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Final Paper- **Topic- Forced Evictions, mining and dam inside Panna Tiger Reserve**

Environmental Ethics and Justice

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Introduction

On a tour of the Panna Tiger Reserve in April 2019, Rumela Basu got the opportunity of living in a cabin under the endless starry sky in the beautiful luxuries of Taj Pashan Garh. However, the most memorable part of her tour, wistfully termed as 'Walk with the Pardhis' with young members of the Pardhi tribe- Iden, Badda, and Biren- which covered an informative, as well as an intuitive glance at the Pardhi territorial area, and a tour of the forest through their lens. Their deeper ecological connection with nature manifested in their interactions during the tour, delightfully reflected in the article through statements such as the young boys recognising the various birds, insects and the various produce- from leaves to trunk to branches that their tribe collectively utilises in their day-to-day activities.

'Walk with the Pardhis'- although an endearing attempt on the part of the authorities to integrate the tribals and provide them with alternate sources of income, apart from the forest- making and trading knowledge of the woods as a livelihood- unveils a tragic story behind the reason why the Pardhis seek sources of income through 'contemporary' and 'modern' sources in itself. The Panna, Bijawar and Chattarpur princely states used the Panna tiger reserve mainly as hunting grounds, which utilised the Pardhi tribes as trackers, even during the British Raj. After the passing of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1871, even though they were denotified in 1952, the Pardhis subsisted unnoticed and hidden away from the springing society- using their knowledge of the forest through illegal methods such as poaching. The Pardhis are an eminent part of the tale of the Panna Tiger Reserve and the unwinding story that I seek to narrate in my paper.

Before understanding the role of the Pardhis, we shall delve into the history and development of the Panna Tiger Reserve.

History and Development

November 2020 witnessed the declaration of the Panna Tiger Reserve as a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve, owing to its glorious Tiger Reintroduction Project, which was a huge success, given the rise from 0 to about 50 tigers in a decade. The Panna National park assumed its status in 1981, while it was named the 22nd tiger reserve of India and the 5th tiger reserve of Madhya Pradesh in 1994. Poaching seemed to be a significant problem- which was due to criminalising of certain tribes such as the Pardhis- which were then roped in by multiple illegal actors due to their knowledge of the forest, causing a rapid decline in the tiger population of the reserve, leading to the project being deemed as a failure. During this period, due to the situation and status of the reserve, illegal as well as legal mining activities in the buffer areas of the reserve also sprung up neglected or ignored by the authorities under the garb of the absence of tigers.

Tiger Reintroduction Project

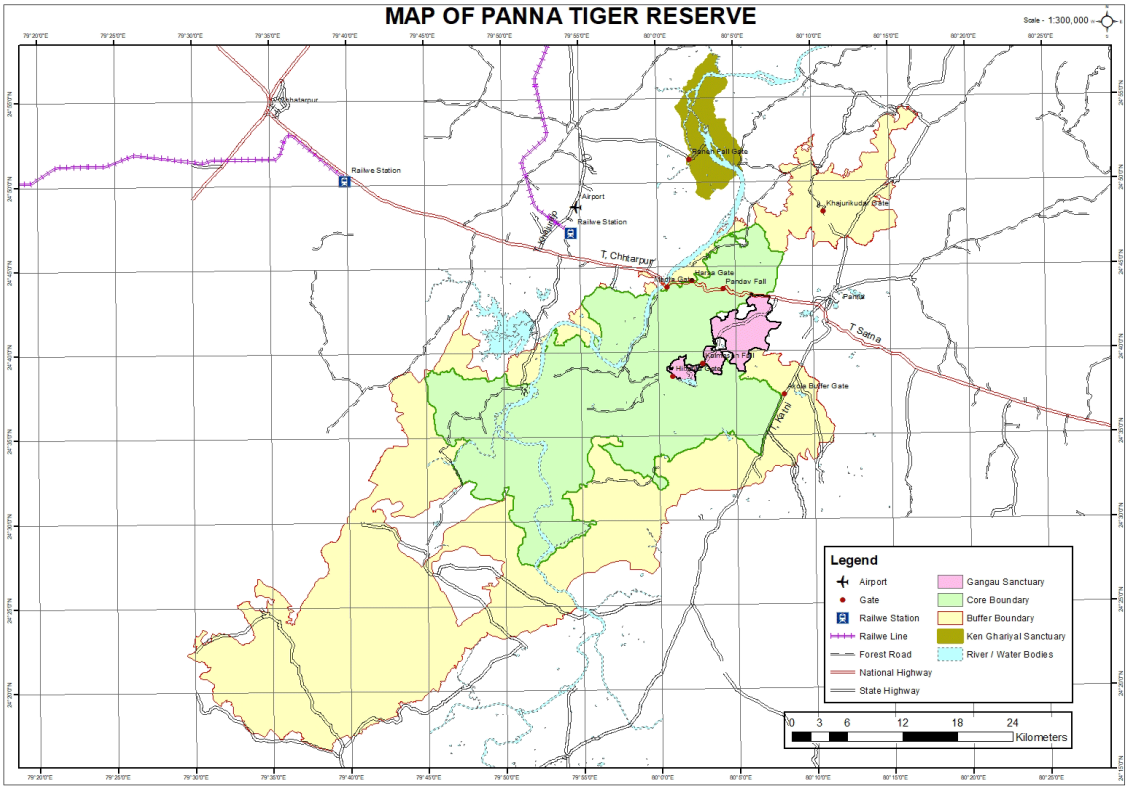
Since the Panna Reserve is a half hour's drive from Khajuraho, it proves to be an intersection of a cultural heritage situated amongst the wild bounties of nature- acting as an essential and profitable tourist destination, wherein travellers can traverse from places of worship and UNESCO World Heritage Sites to- now- a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve. Saying that the Tiger Reintroduction Project wasn’t mildly motivated by the aforementioned fact and strove to

