tracepath of the dam. Speaking of facts, the majority of the Tangkhul lives in the hilltop and their village is surrounded by a natural river or stream, not man-made *ngayi* (a large body of water - dam). To draw more attention in these issues, Awo narrated that,

athum chi soil test sara kala tracepath mark sarada rayei. Atam hungkha wui thili athumna hangrara sayei marking wui athishurda ngaralui compensation sara da yang lakha chili mapam lulu da

(Trans. they came for soil testing and marked the tracepath. After few months, they informed us that they will compensate paddy field according to the marking and asking not to stay there anymore).

The above narration clearly expressed how state development agencies came and demanded to the Tangkhul peoples to move away from their own land and birthplace. This was in the period of 2008 - 2009 that state government notified to resettle in the hilly top areas within their village boundary. From the fieldwork and participants' narratives, I found that they were forcefully relocated without completing compensation or any implementations of the said agreements (for details of agreement policy refers chapter 4). With this thought, I asked the participants to see how the state government assist them during the process of shifting/relocation from the old village to the new resettlement area. I was very keen to know from women's perspective about participation in relocation and resettlement process because, in Tangkhul society, women's mostly take care of household activities. With this, Aphy who is the chairman of SHG, expressed that

Aei!!..khi ngachon mira khalei...kakapik nei. Shimpam khalem eina nurmira chilakha yang kalem eina manur mimanei..kasak kaza tingngasak lakha yang ...kakapik mang manei

(Trans. Aei !! (form of expression) what they will help...It's a lie. They said they will help in land leveling (for new settlement), they said they will do it for free but they didn't, instead, we spent a lot on feeding to them (the dam workers).

The state government provided bulldozer or tractors for earth moving and compensation for construction of houses. However, the above narration clearly shows that the state government was not able to implement properly as they were supposed to. Instead, the communities are the one who filled oil, provide food and shelter to the land levelling labourers. There is nothing free as the state government lured them and the communities did everything for they do not have any choices. I have found that they faced extreme difficulties while shifting to the higher hilly top region for new settlement. Currently, they cannot walk freely like before, even, they cannot get available vegetables from the forest to sell in the market at *Yaingangpokpi*²⁸. Because they have to cross the dam with *marikhong* (boat)²⁹ and the cost of *marikhong* (boat) is costlier than to pay their children one-month school fees. For instance, Ashang is spending more than Rs. 250 just to buy one kg of salt in the *Yaingangpokpi*. To support this narrative, even, I spent Rs. 800 to ride *marikhong* (boat) for a maximum 20 minutes to cross *waiting shed* (Market) to Old Chadong village. With this discussion, Ashang, age 45, who is government employees informed me what the dam is all about. For them an understanding of dam is,

hiva money mending kasadala apong akhali, kachipava hili tongki kachihi No.1 company tongra, ah , politician bing tongra government kashing bingna tongra, engineering deparment kala contractor bing, whereas local hili pamda khalei bing va sacrifice dala 'sacrificial land dala'. Ithumva khi samphangra kup hairada thang unghai chi kup kahainei. Athang construction sada leilakha kankhana chi athumwui vang manei, ina handa khalei

(Trans. In one way this is money minting because the profit No.1 goes to the company, ah, politician-who is in the power, engineering department and contractors, whereas local people who sacrifice the land, their 'sacrificial land' lose everything. What can we get from this, once completed it is over. From the beginning of the construction time, profit is the only thing that they need and it's only for them).

Through the above narratives, we can understand the meaning of dam and development in two ways. For

²⁸ Yaingangpokpi village is located in the Imphal east district, 24 Km away from Imphal city. This village is nearest market for the Mapithel area.

²⁹ Marikhong means boat. There is no such culture that riding marikhong travelling from one village to another in the area. There is no culture of attending office, church, school or hospital by riding Marikhong.

the companies, politician and bureaucrats, it is money minting. Whereas, for the local people, it is a sacrifice. This dialectic understanding of dam and development brought contentions amongst them. The Tangkhul peoples felt that what they had sacrificed cannot be purchased by money and cannot be measured in terms of any cost. If they had not sacrificed, then generation and generations of them would have cultivated rice in their paddy field and harvest 200 tin³⁰ or 300 tin depending on year's climate. For them, the land is the identity and security. See if we look from the within the state development's perspective there is hardly any concerning for the indigenous peoples because they have lost forest, river, land and even their cultural practice. To highlighted these issues, Aton, age 42 who is a widow, said,

Ara hithada rathei kahainei ara ningli phaningda ningyang makaung kachung kha leiyei. Kachiva ithumwui lui, thingna raha yamgui ithum vaza da khalei ithumwui luipam, iram wui ngashan shiman kahai dala. Arava kupser haida phaning lakha ningmakatun kala maring kapha chi tarakha samphang papamei

(Trans. After seeing all these things and incidents, there are so many things that we regret and dissatisfied with. Our paddy field, vegetables that we used to plant in the garden, our field and all the socio-cultural associated with it have been gone. With this thinking we are dissatisfied, regretted and not happy at all).

Aton's, narratives shows that not only is losing their livelihood a regret, but there is dissatisfaction and unhappy with state government's mechanism of solving development projects. Their promises and the outcome of the project are extremely different. Nevertheless, the state decided to construct the Mapithel dam in 1980 and planned to complete it in August 1987. By listening to their lived experiences, I felt that the state government have less concerns for the welfare of peoples, as the communities said that their (government) main purpose is to accumulate of wealth rather than welfare. In the region where the majority of the population follows Christianity, it is disheartening experience to witness former local church youths engaging in intoxicants like cough syrups and tablets etc after their local church submerged in the after dam construction . They say this phenomenon is against their social norms, as they said

ara hili khara eina mi kayakha ngama haira. khangama khangashao kayakha haira. Yaron ngala bing kayakha sui ngarui haira...(expression of frustration)...zamkhor mangla kha zat dalei

³⁰ Tin is refer to the Dhara Oil box made up of iron that can accomodate of 15 kg of oil. This Dhara box is used by the cultivator for measuring paddy field. (For understanding 1 full of tin is equal to 15 kg of paddy).

(Trans. Now with the coming of this (dam), how many problems we have had? There are so many cases of fighting, even there is misbehaviour by the youths...*(expression of frustration)*... they have been indulging in alcohol).

This narrative is expressed by the local Pastor as he came to a key informant's residence. He was narrating with frustration expression that their community is now engaging more in activities that are against their social norms. I can observe that the pastor was very much concerned about the local youths because he constantly narrated how he didn't want them to engage in such activities. During the fieldwork, I did not see anyone who was drunk and walked around in the village. But, according to Pastor's narratives, it was a case during the time of receiving compensation. He said that the youths were engaging in usage of intoxicants as they could effort to buy them. In this context, I listened deeply to Pastor's narratives and observed his expressions of inability to help them at that time. I felt that there must be other reasons that they are engaging intoxicant now.

In the same manner, Ashim, wife of Angam, who was a signatories of the first agreement, explained that she had no right to question the youths, why were they drinking alcohol. By chance, if she asked the youths, they responded saying she had no right to questions their life. But one thing that I can understand from this is that, the area is strictly prohibited alcohol consumption. Which means the community is imposing rules to live a godly life. Indeed it is true. During my fieldwork days, I have seen few youths visitors who were drunk, they could not walk properly. I am aware that my observation or understanding can be wrong and I don't have issue regarding their activities. I might also be wrong to say some of the Dukan (shop) owners might quietly be selling alcohol for their rapid income generation. With this assumption, I discussed with the Awo the village, the headman. He said that,

Mah!! Shokpai..iram wui ryan eina hang miser kahai nei. kha phongser eina zamkhor mamang pai mara. hala kula masa pai mara makapha ot masa pai mara da ramwui rules and regulation katong kha yanglakha control sada khalei nei. Chitha salala yaokhara bing chi manga na mada lei manei... (silence of frustration)

(Yes!! It can be happen...we have informed everyone according to our customary law, that no one should consume alcohol openly and it is prohibited. No one should do ill-behaviour in this area and must abide by this rules that we laid down. Even then the tourist that come here hardly obeys these rules... (silence of

frustration).

From the narratives, I can understand that the communities are very much aware of the behavior of the local youths as well as the visitors. Therefore, to protect their social norms, the communities leaders or *hanga* (village authority) prohibited drinking alcohol. The indigenous Tangkhul peoples are also fond of drinking local rice wine called *Khor*. Which is made by *hao sam* (local rice) through the fermenting process which takes some period of days. Their forefather used to drink *khore* especially in the *phanit* (festival). The Tangkhul peoples' are very affectionate of observing or celebrating every *phanit* (festival) which is very close to their livelihood activities, especially to their farming culture. They practise jhum cultivation, terrace paddy field and wet cultivation for planting rice, which is their staple food. Their *phanit* revolves throughout the year. For instances, Luiru *phanit* known as (before) seed sowing festival generally is observed between January, February and March, Mangkham *phanit* (after sowing seed) is celebrated between July and August and Champhu *phanit* (after harvest) is festivity on October, November and December. There are no such rules that everyone should celebrate on the specific date and time. Each of these *phanit* depends upon to their village convenience and they decide the time and date to celebrate, considering the work done and the *zingyat* (weather). There are various *phanit* (festival) for the Tangkhul but to contextual the study I have focused on three festival that I had mentioned. Basically, these *phanit* (festival) can be divided into three stages: before seed sowing, after seed sowing and post harvest. Coming to this *phanit* (festival), I explored the condition of the affected villagers. I asked the villagers,

'Kong makan li pamkasa eina arui hili pamda khalei hili Magkham phanit khamayon khangatei malei khalei?

(trans.: How is your village celebrating *Mangkham phanit* as compared to your when you were at *kong makan* - old place?).

Apam, age 45, who is the village secretary, narrated this while he was making a bamboo basket at the back of their newly resettle thatched house,

Mangkham phanit hi kharelakha...awo ayi wui eina mayon rayei. khare lakha wui eina mayon khara chi kachicha wui luisom kahai 'kup haira makup rangei kachi hi ngashan ngarok lakha' na kup hairala , I

kup haira da ngahan ngarok lakha tairik kak haose kachi hi tairik ngazek kei kachidala. Kha ara chiwui chi malei thurei...

(Trans.: *Mangkham Phanit* is being observed since our forefathers' time. In the olden days³¹, we could see who have sown their crops *luisom kup kahai*³² 'by noticing each of their paddy fields. We inquired each other, whether, we finished planting rice or not. We asked each other and fixed the date for this festival. But now we are not doing like that anymore....).

Presently, affected communities are still celebrating because we do not want to lose this *phanit* (festival) as it has been passed down from their forefathers. They also want their upcoming generations to know the importance of their identity. Before the dam, all this *phanit* (festival) were very much concentrated to rice planting because it is their staple food; now, they are celebrating not only for paddy field but for vegetables like chillies, cucumber that had planted in the garden. This is a thing they cannot depart with, as their economic activity³³, all of their custom, values and belief are intertwined in this ecology¹¹. What I observed during in the *mangkham phanit* (after seed sowing) is that they are celebrating for the sake of *mangkha*. What I meant to say is that if there are no more cultivators or farmers than there is no meaning of *phanit* (festival) as it was celebrated/observed in the past. Presently, only 23 households are practising rice farming out of 160 households from Ramrei Khunou village. Maybe because of this despair experience of having to depart with their beloved land for cultivation that I observed less enthusiasm to celebrate during the *phanit* (festival); I witnessed that the *phanit* (festival) programme at the local Church, very few families gave tithes as an offertory for completing rice plantation. This doesn't mean that all the household gave tithes to the church after completing their work. It is their individual's choice to give the tithes.

