

Ph.D. Thesis Summary

Development, Displacement and Resistance Movement: A Study in Kalinga Nagar Industrial Complex, Odisha, India

*Dinabandhu Sahoo**Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Institute of Technology Rourkela, Odisha, India***EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Neoliberal developmentalism that is occurring in Odisha, a resource-rich state in India, has resulted in involuntary displacement. Displacement is the consequence of land acquisition. Land is acquired through the use of various tactics and strategies by the state which involves the interplay of multiple actors. The land acquisition and displacement processes have multiple visible impacts which include accumulation of livelihood resources, impoverishment, marginalization, migration and use of violence which result from discontent among the local Adivasis. These discontents lead to collective mobilization and resistance to the project where multiple civil and political societies emerge and participate in the resistance movement.

The major objectives of the study are: (1) To explore the extent of land acquisition and strategies adopted for acquiring lands in Kalinga Nagar Industrial Complex, (2) To describe the causes of the emergence of resistance movement in the study area, (3) To describe collective mobilization, demands and strategies of the resistance movement, and (4) To locate the roles of various civil society and political societies in the resistance movement.

The study is based on ethnographic fieldwork followed by sample surveys, interview methods, group discussions and the collection of oral histories. By employing these methods in the field site of Kalinga Nagar, the analysis focuses on how the state acts contemptuously to promote its developmental agendas.

This research was conceptually approached from the fields of developmental sociology, structural Marxism, environmental and critical sociology. The study also draws insights from the land acquisition literature, new social movement theories, intersectionality approach and Gramscian perspective. By applying Appadurai's concept of 'The capacity to aspire', Chatterjee's concepts of 'civil society' and 'political society' and Scott's 'patron-client politics' this thesis answered the complex questions of development (investment) induced displacement that resulted in resistance and strategic alliance between non-Adivasi elites and corporates who believed that their interests and concerns are different from the displaced Adivasis.

The first objective explores the extent of land acquisition, the number and composition of affected and displaced people for the construction of the project in KNIC and the nature of displacement that followed. Land acquisition and displacement are complex phenomena that require the interplay of multiple actors. It explains the complex tactics and strategies of land acquisition used by the neoliberal state and corporations to facilitate the industrial project. This process favors a particular class interest by pauperizing



the common population. This chapter employed the concept of 'Eminent Domain' to show how the state may exercise its power over all lands within its territorial jurisdiction. This chapter sheds light on the historicity of the 'Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement' Act to show the instrumentality of the state laws that favor compulsory land acquisition through the principles of public purpose without giving fair compensation and rehabilitation. By providing the state-wise details of court cases, land alienation and restoration of Adivasis lands, this chapter reported that the state of Odisha shows the highest number of court cases filed against Adivasis land alienation. By employing the concept of 'the capacity to aspire', this chapter illustrates how the state generates a 'will or capacity to develop' among its citizens, which is an essential condition to begin, establish, and consolidate an industrial project. Here, the state often acts as a dominant actor not only representing a monolith structure acting from the top down but it also operating in different layers. This chapter discussed the potentialities of Kalinga Nagar as a site for industrialization and also revealed the formal and informal strategies and tactics used by the state to acquire lands from the farmer to show the extent of land acquisition and displacement in KNIC.

The next chapter of the thesis mainly deals with the second objective of the study. It explores the causes of the emergence of the resistance movement in KNIC. It expounds that the developmentalism of the Odisha state since 1991 is influenced and shaped by the wave of neoliberalism. This chapter historically looks at the factors responsible for the emergence of resistance in KNIC and describes the causes of resistance movement. This chapter also discusses about how the development logic of the state which itself causes resistance as a development manifestation also transforms the local populace into a peripheral populace and it also results in the formation of various organizations against the state developmental projects. These organizations expose the accumulative and hegemonic discourses of development. This chapter shows how these organizations reproduced the class consciousness of local Adivasis to continue the resistance.

Chapter five of this thesis is mainly concerned with the collective mobilization, demands and strategies of the resistance in KNIC. This chapter argues that exploitation-induced discontent led to collective mobilization in Kalinga Nagar. The discontent led to the formation of Bistapan Birodhi Jan Manch (BBJM) in KNIC. The BBJM was the main force behind and beyond the collective mobilization in KNIC. This chapter describes the formation of BBJM and its leaders and supporters. It also discusses about the strategies opted by BBJM to organize people to resist displacement in KNIC. This chapter also gives a brief description of the allying actors who supported BBJM in the struggle. Secondly, this chapter describes the causes behind the decline of the resistance in KNIC.

The final chapter locates the role of political and civil society in the Kalinga Nagar resistance movement. In Kalinga Nagar, there emerged many political societies on the one hand to resist displacement and on the other hand to counter the anti-displacement movement. It analyses the multiple roles of political societies in the resistance movement. It explores the emergence of political clientelism as an essential element in political society. Based on arguments put forth in the previous chapters, this chapter argues that civil society plays a limited role in the resistance movement. Civil society acts within the demarcation of the state. This chapter also talks about due to resistance movements; many political societies have emerged but not all political societies are resisting the projects; many political societies counter-resist the resistance movements.

KEY CONTRIBUTIONS

The findings of the study open new vistas for further research in the field of developmental sociology to understand the nature of state developmentalism in the resource-rich Adivasi region. This thesis contributes a better understanding of the development-induced displacement, land acquisition and resistance in the resource-rich region of Kalinga Nagar, where state-stimulated industrial projects and land

acquisition have accelerated resistance and collective mobilization. It also reconstructs the accumulative practices of the state and the role of civil society and political society in the process of establishment of industrial projects, land acquisition and dislocation.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The following are a few areas identified for future research.

More empirical and longitudinal research based on political economy would help to understand the accumulative practices of the neoliberal state. A longitudinal study focusing on three actors as Naxalite, the State and the local project-affected people can help understand why the Naxalites have involvement in many resistance movements in Odisha. The question arises whether it is the true involvement of the Naxalites in the resistance movement or whether it is a state strategy to suppress a resistance movement. A longitudinal study may help to address this question. Further research is required to understand the change in Adivasis social structure due to displacement. Research can also be conducted in a gender perspective to explore the role of women in the resistance movement.

Further, this research can be extended to analyze the neoliberal cultural politics of state developmentalism which often favors the corporate and provides the authoritarian position of the market economy over other subsistence economies. Based on secondary sources of data, a comparative study can be carried out between the state developmentalism in Adivasi and Non-Adivasi resource-rich regions.

KEYWORDS

Land acquisition, displacement, resistance, civil and political society, kalinga nagar industrial complex, Odisha

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DECLARATION LETTER

Subject: Declaration of Intent to Publish Thesis Summary in Science Digest

Dear Editor,

I, Dinabandhu Sahoo, hereby declare that the research has reached a unanimous agreement to publish the summary of the thesis, titled "Development, Displacement and Resistance Movement: A Study in Kalinga Nagar Industrial Complex, Odisha, India" in Science Digest.

This research was conducted at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Institute of Technology Rourkela, Odisha, India, under the supervision of Dr. Niharranjan Mishra, during the academic year 2013-2021. The study represents the culmination of Dinabandhu Sahoo's Ph.D. research project and I am excited to share the key findings with the global scientific community through the esteemed platform of Science Digest.

This declaration confirms that the author has been made aware of and has consented to the publication of the thesis summary in Science Digest. Furthermore, it affirms the accuracy and completeness of the information provided in the submission.

Thank you for considering this work for publication.

Yours sincerely,

Dinabandhu Sahoo