continue the ‘World’s most extensive tiger reintroduction programme’ would be neglecting a vital part of the background story. The Tiger Reintroduction Project commenced in March 2009 and mainly comprised two components- Reintroduction and Rewilding of tigers- which was drawn up with the help of the WII (Wildlife Institute of India), Dehradoon. 2 Male and 4 female tigers were reintroduced from neighbouring Tiger reserves including those of Bandhavgarh, Pench and Kanha to aid the natural settlement and habitat adaptability of tigers. Although the attempt was met with multiple roadblocks, as the then field director- R. Sreenivasa Murthy quotes, stated that they had experienced numerous setbacks at the helm of some encouraging outcomes, which left them starting from scratch. For instance, within ten days of being introduced, the first male tiger in Panna slipped beyond the reservation. A month later, without any signals from his "very high frequency" (VHF) collar, it took an army of about 70 forest employees and four elephants to locate him. By keeping up with the locations of tigers and tirelessly aiming to make them feel at home in the reserve, the tiger re-establishment project, although meeting with specific inevitable roadblocks, eventually managed to project the world’s first noticeable ‘homing’ instinct in a wild tiger. In March 2011, an orphaned cub was brought to the reserve to be re-wilded, marking the commencement of the second chapter in the project, which was also the world’s first successful attempt at re-wilding a tiger. And the rest is history.

However, history wasn’t all white, and amidst the world’s best taglines and attempts, the sands of time bore witness and etched the plight of the tribals, as well as multiple other conflicts that arose in the Panna Tiger Reserve. This paper intends to understand the environment-related ethical and justice implications of the conflicts. The conflict areas and domains, their causes and the impending consequences can be understood in the following sections.

Area and Spread

The current area and spread of the Panna Tiger Reserve are represented through a map below. Additionally, some salient dimensions and features have been revealed in the following table.



Total Area	1645.08 sq. km.
Core	542.66 sq. km.

Buffer	1002.42 sq. km.
Kenghariyal Sanctuary	78.53 sq. km.
Panna (Gangau) Sanctuary	45.20 sq. km.
Longitude	$79^0$45?E to $80^0$09E
Latitude	$24^0$27N to $24^0$46N
Altitude	211.2 metres (near Ken river,Compt. 228, Madla Range) to 540 metres (a hillock near Talgaon, Compt. 1340, Panna Range)
Geographic Landmarks	The reserve is located on either sides of Ken river which flows from south to north through the Lower Vindhyan Formations within the park.
Rainfall	1100 mm, average

Temperature	Mean Minimum: 5^0C Mean Maximum 45^0C

Exposition of the cases and conflicts

Although the Panna Tiger Reserve has been exemplary in its metrics and its performance as a tiger reserve, making it to multiple headlines as a victor in pioneering tiger conservation activities amongst other biodiversity conservation species such as vultures, ghadiyals etc., it has also suffered from its fair share of conflicts- with the red blood of tribals and tigers alike in its ledger. The dual motivations reflected in the various policies and practices of the government, as well as the differences in the approaches of successive governments, reveal diverse perspectives and ideological shifts in the conception of environmental and biodiversity conservation and management.