Presently, food crops like beans, corn, ginger, cucumber and turmeric are the main crops cultivated by the affected communities and very few peoples are cultivating *hao sam* (local rice). Whereas, remaining household purchase rice from the market and also received a few kilo of rice from the government distribution program. Apart from the agricultural practices, Tangkhul people are very much engaged in traditional hunting activities. The traditional hunting in the forest/jungle is part of the custom amongst in the Tangkhul society, and in their forefather days, community show high honourable to those who hunt a

³¹ Referring before Mapithel dam.

³² Luisom kup kahai - referring to the finishing of rice/paddy planting in a paddy field.

³³ Economic activity refer to daily wages, farming - rice planting, vegetables, selling firewood and small shops.

¹¹ Ecology here refer to the Maphithel dam and affected communities.

number of deer, wild boar, mithun and etc. In this context, Apam narrated about his lived experiences of traditional hunting activities,

he said,

Ngahongli ithumna sa ungap kha ngaya pung thara wui eina zatphok lakha hili phung tarada akha katha li razang kasa dala... ara konkan sahao kida magankan paithurei

(Trans. if we go hunting in the jungle and start walking around 10 in the night time we will reach here (refer to the present home) at 11 in the night time. Now because of this dam we cannot simply cross).

Before the dam was constructed, the indigenous can walk freely at any time. Especially, tradition hunters used to return home from the *ngahong* (jungle) in the middle of the night. However, the above narratives suggests that because of the dam, the water filled the traditional hunting ground and the hunters could no longer walk there easily. Also to fieldwork experiences, I spent more than three hours waiting for a boat to cross Old Chadong village to the *waiting shed*. What I meant to say is that I could not catch any boat at my convenient time. I had to follow the routine of the community. Boats were available in the morning and evening whereas, at other hours of the days, we had to wait for the community boat or private one. This clearly shows that the construction of the dam has brought immobility to the indigenous communities. I just wondered if there is any emergency case, how on earth would the affected communities get help from the health centre that lie across the dam. No health centre have been set up here in resettlement areas as it mentions in the R&R Plan.

The R&R Plan is believed to have brought community disintegration and social conflict. This phenomenon is expressed by Apam with anger and frustration because his village has been disintegrated by of the state development project. He narrated,

government wui vang eina kha kaingasak, development wui ming eina kha kai ngasak

(Trans. Because of government, our village is divided, in the name of development our village is divided).

The experiences of indigenous communities brought by development project of the state government is nothing but to bring division amongst them. Amongst displaced families, there is also division for the differences in compensation and while others are still demanding. Displaced families who felt helpless as they had no choices but to take whatever is offer. Whereas, families who have not received compensation are still demanding for fishing rights, water rights, job opportunities and tourism purposes. This

community disintegration has brought extreme detachment from the sense of togetherness, family and community orientation. Concerning the rights for indigenous peoples, the state government seem contentious to address and whenever the indigenous peoples bring out these issues, they play such a role that divert or make the process longer. This can be clearly understood through compensation. Actually, compensation is a one-time payment that is not for a long duration and they just paid for the land. Whereas as a ‘citizen of India every rights to live, right to life’ should acknowledge that means it includes livelihood this is bounded as a duty of the state. What really happened was some of the villagers is concerned for their rights and settle down just above the dam; whereas some the village members have no choice but to move away. The affected ones do not want to live a disintegrated life, they wanted to settle in one place and rebuilt like the old home. To highlight and also to substantiate this argument,

Ahao, age 56 years, from the affected Chadong village, narrated his lived experiences of not receiving compensation,

kha sacrifice sami haokei...kha alternative akha sami phalunglo kachidala...Da hi expert committee na sami ki kachinawoh... mei wui chi meiwuinei kala forest wui chi kathada samira kala livelihood wui chi kathada samira. Ithumwui livestock, sei keiser kachidala, lui mahat kahai wui thili hi seimuk, sei pam khavai pamdei. Fishing rights la mami, water rights la mami horticultural kala alternative arrangement khikha masa ithumli kali valu kachida?

(Trans: If the situation calls, the village can sacrifice their land for the common good...but do give us alternate arrangement...this has to be done by expert committee...for the electricity by their own department and for the forest, livelihood has to be fulfilled. For the livestock, after harvesting there is no place for grazing space for cattle’s. There is no fishing right, water rights even they don’t give for horticulture and there is no other alternative arrangement, where we are going, now?).

It can be understood that in this context, Tangkhuls have no choice but to sacrifice their land, forest, rivers, agricultural, cultural and livelihood for the interest of the state/national economy. For them, development can be even disassociation from their identity. For the reasons, if their basic livelihood becomes unsustainable, their identity become precarious. For instance, there is no space for grazing cattle because all of their paddy fields have been submerged under the developmental water. For the Tangkhuls buffalos are one of the most prized livestock animals. They are used for ploughing paddy field, carrying firewood and water, token for exchanges and even used as an amicable compromise in social conflicts, marriage and community feast. However, such humongous external interventions without a prior

commitment to alternatives have disturbed the social and ecological equilibrium. Since community are in the process of community disintegration, it is important to note the community experiences of so losing their sense of belongingness/togetherness. Here Ashin narrates

kharelakha shim kacham pamda lei lakha leikashila kala khokha kasala leimeiyei. Relakha khangam kharei wui khangatei leilak kahai malei samanei.

(Trans. when we were in the old place, we are more united and cared for each other. There were nothing of any big differences between haves and have not).

The above narration clearly expresses how the sense of belongingness or togetherness has drastically changed. It might not be true for other people's perspective, however, Ashin's narration can also not be totally rejected as she has seen/experiences of her own relatives, friends, family and neighbour. After receiving compensation their community became more materialist as compared to their old lives. I am sure peoples would change as the time change but for the indigenous peoples detachment from socio-economic practice because of development and compensation in the form of R&R has brought community disintegration. The state government neglecting to address the issue and keeping silent after a piecemeal compensation has antagonized the problem further.

According to narratives collected from my fieldwork, it is not surprising that state development agencies are neglecting to take responsibilities for R&R. There are various local agencies/institution like Church and Compound Committee that became agents instead as they role for resettlement of displaced villagers.

Contextualising resettlement, the Church became the foundation for resettlement. The Church in the Tangkhul context plays an important role in all the social practices, such as marriage, farming, birth, death and even to an extent of soul resting (funeral service). The church institution is the way to find the path of righteousness and awareness of, what is wrong?. It is very much very much necessary in all the ways of social life in the context of Tangkhul. Coming to the context of the study, the Church played a role that to find the way for resettlement after the village had drastically affected and all the paddy field were covered with water. The Church finds the way of new hope to live again *ramshom* (new place/village). With this context of resettlement, the state development policy has nothing to do with the R&R policy or any other policy in regards to resettlement that is affected by the development. However, to answer who/how decided in the process of resettlement by the Church became interesting to hear from

the participants. When I asked to Awo in a convenient manner that, *so you have constructed church before anyone was resettled* and he narrated that “when water is starting filling up our village and even evacuation time was notified. We began helpless and have no choice, so, we started collected money from the Church members and along with the government compensation. This was around 5th December 2009 that our Church was newly constructed”.

What I found from the fieldwork was, if the community did not decide to construct Church first, the affected peoples would be sifted according to their desired location. The Church made them stick togetherness despite being drastically affected. This shows that affected people did not decided according to their desires; the place to resettle but they did it according to the values, belief and practices of the Church.

Though the newly constructed church might represent resettlement area for the Ramrei Ato (Khunou) but this is not applied to other affected village. However, they all have a similar process of allocation of resettlement area known as the *lottery system*. Allotment of space and land for new construction of houses are done through the *lottery system* as collective community work. In doing this, the Compound Committee surveyed the land and labelled/marked with a certain serial number to each of the land correspondings to the number of households. Then each of the households collects a piece of paper against which the lands are numbered and are distributed correspondingly. If someone selects serial number 1 chit in the lottery then the land marked as serial number 1 becomes his land. This process continues until every household is given a chance. They conducted this resettlement by having a community feast with *seilui* (buffaloes). The Compound Committee³⁴ also consults with the *awunga* (King) and *hanga* (village authority) for areas to survey. To highlighted this resettlement process, I have presented two narratives from two villages,

As Awo from the Ramrei village narrated in his home, as we ate *karopthei* (cucumber), he said

shimpam hi akha sase, khani kathum da ngayarda ser kahai dala lakha ithum lottery kasup dala. Ngalei wui aming masang manei...number eina zat kahai nei. Ama iram wui committee bing ithum bing yangsang ser kachinei. Yangsang khami committee chili compound committee hoda chang. Hili criteria

³⁴ The roles of Compound Committee is to survey the land for resettlement. They ensure that their communities members have allocated each land for construction of house. The Compound Committee is elected from their own communities through *Yaruipan* (democratic) process.

mangava manei...ah!!...yaruina bingna kapang sang chinei

(Trans. We have a common understanding that we all would settle in one place, and we have allocated as one, two, three and so on. And each of the households will collect a piece of paper that has serial no. land written in it. We didn't mention the name of the land but we have mention serial no. Our village committee has written it and we look after the location. We called it compound committee who took responsibly for the allocation. There is no criteria...ah!!..*yarui*³⁵ (people) decided to choose to become this member).

Similarly, Asing from the Chadong village, who is currently reside in the Chadong New Site narrated as,

Lottery sayei..sei sathat lakha phashak phaza ngarum lakha yang. Awunga kala hanga bing na ngazek lakha kali pamshi khalei da chang. Shamlak eina kachi cha pamkhangaili kampam maning manei. Ithum wui ramshom customary athi shurda chang lakha Church chi hili sara, pastor, awunga chi hili pamra da sayei. Hi kachi cha wui ningkhan eina kasa maning manei

(Trans. We did a lottery system...by having a grant feast with buffaloes. The *awung*³⁶ *a* and *hanga*³⁷ decided where we are going to stay. It is not that simple, we did not choose where we wanted to stay. We did it according to our customary of *ramshom* and we (*yarui*) ensured that church will construct pastor quarter here and *Awunga's* house will be constructed there. It is not based on individual wishes).

The above narration clearly shows that (new) Ramrei and Chadong resettled contextually according to cultural knowledge. I find that the *lottery system* conducted by the Compound Committee for allocating land have no bias to any of the members. It fairly distributed R&R compensation as per a survey that was done by the compound committee. It is understood that Ramrei and Chadong village had resettled in their own *leiret* (boundary). It is possible because of the availability of vast land. However, there are some families even though already allocated land yet they are still not shifting to the new allocation because

³⁵ *Yarui* means 'peoples'. *Yarui* play an important in decision making of any issues in regards to this allocation of land. *Yarui* can be refer here as their own village member called 'Iramnao'. The *Hanga* couldn't simple decide or allocate to the *yarui*. It has to go through democratic process. Where every of the *yarui* have come to consensus of accepting.

³⁶ *Awunga* refers to king or headman of the village

³⁷ *Hanga* refers to the village authority. They have their own customary rules and law.

some are demanding for compensation while some have already shifted to different villages, town and cities.

When I inquired about the compensation received by the affected peoples, I find that there are different compensation received depending on their village and year of the agreement over a period of time. With this Awo informed that, the state government compensated Rs. 1 Lakh for 1 acre of paddy field and it was done in 8 instalments. Asing who is planning to set up a school in the new resettlement area informed that they receive 14 Lakh for *shimpam* (plot) and building of houses³⁸. Similarly, Aso also expressed that “our agreement was in 1993 but they started paying in 1996, and 1997, 1998, 1999 till that, they distributed eight times”. This shows that state government compensated differently because some village received Rs. 5 lakh and other village received Rs. 14 lakh for resettlement. Whatever it may be, I found that government delayed in compensation and they did not pay in full amount at one time. But instead, it took more than two years as written in agreement of 1993. From the fieldwork narratives, I found that if the state government paid the compensation on time than the affected communities could have improved their standard of living as compared to present living conditions. In 1990s anyone could purchase huge size of land, paddy field, *shimpam* (plot) for Rs. 1 lakh. Ashon who is the auto driver from Chadong village purchased his 1 acre of *shimpam* (plot) in Rs. 20, 000 in 1994. But now he could purchase 1 acre of land with Rs. 5 lakhs.

Speaking of fact, it is the state government’s duty to compensate on time, so that, affected people could arrange better ways to improve their standard of living. They used or spent compensated amount for construction of houses, Churches, Community halls, open shop, children education and even they purchase buy vehicles (some purchase for luxury and some for business). They did so as they aspired for a better live with a sense of dignity and believe in identity. These phenomenon also asserts the idea that resettlers even though angry with the amount they get, nevertheless rebuilt a life that is stronger and more durable than the past (Cernea, 2002).

As I mentioned in the above paragraph that some people received compensation and some still demanding as per the revised agreement. Similarly, some household shifted away from the dam and some are still residing just above the dam which is soon to be submerged by the water. This shows that there is

³⁸ Some village like received 5 Lakh and other village received 14 lakh. This compensation is done depending on the year of agreement and affected areas. However, compensation for the paddy field applied to research area i.e. 1 lakh for 1 acre.

community disintegration amongst them and suffer different experiences of displacement. But for the affected Tangkhul people, this displacement is breaking social practices, *manglarin* (spiritual life) and the sense of togetherness/belongingness is depleting. Ashang, a government employee from the Chadong village, who is currently residing in the Chadong West expressed that

displacement kachi hi physical mangli maningla ithumwui attachment la chang!...spiritual life li saza yei kachi dala)

(Trans. displacement is not only physical but also to...it is also affected to spiritual life).

Here displacements is not only limited to physically displaced, the people who have been coaxed out to other place or region for resettlement but the emotional detachment, psychological burden, *manglarin* (spiritual) displacement of the Tangkhul people have resulted into community's disintegration, an offshoot of bitter internal conflicts. Since, majority of the affected Tangkhul people belong to Christianity, their attachment to the institution of Church have tremendously shaken. There is now division in the church. It has also hurt the social practice.

For the Tangkhul people, development policy that has been brought by the government is nothing but a displacement of their culture as well as division amongst them. Cultural displacement is not discussed in the academic discourse of mega development projects. Culture is something that is not compensable as Anim is a cultivator, a school teacher sums up about development: 'our village is divided because of government policy'. The state government know very well that this project has extensively affected Tangkhul people and the neighbouring project villagers. Now the state government must think what could be the best things to do for the affected communities. They also need to create solution/programmes that can rehabilitate and save the communities and the project as well.

I observed throughout the fieldwork a general expression of anger, regret, anguish and helplessness because they are experiencing lives of losing land, forest, river, livelihood and even their cultural values, beliefs and norms. Even though development project can bring in economic advantage for the state, the losses incurred by the affected communities should be respected in light of social justice. Delay in R&R, flaw in methodology of deriving sum for compensation, unequal distribution of compensation combined with cultural indifference by state as well as the academic discourse have immensely led to deteriorating life conditions after developing projects. If development projects are considered as sacrifice by the villagers/owners, then development projects will be assumed/looked as loss of habitat and culture. This

interpretation is being lived out by the affected villages of Mapithel Dam. The researchers who deal with the displacement and resettlement of project affected villagers should carefully note the sentiments associated with the land and its ecology.

To sum up this free flow of narratives from the people from the stakeholders of the Dam, One Ayo, who is a member of the Mapithel Dam Affected Village Organisation (MDAVO), puts it, *shemda shemhaolo leida khalei hi kathada sakha phara khala chang, hi ngarar farei...* (Trans. Now that it has been built, what's best possible is move forward for good, we are going to fight for it...)

CHAPTER FIVE

HINDRANCES TO COMMISSION MAPITHEL DAM

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse a range of secondary documents and to understand the various dialogue, debates, discussion amongst state development agency and various local organizations. In this chapter the Irrigation and Flood Control Department (IFCD), Government of Manipur is represents as a state development agencies whereas Mapithel Dam Affected Villages Organization (MDAVO), Mapithel Dam Multipurpose Project Displaced Village Committee (MDMPDVC) and Joint Action Committee on Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Chadong Village (JAC on R&R Chadong Village) represent as local organizations. This chapter is to present the issues of various Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) Plans of 1993, 1998 and 2011 of Mapithel Dam and to analyze, why Mapithel dam projects took more than three decades of construction (since 1980). This led to extending various demands by the indigenous Tangkhuls due to adverse effects by the Mapithel dam. This chapter drawn from various documents, such as, Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) 2004 report, Expert Review Committee (ERC) report, memorandum, letters and press submitted/released by various local organization to the President office, Prime Minister's Office, Manipur Governor and Chief Minister Office in the year 2016 and 2017. In the process of analysing, I have found some data are missing which led to limits in finding. I have attempted to contextualise the study by employing qualitative documents analysis (QDA).

The Mapithel Dam also known as Thoubal Multipurpose Project is a large dam project taken up by the Irrigation and Flood Control Department Imphal (IFCD) Manipur to uplift the socio-economic status of the people of Manipur as a whole. This project has been constructed to utilize the water resources of the *Yangwui kong* (Thoubal river), which originates in the western slopes of the Shirui Hills in the Ukhrul District, and flows through the Thoubal District before joining the Imphal river at Irong Ichill (Rehabilitation and Resettlement Plan of Oustees, 1993). The main objectives of this project to provide irrigation facilities, power generation, augmentation of water supply to Imphal town and to reduce flood damages in the downstream (Rehabilitation Plan of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project, 1998). The Mapithel dam is 66 meter (m) high and 1074 m long at Phayang/Maphou to impound gross storage of 176.39 Million Cubic Meters (Mcum)³⁹ with live storage of 124.58 Mcum with a chute spillway to discharge a maximum discharge of 2240 Cubic meteres. A powerhouse near the dam for generation of ancillary hydropower of 7.50 Megawatt (MW) through 3 units each of 2.50 MW to electrify villages and

³⁹ Million Cubic Meters

around the project area and provide 10 Million gallons per day (Mgd) drinking water in Imphal town and surrounding villages. The water spread area of the reservoir at full reservoir level of 880.75 elevations is extended of 1215 hectare (ha).

The project cause a social and environmental effect with the creation of this reservoir, 6 tribal villages viz, Phayang (Kuki), Louphong (Tangkhul), Chadong (Tangkhul), Ramrei Khunou (Tangkhul), Ramrei Khullen (Tangkhul) and Mongbung (Kuki) have been displaced. The unclassed forest land 595 ha is affected by the reservoir and the cultivable land of 500 ha in 6 villages land other adjoining villages such as Thawai (Tangkhul), Thawai (Kuki), Loutei (Tangkhul), Loutei (Kuki), Maphou, Nongdam (Kuki) and Nongdam (Tangkhul) is affected.

The feasibility report of the project with an assist from Central Water Commission, Centre Soil and Materials Research Station and Geological Survey of India was submitted to CWC in September 1976 and it was sanctioned by the Planning Commission, Government of India in May 1980 and is monitored centrally through the Central Water Commission and by the state through the State Planning Department and implemented by the Irrigational Flood and Control Department (IFCD), Government of Manipur (JAC on the R&R of Chadong Village, 2016). The project was started by Ansal Properties and Industries Limited, New Delhi and Progressive Construction Limited Hyderabad.

The project cost has been increasing over the years of Rs. 47.25 crore to Rs. 130 crore in 1980 at the time of negotiation for land compensation of the project affected areas (MDAVO, 2008). Again, Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) India reported that the cost of project rise to Rs. 229.02 crore in the year 2003-2004. Despite increase in project fund, the State government failed to complete the project till 2018, but it was scheduled to be completed by August 1987 (still not yet commission). One of the reasons for delays was the release of central assistance, non-payment of compensation in land acquisition cases, physical and economic demand by the affected communities for amicable solutions.

Coming to the Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) Plan the state agreed for the six displaced villages on vide No.2/1/90-IFC dated 16.10.90. The plan was headed by the Hill Commissioner as Chairman to monitor the rehabilitation programme of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project Under Government of Manipur. The committee recommended the rate of compensation of agricultural wetland at Rs. 80,000/- per acre was approved by Govt under No.2/1/90-IFC. However, the committee did not found out alternative occupations as no sufficient agricultural lands were available in and around resettlement sites.

According to the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Plan of Outstees Thoubal Multipurpose Project, Manipur 1993, stated that the survey started from 18.2.1994 and was completed on 8.7.1994. The state government (IFCD) along with Settlement & Land Record (S&LR) surveyed 1043.96 ha of land in Chadong, Ramrei Khunou, Ramrei Khullen, Lamalai Mongbung, Loutei (Riha), Thawai, Zalenbung and Sankai villages. In addition, 103.37 ha of land above full reservoir level (FRL) in Chadong village, already identified as the submergence area, which means the team surveyed a total area of 1147.33 ha of land. The team surveyed according to land to be submerged, land ownership and individual holdings in each village. The survey was submitted to Deputy Commissioner, Ukhrul, Manipur and Chief Engineer Wing -I, IFCD, Manipur dated 27th August 1994 vide No.8/73/94-DLR379-2 by the Directorate of Settlement & Land Records (S&LR) Manipur.

On the same year i.e. 19th June 1993, the representatives of the Government and villages Chiefs and Sub-Committee had a meeting regarding R&R policy to ensure execution of deeds of agreement between the displaced villagers. This agreement accepted to provide basic services for the cost of a project such as rural roads, school, electricity, and health centre, a market for commercial purposes, banks, post office, water, sanitation and social programs. In this meeting, it came to decide that the dam in the Thoubal River Valley Multipurpose Project shall be known as Mapithel Dam.