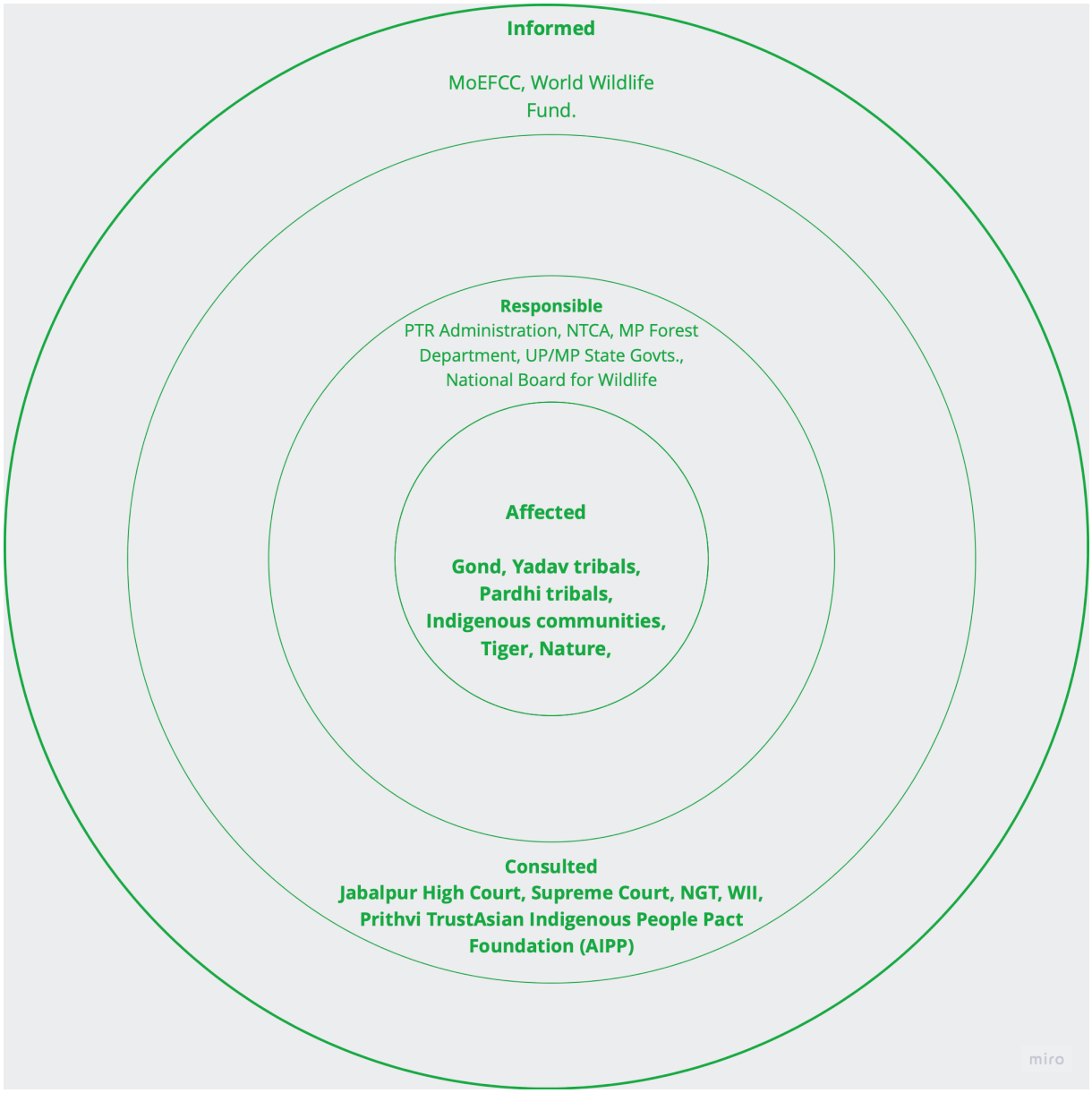
The conflicts marking Panna's history can mainly be summarised under three broad headers- namely-

- Forced Evictions and Relocation of Tribals
- Diamond Mining- Illegal and Quasi-legal activities
- Ken-Betwa Interlinking Project

Stakeholder Analysis

A stakeholder analysis of the project leads one to understand the interactions between multiple actors and institutions, as well as their direct influence or their perceived threat on the various conflict areas. I have analysed the stakeholders for all three conflict areas in the google sheet provided here. Modifying the R.A.C.I (Responsible, Accountable, Consulted and Informed) framework a little bit, giving rise to the A.R.C.I (Affected, Responsible, Consulted and Informed) framework, I have further categorised the stakeholders in the diagrams for a broader understanding below.