Looking at the R&R 1993, the state government started the project without consent, improper rehabilitation and resettlement plan for the affected communities. This agreement can be seen as the first policy that was communicated to the local communities. Before this, it was a dark policy for development and targeted to complete in August 1987. However, it is still delaying till today to commission the dam due to poor implementation of the R&R Plan. This does not mean that the state government are totally suspended, as mentioned in the section 1.3/Present Status. Of R&R 1993 of Thoubal Multipurpose Project, this stated

‘With the fixation of contracts for dam and spillways with M/s Progressive Construction Ltd, New Delhi and M/s Ansal Engineering Co. Ltd New Delhi respectively the work on dam and spillway started in February 1990. After achieving 27% of excavation in the cut-off trench, 46% of excavation of diverse channel and 46% of foundation excavation of spillway, the work on dam and spillway remain suspended since June 1992 because of problems relating to land acquisition, rehabilitation and resettlement. The work on the dam and spillway will be resumed after finalization of these problems’

The R&R Plan 1993 clearly stated that the state government had agreed to provide basic services to the local communities. However instead of improving, the local communities' standard of living became lower and it brought hardship to them. Therefore, the communities felt the need to demand rehabilitation and the policy need to address contextual. With their demands, Rehabilitation Plan of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project 1998 came up by setting out broad principles and provisions, for rehabilitation of the displaced person⁴⁰ at their new resettlement/new villages⁴¹ sites without affecting their social and economic life. The R&R Plan 1998 includes an area which was not covered in the R&R 1993 such as, to improve or regain of displaced families standard of living, ensured that no adverse social, economic and environmental effects while displaced; ensuring compensation of land shall be done in a fair manner and timely payment. The R&R Plan 1998 also include employment opportunities to the displaced persons in the project land.

The R&R Plans 1998 had more concerned with well-being policy than R&R Plan 1993. There is no doubt that each policy must have merits and demerits programme. By looking at each plan, it can be judged that nothing negatives social and environmental can be affected by the local communities. Nevertheless, the process of written an agreement and implementation of the policies has found drastically different. For instance, the Rehabilitation Plan of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project, 1998 was immediately applied to two villages out of six villages. The two villages that are immediately are Louphong (Tangkhal) and Phayang (Kuki) village, became active in receiving rehabilitation grant, Whereas, remaining four villages such as Chadong (Tangkhal), Ramrei Khullen (Tangkhal), Ramrei Khunou (Tangkhal) and Mongbung (Kuki) keep on the struggle.

After R&R 1998, the communities struggle for rehabilitation and resettlement went down slowly. The dam builders keep on constructing, whereas, local communities lay behind as marginalized. In the year between 2006 - 2008, the local communities can clearly see their rapid construction of the dam and at the same time, their livelihood, land, forest and homes are started submerging in water. With this concern, a

⁴⁰ Displaced persons

- In the context of R&R 1993 - shall mean any person who has been originally residing in the area to be affected permanently by the project due to submergence.
- In the context of *Rehabilitation Plan of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project, 1998* - shall mean any persons who had been originally residing in the area to be affected permanently by the project due to submergence at the time of notification under section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act 1894.

⁴¹ Resettlement sites

- In the context of R&R 1993 - shall mean the places where new house shall be constructed by the Government under the resettlement schemes and where the ousted families shall be resettled.

local organization known as Mapithel Dam Affected Village Organization (MDAVO) was set. The MDAVO is a local organization anti-dam group protesting against the construction of Mapithel dam and asking the state government to review the R&R programme before the Dam is a commission. This local organization called to attention the state government's failure to implements all the R&R Plan agreements. With this, The MDAVO issued a press released on dated 01.4.2008 entitle 'Infirmities Associated With Settlement of Land Compensation and Rehabilitation & Resettlement of Mapithel Dam and Legitimate Demand of Land Owners/Ousteers ,' stated that 'the State Government has totally failed to implement all the agreed terms and condition of the approval MoU and that even the first and foremost conditions i.e. payment of land compensation could not be cleared till date (.i.e. 01.04.2008)'.

On 06.05.2008 state cabinet meeting was held and the Chief Engineer, IFCD made an appeal to the affected villager of Thoubal Multipurpose Project published in local dailies for an immediate discussion with the Government for review of R&R Plan 1998. In the following days, the Headman of Ramrei village submitted an application dated 09.05.2008 to Chief Engineer, IFCD for immediate implementation of R&R with immediate implementation such as, the construction of the residential building should be made, payment/compensation must be extended to residential building, granary and each payment should be made according to the latest household list submitted by the village.

On 17.05.2008 the government has approved the above recommendation in toto and it is also agreed to that implementation should start latest by 30th May 2008. They also agreed that reconstruction of dwelling houses and shifting to the new site should be completed within 31.12.2008 and land already purchased should also be handed over to the Government and necessary compensation will be paid.

On 7.04.2011 MDAVO had a memorandum of agreement with the state government as per reviewed R&R Plan 1998. This memorandum has deliberated and negotiated on various issues of R&R programmes. The main negotiation of the memorandum is the increase of compensation as compared to R&R 1998, employment opportunities to the Grade III and IV and the economic rehabilitation such as fishery, agriculture, horticulture, commerce & industries, veterinary & animal husbandry, public health engineering, tourism, electricity and public work department, all these rehabilitation will be concerned by respective department and shall provide adequate budgetary provision for taking up the economic package.

During a discussion was held with Chief Minister of Manipur regarding R&R Plan. The MDAVO also pointed out that the state government should pay interest of land compensation for they violate an MoU signed between the Government and the representatives of the villages in 1993. It was clearly stated that the amount of compensation shall be paid to the landowner at installment within the years 1993-1994. Instead, they paid in an 7 times piecemeal installment of land compensation of Rs. 1, 00, 000/- per acre.

The state government had numerous meeting to end R&R Plan and wanted to commission the dam. Whereas, MDAVO keeps on the struggle for the affected communities for self-determination. This dialectic became drawbacks to the commission. Silently, on 24th September 2011, another R&R Plan 2011 came up for Chadong and Ramrei Khonou villages. This was made in the presence of the Minister, Commissioner, Chief Engineering, Additional Chief and Superintending Engineer of IFCD, and representative of Mapithel Dam Multipurpose Project Displaced Village Committee (MDMPDVC).

This came to understand that in all the three R&R Plans, the state government ensures to provide basic services and welfare to the local communities at the cost of the project. However, the only differences are the implementation of the policies. Therefore, instead of ensuring their development policy, there is also important to shows that there is a tremendous increase in compensation R&R Plans. For instance, payment of grant in aid for the construction of Community Hall and Church at the new resettlement area is Rs. 50,000/- in the year 1998. Whereas in R&R 2011 grant in aid for Community Hall is Rs. 5,000,00/- and for Church Rs.10,00,00/-.

Amongst all the agreement of R&R Plans, the 2011 can be one of the contentions to bring community disintegration. This might be due to the coming of Mapithel Dam Multipurpose Project Displaced Village Committee (MDMPDVC). The state government came to make an agreement with MDMPDVC, in spite of having an agreement with Expert Review Committee process. The Government of Manipur forms Expert Review Committee (ERC) in the year 2008 to examine the R&R programme of the affected villages of the construction of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project. The ERC was constituted of two Committee viz (1) A High-Level Committee headed by the Chief Minister, Manipur as the Chairman of the Committee (2) Sub-committee headed by the Deputy Chief Minister Manipur for negotiation of the rate of compensation for the affected lands and for implementation of R&R programme.

According to MDAVO letter to the Chairman of Expert Review Committee, Mapithel Dam, dated 14.09.2011, stated, 'Objection against the Officer Letter dated 22/07/2011 of IFCD, Govt of Manipur, No.

ACE-11/IFC/7-22/2009 and stated Cabinet Decision, in its Meeting dated 13th September 2011, approving the Rehabilitation Packages of the Mapithel Affected Village'. In this letter, it mentioned that 'members of the Displaced Committee are unauthorized and as such not peoples mandate... violations of the agreed terms and Expert Review Process'. Similarly, Chadong village authority (VA) also submitted a letter to the Chief Minister, Govt of Manipur, dated 30.08.2011 with their official letterhead of Chadong Village Authority signing 7 (seven) signatories to opposed/object against formation of MDMPDVC without the consent of Chadong Village Authority by ignoring and bypassing MDAVO and the ongoing ERC process. In addition, the headman from Thoyee, Riha, Ramrei villages, secretary Chadong village, Chairman from Thoyee, Riha village and Villages Authority of Chadong, and Ramrei village submitted a letter the Chairman of ERC, Mapithel Dam, dated 15.09.2011 stated that the R&R Plan was done without knowledge and Displaced Committee does not represent them.

After 2011, the movement quietened down again due to the internal difference, whereas, the Mapithel Dam keeps on constructing and it was ready to commission the dam in September 2016. As there was a long absence of a local organization to represents their struggle to the various state departments, a new organization came up under the convener of Mr W. Kasar known as Joint Action Committee on Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Chadong Village (JAC on R&R Chadong Village). This became one of the turning points to address the R&R Plan of Mapithel dam. As the IFCD was ready to commission the dam, a press release was issued on 18th August 2016 to oppose it for the villager are yet to be compensated and rehabilitated according to R&R Plan 1998. Though the villager had sacrificed their land, cultural and livelihood for the larger interest of the state/national economy but the concerned government failed to compensate and rehabilitated. In spite of attempting to commission the dam through various R&R Plan of 1993, 1998 and 2011, the government attempted numerous times to commission the dam, yet, it failed, as the local communities struggled to save from the development projects by demanding their R&R Plan. In doing this, the local communities and along with local organization still calls the attention to the concerned authorities, civil bodies, a citizen of the state to ensure that Mapithel area is not swallowed up by this mega-dam. The JAC on R&R Chadong Village, MDAVO and along with various individual, Churches organisations, Tribals Chief organisations, Students organisations, and Women's organisations had approached to the President office, Prime Minister office, Ministry of Water Resources, Governor and Chief Minister of Manipur office to address failing of R&R Plan and not commission the dam.

Nevertheless, on 14th January 2018, Water Resources Minister, Shri Letpao Haokip issues press released in the *Imphal Free Press* the local English newspaper, during his visit to the projects sites that the Mapithel Dam is scheduled to inaugurated in March 2018 by the Prime Minister (IFP 2018). Shri Letpao urged to the local peoples not employ any activities that hamper construction work for the inauguration. He said, quoted, “as the projects were taken up for the people and to be inaugurated by the leader of our nation, I appeal all those who are living in the places around the dams not to conduct any form of agitation”. He continued to say that, quoted, ‘on the basis of rehabilitation and resettlement programme, house for every villager displaced in neighboring villages or towns would be constructed through Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana. Fishing rights will be implemented for those people and a school is also going to set up’. The government gave assurances verbally to the local communities just to commission development project. The MDAVO along with the Joint Action Committee Against Forced Inauguration of Mapithel Dam (JAC Against FIMD)⁴² decries and opposed inauguration for they are failing in compensating to the displaced persons and families. This act of force inauguration became a violation of R&R, Act 2013. The JAC against FIMD General Secretary said and I quote ‘we are against the commissioning of the dam until grievances of the affected people are addressed and our rights are respected’. With all the policy of the R&R Plan, the construction of the development project and commission of the dam became delay and took more than three decades of construction. No one knows when they will implement all the agreements and when they will commission the dam. According to Irengbam Arun, media adviser to Manipur, Chief Minister Office confirmed and said this. ‘We felt that it was not right to inaugurate the project until all its components are complete’ (Saikia, 2018). Thus, it is delaying more than three decades in commissioning Mapithel dam Thoubal Multipurpose project.