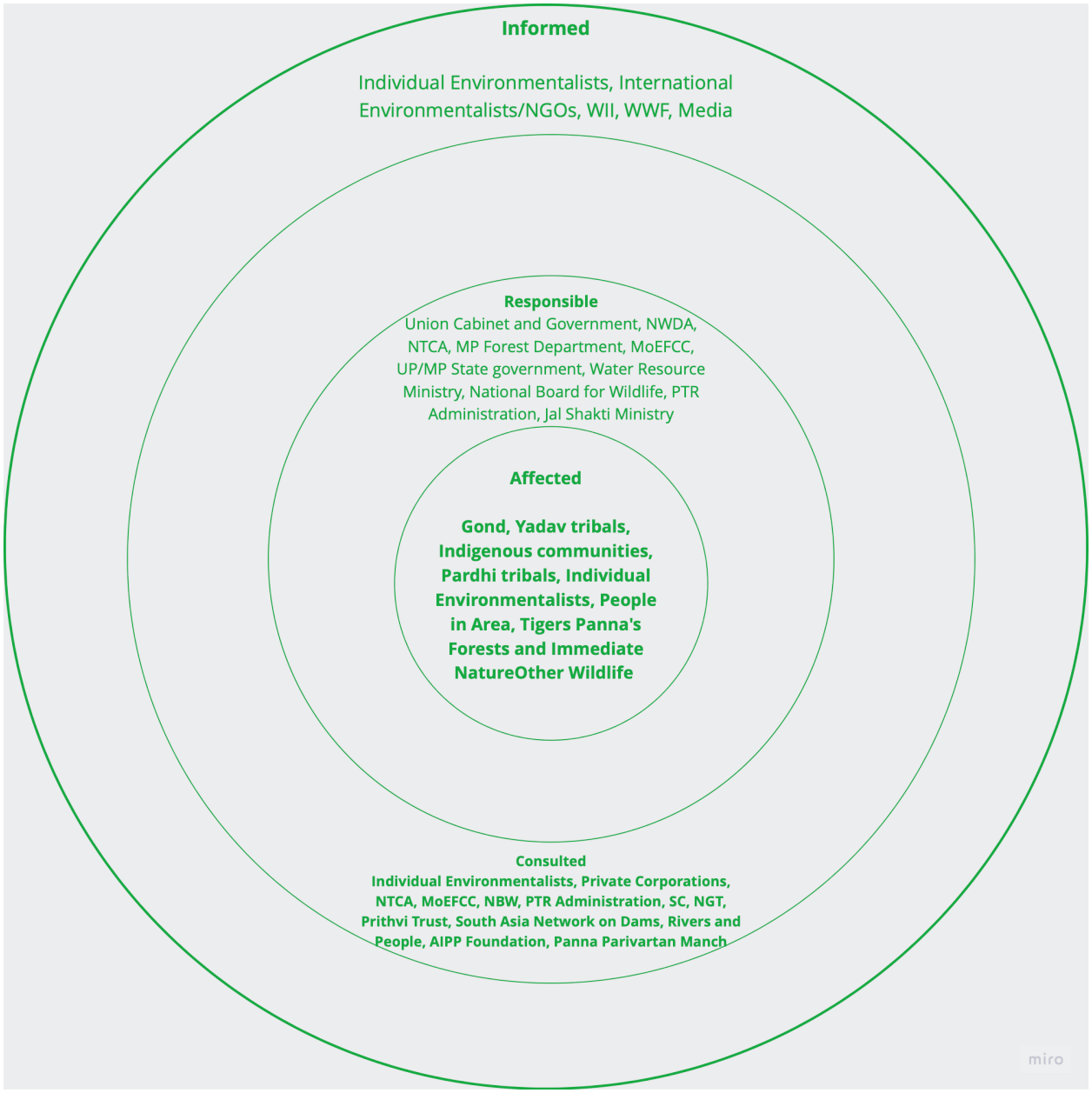
Conflict 1- Rehabilitation of Tribals



Conflict 2- Diamond Mining



Conflict 3: Ken-Betwa Interlinking Project



Causes and Consequences

Forced Evictions and Relocation of Tribals

As aforementioned, multiple tribals besides the Pardhis- the Gonds and the Yadavs- resided in the core and buffer zones of the forest, living and persisting symbiotically- till some of them were criminalised- which gave rise to them taking up illicit poaching activities. Capitalising on their knowledge of the forest, multiple stakeholders and mediators got involved- making poaching a lucrative black market, while the tribals- looking for means to survive- engaged with the external intermediaries to make ends meet. In the matter of a few years, the tiger population had declined to 0. The conflict with regards to the reserve, therefore, mainly arose post- 2009, when the tiger reintroduction programme sought to relocate the tribals to minimise their 'impact' on the tiger population and the reserve's environment. Multiple villages were relocated post-2009, including Budhrodh village, leading eventually to the villages of Talgaon, Malanpur, and Jhalar, with Badhaun being a pivotal point in the relocation. As of a 2017 report, about 13 villages were relocated from the core and buffer zones of the reserve- which amounted to about 983 families.

Relocation in itself was a questionable decision- which uprooted the lives of the tribals completely. The government, administration and officials, however, did not stop there. The public hearing regarding the relocation of Umravan was conducted very strangely, at 5:30 a.m., with four villagers attending the meeting and seeking answers for their resettlement and

relocation, which in turn weren't answered correctly. The land acquisition and provision resettlement compensation were inadequate, abiding by older land acquisition laws of 1983, instead of the 2013 one which was in force, less compensation being provided and no livelihood or employment option being made available under National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. To add the icing on the cake, the officials brutally strode forward. They undertook drastic measures during the Umravan village protests in 2015, like letting elephants loose and cutting electricity lines that made it difficult for the villagers to continue staying in their homes without providing accurate resettlement information. This led to about 70 families being relocated, with some casualties, too, leading to litigations against the illegal relocation processes- including a case filed in the Jabalpur High Court. This led to multiple actors, including NGOs such as the Prithvi Trust, being involved in the process, with notifications and letters, amongst other communications formats, employed to make the government and people aware of the irregularities and illegalities in the relocation processes- especially of illegal land acquisition and inadequate resettlement.