After analyzing all the documents, I found that instead of the implementation of the programme, the state government produces more R&R. Now the basic question is which R&R Plan is being implemented. In other words, each village has its own R&R, which means that the state government is failing to have concrete R&R. No, doubt the affected communities will definitely demand better compensation or rehabilitation for they had sacrificed their identity, and the state government has to ensure to regain their standard of living. The state government should ensure that displaced families should not adversely be affected social, economic and environmental. To avoid all development issues, state development agencies should not fail to pay compensation and implement all the agreements.

⁴² The Joint Action Committee Against Forced Inauguration of Mapithel Dam, an umbrella body of 20 groups representing various communities claiming to have been affected by the project.

If R&R is the reason for failure to commission the project, careful consideration should be taken to see if there are anomalies and irregularities in them. Also, careful committee should be set to look after the R&R that is not discriminatory but inclusive of the demands of the people. The delay in commissioning the project can also be a factor to secure more funds by bureaucrats and politicians so that they can take their commission. This type of activity usually happens in large projects in many states.

CHAPTER SIX

ON WHOSE BEHALF IS MAPITHEL DAM?

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise and discuss the study drawn from the literature, methodology, analysis, and interpretation. It is an attempt to present the social reality based on the lived experiences of the Tangkhul Nagas in the region, especially the adjoining and affected areas. This concluding chapter is based on ethnographic research conducted at the Mapithel dam site from June 2018 to September 2018. It is presented in an unorganized discourse, debates, dialogue and interrogates the development policy from the literature, fieldwork and research participants. This is followed by a brief critique of the ‘Mapithel Dam Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy’. This chapter explains how it is strenuous to the people when even the tiniest source of their subsistence had forcefully been uprooted for the national economy’s sake. The hapless are not only deprived of their source of livelihood, but their cultural and social rights endangered; the eventual subversion spells the death of identity. This chapter discourse is not against developmental project/s but the breed that is antithetical to indigenous communities; one/s that are undertaken without proper social and environmental impacts assessments, if I may add cultural aspects as well since it pertains to indigenous society, like the very Mapithel Dam Project herein. The chapter concludes by asserting that the role of the state is to ensure that affected communities are not subsumed, culture crippled and especially their history distorted in the name of development. If it does, then, the whole latent objective of development is defeated outright. On whose behalf is Mapithel Dam?

Neither such dam phenomenon i.e. to control flood, navigation, water supply, hydropower, fishery and irrigation purposes, are new nor the controversies pertaining to and amongst state development agencies, public/private companies, civil society organizations (CSO) and local organization. The opponents' such projects (or the displaced people/villagers) are struggling with the negative impacts on the society and environment, failure to meet compensation in time, poor rehabilitation and resettlement programmes, ecological destruction and so forth. Currently, changing the political landscape is the new sets of a problem on dam debates (Moore et al, 2010). So, the basic and fundamental question is, is there really any magnificent significance about such development projects if it implies exclusivity? Largely dubbed as “one of the world’s wonders”, “the white gold of Switzerland”, and the “temple of modern India”, such development project around the world is always based on the interest of the national economy at the cost of the varied collateral damages. Keeping these fundamentals of development model, one also needs to critically analyze, who benefits from the development projects? What are the actual costs of dams? Who

pays for them and for whom (WCD, 2000)? Looking clearly from the lens of development debates, proponents and opponents of such projects are constantly at loggerheads for the gaps in the promised benefits and actual outcomes. Failure in the implementation of policies pertaining to the project and eventual outcomes with unintended consequences due to lack of prior EIAs and SIAs. These gaps are vividly evident in the Mapithel dam of Thoubal Multipurpose Project, which I will mention in the following paragraph. It is a fact that the developmental agencies are very much determined to build large dams to accumulate wealth by neglecting vulnerable individuals, groups, race, ethnicity, caste, gender at the cost of varied adverse social impacts. In doing so, their development policy is also marred by large protests and controversies, which led to the delaying of commissioning the dam and thus the loss and cost of inactivity. According to Khagram (2004) the rate of dam construction dropped by 75% during the 1990s from its peak in the 1970s relatively; due to withdrawal of financial support from many financial donors and institutions like World Bank, Asian Development Bank and African Development, which befall at the backdrop of heavy criticisms from the critical thinkers. Thereafter in the 1990s, an autonomous international body is known as World Commission on Dam (WCD) under the chairmanship of Kader Asma, the South African water minister was formed to evaluate more than hundreds of dams; assisted by thirty-nine (39) participants from governments, the private sector, international financial institutions, civil society organisation (CSO) and affected peoples of seventy-nine (79) countries. The WCD sponsored by the World Bank (WB) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) was held in Switzerland, April 1997 to review rigorously on *how and why dams succeed or fail to meet development objectives?* With their exhaustive assessment, the commission came up with a report in the year 2000 known as *World Commission on Dams 2000, Dams and development: A new framework for decision-making*. This report came up as an important framework for the large dam policy; as it focused on the improvement of human welfare and avoidance of developmental collateral hazards by recognizing their rights and risk involvement. This can be achieved through five cores values and seven Strategic Priorities with 26 specific Policy Principles (WCD, 2000). The five core values are *equity, efficiency, participatory decision-making, sustainability and accountability*. Whereas seven strategies priorities are *gaining public acceptance, comprehensive options assessment, managing the existing dams, sustaining rivers and livelihoods, recognizing entitlements and sharing benefits, ensuring compliances; sharing rivers for peace, development and security*. In similar values and strategies, Cernea (2002) also provides a model known as *impoverishment risks and reconstruction model for resettling displaced populations* to address massive forced displacements. The model addresses the components of *landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources and community disarticulation*. This model is necessary to address displacement. For the reason

that displacement caused by the development is a worldwide problem; which is a result from the need to build infrastructure, industries, irrigation, highways, power generation or for urban developments, such as hospitals, schools, and airports. These development programmes are undeniable or indisputably needed to provide employment or any service; but, the forced displacements for the programs or imposition on some population/communities became a threat of development project (Cernea, 2002).

There may be various policy which can address the same issues but the framework and model that had been propounded by the WCD (2000) and Cernea (2002) is highly applicable to the study since it allows and encourages contextualization. However, there is also a need to raise the fundamental question, do the development agencies and dam builders follow their guidelines or framework? If not, then, what is the significance of such a framework or guideline? The dam builders will keep on constructing and the indigenous communities will be continually marginalized. So then again, what is the purpose of the development project at all? Without taking cognizance of such issues and the requisites into consideration through an eclectic approach, these development issues are never going to end; since it leaves out the welfare of the people by neglecting their indigenous rights and the embedded risks of further marginalization. According to Moore et al. (2010) article, entitled, "*the World Commissions on Dam +10: revisiting the large dam controversy*", said that after 10 years of WCD report until today (i.e. 19 years), the conditions on large dam issues have not gone away instead new sets of problem have crept in. Initially, it was focused on the environmental impacts and resettlement issues but now the second generation of the problem that needs to be addressed is changing politics. The development policy became a debate of power, inequality, and struggle (Giddens, 2009; Foucault, 1980). In other words, it begets authoritarian hue as those in power flex their muscle to implement policies and execute projects without concern for the marginalized society. Basically, it means who has more power? How is it being exercised in the construction of large dams? By extension, power is embedded in knowledge; whoever controls the knowledge system controls the power. The predominant one goes unchecked since other forms of power and knowledge had been subjugated and stripped off their capacity to critique or counter. In the arena of development debates, Escobar (1992) said that development projects in the Third World countries are mostly controlled by and in the First World (western) countries and produced a system of power. In his essay entitled, "*imagining a post-development era? Critical thought, development and social movement*" Escobar argued that development should be an interest in the local culture and knowledge; rather than a "better" way of doing development or finding "another development" or alternative development, Escobar argued for alternatives to development. Reflection of the data and its

analysis clearly suggests that Mapithel Dam as one large-scale development project in Northeastern India lacks ‘governmentality’ (Foucault, 1978-79).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Mapithel dam also known as Thoubal Multipurpose Project is one of the multipurpose projects taken up by the Irrigation and Flood Control Department (IFCD) to uplift the socio-economic status of the people of Manipur. This project has been constructed to utilise the water resources of the *Yangwui kong* (Thoubal river), which originates in the western slopes of the Shirui Hills in the Ukhrul District, and flows through the Thoubal District before joining the Imphal river at Irong Ichill. According to the definition⁴³ of a large dam by the International Commission on Large Dam (ICOLD), the Mapithel dam is considered to be a large dam with 66 meter (m) high and 1074 m long at Phayang/Maphou to impound gross storage of 176.39 Million Cubic Meters (Mcum)⁴⁴ with live storage of 124.58 Mcum with a chute spillway to discharge a maximum discharge of 2240 Cumes. A powerhouse near the dam for generation of ancillary hydropower of 7.50 Megawatt (MW) through 3 units each of 2.50 MW to electrify villages and around the project area and provide 10 Million per day (Mgd) drinking water in Imphal town and surrounding villages. The water spread area of the reservoir at full reservoir level of 880.75 elevations is extended of 1215 hectare (ha) with the creation of this reservoir, 6 tribal villages of Kuki and Nagas indigenous communities viz, Phayang, Louphong, Chadong, Ramrei Khunou, Ramrei Khullen and Mongbung more than 5000 are displaced (Kipgen 2015). The unclassed forest land area of 595 ha is affected by the reservoir and the cultivable land of 500 ha in 6 villages and other adjoining villages such as Thawai (Tangkhal), Thawai (Kuki), Loutei (Tangkhal), Loutei (Kuki), Maphou, Nongdam (Kuki) and Nongdam (Tangkhal) is affected. The feasibility report of the project with an assist from Central Water Commission (CWC), Centre Soil and Materials Research Station and Geological Survey of India was submitted to CWC in September 1976 and the project was sanctioned by the Planning Commission, Government of India in May 1980 and is monitored centrally through the Central Water Commission and by the state through the State Planning Department and implemented by the Irrigational Flood and Control Department (IFCD), Government of Manipur. The project was started by Ansal Properties and Industries Limited, New Delhi and Progressive Construction Limited Hyderabad for construction work with the project cost of Rs. 47.25 crore in 1980 revised to Rs. 130 crore at the time of negotiation for land compensation of the project affected areas in 1992-1993 (MDAVO, 2008). According to the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India 2004 report, it was revised to Rs.

⁴³According to International Commission on Large Dam (ICOLD) a dam is said to be large dam with a height of 15 metres or greater from lowest foundation to crest or a dam between 5 metres and 15 metres impounding more than 3 million cubic metre.

⁴⁴ Million Cubic Meters

229.02 crore. In spite of increasing the project fund, the State government, however, failed to complete the project even in the year 2018 of the original scheduled date of completion i.e. August 1987, due to delay release of central assistance, non-payment of compensation in land acquisition cases, and physical and economic demand by the affected communities for amicable solutions.

Delaying to commission the dam clearly shows the state government violated the agreement or the state did not pay attention to the sacrifice offered by the indigenous communities. Looking at the first official agreement (i.e. R&R 1993) between the state development agencies and local communities, the Mapithel Dam Thoubal Multipurpose Project started the project without consent, improper rehabilitation and resettlement plan for the affected communities in the year 1980 but targeted to complete in August 1987. This was in the period of Sixth Five Year (1980-1985) Plan of Indian Planning Commission i.e. after three decades when Manipur kingdom became of part of India on 26th September 1949. As I mentioned, not only was the rehabilitation and resettlement programme ally researched upon but the state government also failed to conduct other environmental impacts assessment and feasibility of the same in its report to the Central Water Commission. The policy of feasibility of the project is highly questionable and needs redressal not only in terms of pecuniary compensation but also including the whole of SIAs and EIAs because it was only in the year 2010 that the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MoEF)⁴⁵ gave the first stage of clearance for the project (Shrivastava 2015) . This clearance happened at a time when Mr Themrei Thuithung along with seven appellants had challenged the state government for clearance under Section 2 of the Forest Act 1980 to the State Government of Manipur in the National Green Tribunal (NGT) Eastern Zone Bench Kolkata (Themrei Tuithung Vs State of Manipur 2014). This Section does not mention any development work related to the construction of dam (Handbook of FRA 1980;2003). With this challenged on 26th February, 2016 NGT halted the dam construction and ordered the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MoTA) and Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) to pass appropriate order to the State of Manipur relating to forest clearance.

It will be wrong to say if there is no rehabilitation and resettlement plan from the state government, that lays down in the plain paper. It will also be an injustice to say that the state government implemented all of the agreements for the affected communities. Such claims are forfeited outright because there are massive failures of the R&R Plan of 1993, 1998 and 2011. Now, this dialectic of agreements and implementation became contentious of the development policy. In other words, if the state government could not implement all the agreements, why do they undertake such a project? If the communities

⁴⁵ Now - Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change (MoEFCC)

accepted their policy at the initial stage, on what grounds did they agree? What are they exactly demanding within the R&R Plan? Why not commission the dam; after all, it has been more than three decades? Basically, development agencies are calling/labelling the indigenous communities as *uncivilized communities* for they resist and do not accept extraction and wastage of natural resources; on the other hand, developmental critics from the region challenged the whole Mapithel Development Project as regards matters concerning land acquisition, EIAs, SIAs and R&Rs and the ineffective outcomes. To highlight and also to substantiate my argument that indigenous communities were forcefully uprooted from their homes, dwelling places and deprived of their source of livelihood, narratives of the hapless communities, whose cultural and social rights have also been violated to an inhumane extent, are subsequently presented, which are collected through ethnographic research participation.

A 58 years elderly women name Awon (name change), who is a cultivator and also one of the active members of the self-help group (SHG) from the *Ramrei village* narrated her lived experiences, that,

haokaphok atamli, kong thing kahai eina khai kahak hak phashai lakha pamrei kala nathum hi yorkakhui wui ringkaphana ili malai haorei...kha!!... arui ngashanva yanglu, mauk khanangna mala? Arava government wui lamnei da khikha maphashai pai marei kachi wui atam rara sarei,

(trans: Initially when the government agencies approached us, they assured us that blocking the river water (to build dam) would allow practice of fisheries at large scale; with great yields that you (Awon) would forget me (government agent) ...but!!... now look at this (at the situation), don't we feel sad? There might even come a time when we would be prohibited from accessing to the government properties effectively its benefits.)

Looking at this context, the first thing that strikes the mind is that there is 'linguistic inversion'. Knowing fully well that the communities lack proper knowledge of developmental policy of such magnitude, state development agencies did not reveal the real intent of the project at first, which defied the ethical concerns outright. Rather than highlighting both the merits and demerits of such projects to allow free and viable decision, only the positive aspects, though of course all a false promise, were served on the platter. The poor farmers being subsistence farmers are only expected to dive in nose first. What the state agencies have failed to realize is to such coercive subjugation and wholesale imposition, there can be no social justice. It is also unfortunate to mention that the appeasement policies adopted to offer job opportunities, electricity, good roads, educational institution and health centre have not at all been fulfilled. It still remains a work on papers. The Mapithel dam-Thoubal Multipurpose project in Manipur operate at the cost of people's self-determination, imposing their definition of morality, virtue and social

justice. Their elitist post-colonial paradigm of neo-liberalism rejects any notion of self-realisation or contestation of resources by the indigenous stakeholders. Without the critical imbalance judgement of stakeholders involved, the state machinery cannot do the handiwork that regresses the status or suppress the discourse of one's idea of progress. The above narration of Awon contextually meant that their community blindly trusted the local MLAs who came to their village as a state development agency in the 1970s, luring them that they will be able to get big fishes and their village will get a lot of money by selling fishes in Imphal, the neighbouring city-also the capital of Manipur. But now, everything is seen as a notorious lie for the state government is not concerned about their welfare but instead, look forward to accumulating wealth. At what cost is the progress of someone measured when others pay at cost of their own livelihood and regress even further than what they have had before? Also, if we consider the ecological progress exacerbated by development projects, the cost implicated is never too less.

In similar experiences, Ahao, age 56 years, from the affected Chadong village, narrated his lived experiences of not receiving compensation,

kha sacrifice sami haokei...kha alternative akha sami phalunglo kachidala...Da hi expert committee na sami ki kachinawoh... mei wui chi meiwuinei kala forest wui chi kathada samira kala livelihood wui chi kathada samira. Ithumwui livestock, sei keiser kachidala, lui mahat kahai wui thili hi seimuk, sei pam khavai pamdei. Fishing rights la mami, water rights la mami horticultural kala alternative arrangement khikha masa ithumli kali valu kachida?

(Trans: If the situation calls, the village can be sacrificed for the common good...but do give us alternate arrangement...this has to be done by expert committee...for the electricity by their own department and for the forest, livelihood has to be fulfilled. For the livestock, after harvesting there is no place for grazing space for cattle's. There is no fishing right, water rights even they don't give for horticulture and there is no other alternative arrangement, where we are going, now?).

It can be understood that in this context, Tangkhuls have no choice but to sacrifice their land, forest, rivers, agricultural, cultural and livelihood for the interest of the state/national economy. For them, development means sacrificial dissociation from their identity. For the reasons, their basic livelihood becomes unsustainable and identity precarious. For instance, there is no space for grazing cattle because all of their paddy fields have been submerged under the developmental water. For the Tangkhuls buffaloes is one of the most prized livestock animals. They used for ploughing paddy field, carrying

firewood and water, token for exchange and amicable compromise in social conflicts, marriage and community feast. However, such humongous external interventions without a prior commitment to alternatives have disturbed the social and ecological equilibrium. This disequilibrium was widely visible to any laymen, not only to researchers as undercurrents fieldwork and data collection conducted in the affected villages of Chadong and Ramrei (Lamlai) clearly reveal so. There is an extreme force of cultural change that I observed. The Tangkhul peoples are very affectionate of observing or celebrating every *phanit* (festival) which are in close tandem with the ecology and revolves around the year. For instances, *Luir* *phanit* known as (before) seed sowing festival generally is observed in January, February and March, *Mangkham phanit* (after sowing seed) is celebrated between July and August and *Champhu phanit* (after harvest) is a festivity during October, November and December. There are no such rules that everyone should celebrate on a specific date and time. Each of this *phanit* (festival) is decided depending upon the convenience of the village members, completion of work and *zingyat* (weather). Attending the *Mangkham phanit* during the fieldwork, I explored the condition of the affected villagers. I asked the villagers,

‘Kong makan li pamkasa eina arui hili pamda khalei hili Mangkham phanit khamayon khangatei malei khalei?’

(Trans. how is your village celebrating *Mangkham phanit* as compared to your *kong makan* - old place?).

Apam, age 45, who is the village secretary, narrated while he was making a bamboo basket at the back of their newly resettled thatched house, that,

Mangkham phanit hi kharelakha...awo ayi wui eina mayon rayei. khare lakha wui eina mayon khara chi kachicha wui luisom kahai ‘kup haira makup rangei kachi hi ngashan ngarok lakha’ na kup hairala, I kup haira da ngahan ngarok lakha tairik kak haose kachi hi tairik ngazek kei kachidala. Kha ara chiwui chi malei thurei...

(Trans. Celebrating *Mangkham Phanit* had been in practice since our forefathers. In the olden days⁴⁶, we can see who all have finished *luisom kup kahai*⁴⁷. ‘We can notice by looking at each other’s paddy fields’. We used to inquire to each other whether or not their rice plantation had been completed. Accordingly, a date was fixed consensually. But now we do not do that anymore. Paddy fields submerged under the water do not whisper anymore).

⁴⁶Referring before Mapithel dam was a construct.

⁴⁷ Luisom kup kahai - referring to the finishing of rice/paddy planting in a paddy field.

Presently, these affected communities celebrate only in name. Its cultural values have been displaced along with their paddy fields so are their associated emotions. The practice is being continued only to preserve it for the future generations that have been because they do not want to lose this *phanit* (festival) as it is passed down from their forefathers. Or perhaps to free themselves of the second guilt of losing the heritage *phanit* (festival) after the first guilt of already losing out the land to outsiders. Also, they want their upcoming generations to know the importance of such *phanits* (festivals), which forms a significant constituent of their identity. However, this has been drastically affected and change. Currently, only 23 households are practising wet rice cultivation out of 160 households from Ramrei Khunou village. The worst hit of all is Chadong Village, which have been disintegrated into four new villages namely, Old Chadong, West Chadong, Chadong New Sites and Chadong Maphou. Amongst these, Old Chadong Village, which is residing just above the dam has not accepted any compensation from the state government. The stance of the village is that they are struggling to demand for their cultural rights. For them, the land is their identity and agricultural farming is the essential way of livelihood. Their forefather has been practising their values, belief and custom based on their environment. As mentioned earlier, *phanit* (festival) is deeply rooted in the forest, river, land and peoples. But this development project, alien to the land and people, has drastically displaced their way of lives. Such a division of village has never occurred in the history of Tangkhuls like in the case of the former Chadong Village, not to mention anything about the dispute-ridden divorce. If there ever had been a case of branching out of villages, it was always based on mutual consensus but never due to conflicts. Will history ever forgive the people lest the future generations forget?

Here displacements are not only limited to physically displaced, who have been coaxed out to other place or region for resettlement but the emotional detachment, psychological burden, *manglarin* (spiritual) displacement of the Tangkhul people resulting from the community disintegration, an offshoot of bitter internal conflicts. Since the majority of the affected Tangkhul peoples belong to the Christian community, their attachment to the institution of Church has tremendously broken so has the social practice. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the Church in the Tangkhul context play an important role in all social practices, such as marriage, farming, birth, death and even to an extent of soul resting (funeral service). The church institution is the way to find the path of righteousness and awareness of, what is wrong? It is very much necessary or attached in all their ways of social practices. Coming to the *manglarin* (spiritual) displacement, when once they displaced to a different place, ‘orphaned’ is the word jargon, the affected peoples struggle to get themselves attached to a new Church immediately. In this context, some of the community members shifted to *Nagaram*, a locality in Imphal City with a strong Tangkhul presence, but

this does not mean that they immediately get absorbed and automatically become a member of the Tangkhul Churches in Imphal. Which means that they are not very much as attached to the new Church as they are with their old one. Taking the curious cases of the four newly disintegrated Chadong villages, the disintegration gave birth to new four Protestant Churches and one Roman Catholic Parish, thus annihilating the sense of belongingness and bond of togetherness. Close-up observation and engagement with the communities during the fieldwork profoundly reflect so.

In regards to compensation that they received as per the R&R Plan 1998 and 2011. Each of the community received different compensation depending on their agreement of the year. For now, I am not focusing on their differences in the compensation nor am I advocating that they should receive the same compensation. The table that shown below is an illustration that the affected village received compensation as per their agreed terms.

Table 6.1

R&R compensation of 1998 and 2011

| Compensation | R&R 1998 | R&R 2011 |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| Per family | Rs. 14000/- | Rs. 14,00,000/- |
| Paddy Field Per Acre | Rs. 25, 000/- | Rs. 1,00,000/- |
| Community Hall Construction | Rs. 50,000/- | Rs. 5,00,000/- |
| Church Construction in New Resettlement Area | Rs. 50,000/- | Rs. 10,00,000/- |
| Exhumed Body | Rs. 3000/- | Rs. 30,000/- |

Above table clearly shows that state government compensated differently for different areas. However, there are more than 75 (seventy-five) displaced families from Old Chadong Village who have not accepted the compensation because they are still demanding for water rights, fishing rights, forest rights, and tourism. Whereas the community who have accepted and received pecuniary benefits, which are temporal in nature, should realize sooner than later that the rights compromised or sold are gradually

eroding the health of identity, which eventually will manifest in the actual loss of identity. Factually, not many have been successful in utilizing financial benefits efficiently. Save children education and purchasing of land as replacement elsewhere for a handful of families, most of them have whisked away from their money in conspicuous consumptions like buying vehicles, liquor consumption and other activities. Close association and engagements with the communities during fieldwork strengthened me with priceless insights. Some are too lamentable to be true but haunts. Most of the displaced families who had purchased vehicles from the compensated amount in the period 2009 - 2013, no longer possess one. Many have already sold away for they do not have alternative ways of maintenance; some of their vehicles are already spoiled with no money for repairs. Now the struggled is, who is to be blamed for this? Development agencies would say that they had given the money as the communities had agreed and that it is no longer their business to look after people. Whereas, dam critics along with the local communities also claimed that the amount of compensation paid as compared to the sacrifice in terms of their land, water, river, forest and livelihood, are not commensurate. The people are ignored by the development agencies and left to themselves to fend on their own once compensated. For this reason, communities often called the State Government as a *notorious liar*. The affected communities wanted to completely block dam construction. To counter that, worst case scenario, the dam site and the adjoining areas could completely be cordoned off by deploying state machinery for protection and security reasons, which had been in practice earlier as well. But before such conflicts befall, both groups party to this project along with all the stakeholders must think of workable solutions. The state government are well informed that the damages inflicted upon the communities have been extensive but have only resorted to remain silent after the piecemeal compensation. But it is advisable and winsome for all the stakeholders to address the issues concerning welfare and safety of the communities. As Ayo, who is a member of the MDAVO, narrated that,

shemda shemhaolo leida khalei hi kathada sakha phara khala chang, hi ngarar farei...

(Trans. Now that it had been enshrined, what are the best possible way forward, we are going to fight this...)

The state government should address development with actual concern and interest for local cultural knowledge. It should have a focus on 'alternatives to development', not the interest of alternative development (Escobar, 2010). It shouldn't be operated at the cost of people's self-determination, power, liberty and inequality (Giddens, 2009: Foucault, 1980). What I meant to say is, they should not simply be compensated for the sake of it and keeps silent. They should be engaged constantly until they are self-sustained socially and economically. For instance, the communities have not much knowledge of how

to utilize the compensated money. For these reasons, they spent lavishly without having an alternative to replace their compensation.

Referring to the previous chapter, in regards to resettlement process in the R&R Plan 1998 “resettlement sites of the ousted village are selected by the villager at the higher altitudes within their respective villages in consultation with concerned experts in this field”. The state government wrote down in the white paper that all of the resettlement shall be done by their own communities with the help of experts. However, there is no involvement of experts in the field to resettle. This is done through Compound Committee. Currently, Ramrei Ato (Khunou), Chadong New Sites, and West Chadong are settling at the hilltop of their respective village boundaries but these are not done by experts from the field. Allotment of space and land for new construction of houses are done through *lottery system* as collective community work. In doing this, the Compound Committee surveyed the land and labelled/marked with a certain serial number to each of the land correspondings to the number of households. Then each of the households collects a piece of paper against which the lands are numbered and are distributed correspondingly. If someone selects serial number 1 chit in the lottery then the land marked as serial number 1 becomes his land. This process continues until every household is given a chance. They conducted this resettlement by having a community feast with *seilui* (buffaloes). The Compound Committee also consults with the *awunga* (King) and *hanga* (village authority) for areas to survey. This means that there is no involvement of state government and experts from the concern field of expertise. It is contextually resettled based on the Tangkhuls customary practice of *ramshom kapha* (searching for the new place). I find this *lottery system* fairly distributes the land for it shows no bias towards any member of the community. Numbering and distribution of land is administered based on the survey conducted by the Compound Committee. However, it does not rule out the possibilities of discrepancies in the quality of land in terms of size, fertility, availability of water, number of trees and so forth. For instance, some portions of land might be endowed with water and the other with fertility; some might receive the bigger size of land and the other smaller.

In a joint meeting held among the representatives of the Government, Chiefs of the adjoining villages and Sub-Committee held on 19th June, 1993, it was agreed that the Government would construct roads and one primary/elementary school building each for every displaced village at the cost of the project as per the government approved Rehabilitation and Resettlement Programme of the Project (same in R&R 1998, 2011). Whereas, on 23rd January 2018, *The Imphal Free Press*, a local English newspaper published an article entitled, “*Dam Forces 164 Kids to Drop Out of School*” saying that, 164 Children drop out from school from the Nungbram and Leirongthel Pitra situated in the downstream of Mapithel Dam, which


indeed is an indirect impact from the dam (IFP 2018). This report came up when a team from the Manipur Commission for Protection of Child Rights (MCPCR) conducted a survey and found that their parents could no longer afford to pay their tuition fees. There are massive economic disruptions and children are being given away to orphanages as they have no means to support them. The commission believes the dam has indirectly affected at least 700 children (Matters India, 2018). This report came up during the time when the dam was scheduled to be inaugurated in the month of March 2018 by Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Firsthand experience at the fieldwork suggests that none of the schools as per their agreement had been constructed in the new resettlement area. While I was crossing to Old Chadong village from Ramrei Khullen, I happened to travel together with a boy of 5 and girl of 7 years in a boat only to find out that the two of them are the only remaining children from Old Chadong Village for there is no more school in their village. They attended the school by riding a boat for more than 15 minutes. Whereas, remaining students from the villages have shifted their study bases to *Yaingangphokpi, Ukhrul and Imphal*. I just wondered how these children would attend school during the monsoon season especially on a day halted by incessant rain. This shows that the state government did not implement any of the rehabilitation plans or that the displaced families are yet to regain their standard of living let alone improving as promised in the agreement. The state government must come forward to responsibly “ensure that no hardship is caused to the displaced families in moving out into new resettlement/new villages sites” as stated in the revised R&R *1998 as Rehabilitation Plan of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project*. Fieldwork evidence suggests that peoples are struggling to buy one kg of salt; they are spending more than Rs. 250 for commuting and more than 2 hrs.

Now the communities are totally dependent on the mercies of the state government implying the precarity of the marginalize sections that such non-inclusive development projects have ensued. Not that they do not welcome development but they want to retain their rights and control over the land, forest, river and livelihood. Now, the questions is, are they too late to retain their identity? For the reasons that they have lost their rights to self- determination. This power is shaped by one’s identity, self-conception of the agency, one’s interests and affects the interests of others. After seeing this entire massive development project, the Tangkhuls are not satisfied. There are so many things that they are regretting; their culture is in endangered. The Tangkhuls have sacrificed their land and livelihood in the larger interest of the state’s economy as well as the nation’s interest. However, the implementation of R&R by the Government is quite disheartening, causing fear and distrust amongst the poor villagers. The affected villagers are completely yet to be compensated and rehabilitated as per their agreements between the state government and local organization of their communities representatives. It is strenuous to live when even the little

subsistence of the societies are forcefully uprooted for the interest of the development. The Tangkhul peoples are not only deprived of their livelihood, but their cultural and social rights have been snatched away, which is affecting them even to this day and will be in the long run. The development in the indigenous environment is not protected and their well-being neglected but more of accumulation of wealth. The state neglected equitable and participatory decision-making and accountability in the process of development. The indigenous communities welcome a holistic development but reject that is antithetical to the common cause of the Tangkhul Nagas. The state has to ensure that affected communities are not co-opted, deprived of their livelihood and culture crippled as evidences show that there already have been a loss of access to the common property and communities disintegrated. If it is not an inclusive development project and should it not consider the welfare of the indigenous communities first, then, for whom has the Mapithel Dam been built?

APPENDIX 1

Turnitin Originality Report

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|------------------|--|--|----|--|--|----------------------|-------------------|----|--|---------------|----|--|-----------------|----|
|  Turnitin Originality Report Thesis by Achan Shimray From Paper (Mphil.2018) Processed on 01-Mar-2019 16:28 IST ID: 1085930501 Word Count: 29649 | | <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Similarity Index</td> <td colspan="2"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>4%</td> <td colspan="2"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Similarity by Source</td> <td>Internet Sources:</td> <td>4%</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Publications:</td> <td>1%</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Student Papers:</td> <td>2%</td> </tr> </table> | | Similarity Index | | | 4% | | | Similarity by Source | Internet Sources: | 4% | | Publications: | 1% | | Student Papers: | 2% |
| Similarity Index | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Similarity by Source | Internet Sources: | 4% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Publications: | 1% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Student Papers: | 2% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| sources: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | < 1% match (Internet from 22-Mar-2016) | http://ejatlas.org/conflict/mapithei-dam-manipur-india | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | < 1% match (student papers from 29-Mar-2012) | Submitted to University of Petroleum and Energy Studies on 2012-03-29 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | < 1% match (student papers from 22-Apr-2011) | Submitted to University of Aberdeen on 2011-04-22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | < 1% match (student papers from 02-Mar-2011) | Submitted to Tata Institute of Social Sciences on 2011-03-02 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | < 1% match (Internet from 08-Sep-2017) | http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/23814/2/02_declaration.pdf | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | < 1% match (Internet from 01-Mar-2019) | http://mattersindia.com/2018/03/mapithei-dam-in-manipur-forcing-kids-out-of-school/ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | < 1% match (Internet from 10-Nov-2010) | http://www.freewebs.com/epgorissa/ENVIRONMENT%20IMPACT%20ASSESSMENT%20PROCESS%20IN%20INDIA%20AND%20I.pdf | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | < 1% match (student papers from 01-May-2011) | Submitted to Carnegie Mellon University on 2011-05-01 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | < 1% match (Internet from 06-Oct-2003) | http://www.unep-dams.org/print.php?doc_id=101 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | < 1% match (Internet from 15-Jul-2010) | http://www.danadeclaration.org/pdf/IRRModel2002.pdf | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

APPENDIX 2

Research Location - Map of Ukhrul District, Manipur



States of India
Source: www.Geocurrents.info



Map of Manipur State
Source: www.inpui.com

APPENDIX 3

Overview of Chadong and Ramrei Village after Mapithel Dam



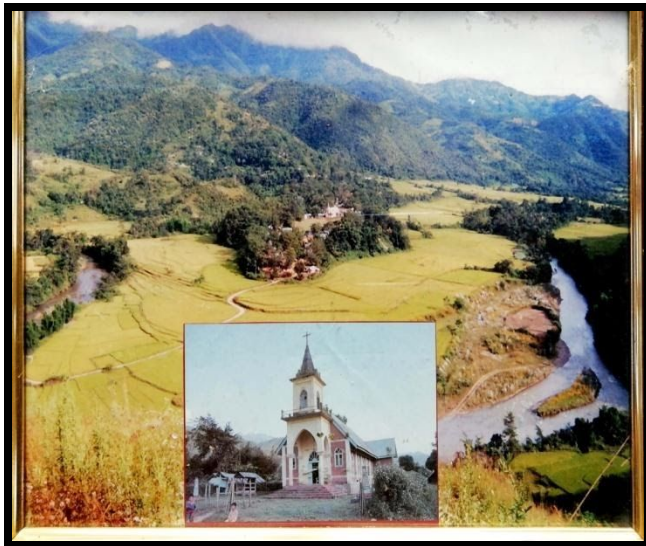
Source: Fieldwork



Source: Google Earth

APPENDIX 4

A Glimpse of Fieldwork Pictures



1. Chadong Village before dam

2. Google Map before the Dam



3. *Ramrei Aze* soon to be submerge 4. Villagers sailing bamboo boat to cross dam

REFERENCES

- Akhup, A. (2016). Reassembling The Paradigms of Intervention in The Schedule Areas: A Case for Social Work. *Tribal and Adivasi Studies* (pp. 313-344). Kolkatta: adivaani.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods*.UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bosshard, P. Imhof, A.& Wong, S.(2002). Citizens Guide to the World Commission on dams. *International River Network*.
- Biernacki,P. & Waldorf,D. (1981). *Sociological Methods and Research*. Sage Publication. Vol.10 No.2
- Burdge, R. J., Charnley, S., Scientist, S., Station, F. E., Service, F., Downs, M., Williams, G. (2003). US Principles and Guidelines for Impact Assessment in the USA, *21*(3), 231–25.
- Cernea, Michael. (1997). *The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations*, *World Development*. Elsevier, vol. 25(10), Pp. 1569-1587.
- Crossman, A. (2017). *Understanding Conflict Theory*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thoughtco.com/conflict-theory-3026622>.
- Damodaran, M., Sumathi. S & Reddy, P. (2011). *Tribal Development Strategies in India: An Anthropological Dialogue*. Delhi: Shipra Publications.
- Dave, H. (2017). *Highlights: On Birthday, PM Modi Inaugurates Sardar Sarovar Dam, Says Narmada Water Will Transform Lives*. Retrieved from: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/pm-narendra-modi-dedicates-sardar-sarovar-dam-to-nation-on-his-birthday-live-updates/story-A2znvTyFRTBVURi8G1vPIN.html>

Dilip, M. (2016). Tribal Development Policies in India; an Overview. *International Journal of Humanity and Social Sciences*, Pp. 81-83.

EPW. (2017). Dam and Post Truth. *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol.52, Issue No.38 23 September.

Escobar, Arturo. (2010). *Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements*. Duke University Press: 1992

Vanclay. F. (2003). International Principles for Social Impact Assessment, *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, Vol. 21(1), Pp. 5-12. DOI: 10.3152/147154603781766491

Foucault, Michel. (1980). *Power and Knowledge*. New York: Vintage Books.

Giddens, A. (2009). *Sociology*. Cambridge UK: Polity Press

Handbook of Forest Rights Act. (1980; 2003). Retrieved from <http://wrd.bih.nic.in/guidelines/awadhesh02c.pdf>.

Hurwitz, Z. (2014). *Dam Standards: A Rights-Based Approach a Guidebook for Civil Society*. International River Network.

IFP. (2018). *PM Modi will inaugurate Mapithel and Dolaithabi dams: Leptao*. (2018). Retrieved from <https://www.ifp.co.in/page/items/46228/pm-modi-will-inaugurate-mapithel-and-dolaithabi-dams-leptao/>

- *Dam Forces 164 kids to Drop Out of School*. Retrieved from <https://www.ifp.co.in/page/items/46407/dam-forces-164-kids-to-drop-out-of-school/>

Inter-organizational Committee on Principles and Guidelines. (1994). *Guidelines and Principles for Social Impact Assessment*. Retrieved from: http://www.nmfs.noaa.gov/sfa/social_impact_guide.htm.

Joyce, S., & McCully, P. (1997). Is it Worth a Dam? *Environmental Health Perspective*. Vol. 105(10), Pp. 1050–1055.

JAC on the R&R of Chadong Village. (2016). *Memorandum Submitted to the Honourable Governor of Manipur, On the 17th September 2016 By the 'Joint Action Committee on the Rehabilitation and*

Resettlement of Chadong Village' on the Plight of Chadong Villagers Affected And Displaced By the Mapithel Dam.. Imphal.

Kaul (2000). *Introduction : Steps Towards Social Progress in the New Millennium*. Blackwell Publishers.

Kibria, Zakir. (2019). Gaining Public Acceptance (GPA) for Large Dams on International Rivers: The Case of Tipaimukh Dam in India and Concerns in Lower Riparian Bangladesh.

Khagram, S. (2004). *Dams and Development : Transnational Struggle for Water and Power*. Cornell University Press.

Marx, K. (2012). Manifesto of the Communist Party 1848. (Eds.), C. Calhoun, J. Moody, S. Ptaff, & I. Virk, *Classical Sociology*. UK: Blackwell.

Matters India. (2018). *Mapithel Dam in Manipur Forcing Kids Out of School*. Retrieved from <http://mattersindia.com/2018/03/mapithel-dam-in-manipur-forcing-kids-out-of-school/>

Moore, D., Dore, J., & Gyawali, D. (2010). The World Commission on Dam + 10: Revisiting the Large Dam Controversy. *Water Alternatives*, Vol. 3(2), Pp. 3-13.

Murthy. (2005). Environment Impact Assessment Process in India and the Drawbacks Prepared by – Environment Conservation, Pp. 1–30.

MDAVO. (2008). *Infirmities Associated With Settlement of Land Compensation and Rehabilitation & Resettlement of Mapithel Dam and Legitimate Demand of Land Owners/Oustees* [Press release].

MDAVO. (2017). *Writ Petition for Halting of Mapithel Dam Construction Until Comprehensive Rehabilitation* [Press release].

Nayak, A. K. (2010a). Big Dams and Protests in India : A Study of Hirakud Dam. *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 45(2), Pp. 69–73.

Denzin . N K. & Lincoln. Y S. (2005). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications.

OpenStax. (2015). *Sociology 2e*. Texas: Rice University.

PTI. (2017). *Greenpeace condemns Sardar Sarovar Dam's inauguration*. Retrieved from <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/narendra-modi-greenpeace-condemns-sardar-sarovar-dams-inauguration-narmada-river-adivasis-4848114/>.

- *Narmada Bachao Andolan has reached a crucial stage: Medha Patkar*. Retrieved from <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/narmada-bachao-andolan-has-reached-a-crucial-stage-medha-patkar-4855436/>.

Ramesh, J. (2015). *Northeast India in a New Asia*. Retrieved from <http://www.india-seminar.com/2005/550/550%20jairam%20ramesh.htm>.

Rehabilitation and Resettlement Plan of Oustees Thoubal Multipurpose Project Manipur [Government of Manipur and Affected Village]. (1993). Imphal.

Rehabilitation Plan of the Thoubal Multipurpose Project [Government of Manipur]. (1998). Imphal

Rehabilitation and Resettlement [Government of Manipur and MDMPDVC]. (2011). Imphal

Saikia, A. (2018). *As local communities protest, Manipur government cancels plan of Modi inaugurating Mapithel Dam*. Retrieved from <https://scroll.in/article/872181/as-local-communities-protest-manipur-government-cancels-plan-of-modi-inaugurating-mapithel-dam>.

Shimray, U.A. (2002). Equality as Tradition: Women's Role in Naga Society. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37 (5), Pp. 375-377.

Shrivastava, A. (2015). *Green Tribunal Halts Mapithel Dam in Manipur*. Retrieved from <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/green-tribunal-halts-mapithel-dam-in-manipur--42946>.

Singh, A. (2016). Identity, conflict and development in nagaland (K. B. Jamir, Ed.). In *Identity Contestation and Development in Northeast India*.

Times, E. (2017). *PM Narendra Modi dedicates Sardar Sarovar Dam on river Narmada to the nation*. Retrieved from <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/pm-narendra-modi-dedicates-sardar-sarovar-dam-on-river-narmada-to-the-nation/articleshow/60717518.cms>.

Themrei Tuthing & ORS Vs State of Manipur & ORS (Before the National Green Tribunal Eastern Zone Bench Kakkatta February 26, 2006). Retrieved from <http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/Thoubal%20multipurpose%20project%20NGT%20order.pdf>.

Vagholikar, N. (2011). *Dams and Environmental Governance in North-east India*. Retrieved from <http://www.idfc.com/pdf/report/2011/Chp-25-Dams-and-environmental-governance-in-Northeast-Ind.pdf>.

World Commission on Dams Report. (2000). Retrieved from [https://energypedia.info/wiki/World_Commission_on_Dams_\(WCD\)_Report#cite_note-Fink.2C_M._.26_Cramer.2C_A._2008.2C_Towards_Implementation_of_the_World_Commission_on_Dams_Recommendations_Experiences_and_Reflections_After_5_Years_in_Water_Politics_and_Development_Cooperation.2C_ed_Scheumann.2C_S_Neubert_.26_M_Kipping.2C_S](https://energypedia.info/wiki/World_Commission_on_Dams_(WCD)_Report#cite_note-Fink.2C_M._.26_Cramer.2C_A._2008.2C_Towards_Implementation_of_the_World_Commission_on_Dams_Recommendations_Experiences_and_Reflections_After_5_Years_in_Water_Politics_and_Development_Cooperation.2C_ed_Scheumann.2C_S_Neubert_.26_M_Kipping.2C_S).

Xaxa, V. (2003). *Tribes in India*. New Delhi: The Oxford Compendium to Sociology and Social Anthropology.

Ziipao,R (2016). *Infrastructure Development in Manipur: A Study in Social Dynamics*. Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation. Mumbai: TISS.