A fascinating aspect of the case here was that the government banned farming and cultivation as well as the collection of minor produce from the forest that was also carried out by the villagers, in the name of conservation, despite the continuing activity of diamond mines inside the reserve, which brings us to the second connected conflict area of the reserve.

Although the consequences of the entire activities can be gleaned from the various points mentioned above, the main consequences from this specific conflict can be listed as humanitarian exploitation of rights due to the illegal acquisition of tribal land, inadequate compensation

provided, loss of livelihood due to closing down of illegal mining activities and relocation away from the mines that weren't closed as well as non-allowance to use forest products or cultivate the land (deprivation of basic livelihood needs and necessities).

Diamond Mining- Illegal and Quasi-legal activities

The case gets more complicated when one realises that the mining processes are carried forth and not discontinued despite extensive relocations. Stakeholders, especially Prithvi Trust and its founder Yousuf Beg blamed vested interests on the part of the government in expanding diamond mining processes under the ambit of the National Diamond Mining Corporation which possessed a large diamond mine (Majhgawan mine) inside the forest, functioning since 1958- as well as its subsequent non-closure for the next five years by the Supreme Court, exposing corruption and miscommunication amongst government actors. Not only has this caused multiple local communities to be deprived of their livelihoods, but it has also pushed them to the miseries of illegal mining activities, which poses a significant risk to their lives- as some of them already suffer from silicosis disease.

Moreover, since Central India is abundant in mineral resources and diamonds, and mining activities were continued despite the relocation of the tribals through the grant of extensive permits and leasing extensions, mining poses as a significant threat to the tiger populations in the reserve of the entire area, as mentioned by Jhala, Y.V., Qureshi, Q. and Nayak, A.K. (eds) 2020 in their report for the status of tigers in India, apart from facing threats due to "linear infrastructures, livestock grazing, NTFP (Non-timber forest product) collection and insurgency."

According to the study, many of India's tiger reserves and protected areas are "analogous to small islands in a vast sea of ecologically unsustainable land uses of varying degrees" and many "tiger populations are confined within small protected areas". Apart from this, it listed multiple other threats to the safety and protection of wildlife- mining, hydroelectric projects, an infrastructure development.

Throughout the span of 2004- 2013, Rio Tinto, an international conglomerate, dug about 95 holes in the area seeking diamonds in an area of about 2,300 hectares along with digging nine trenches, eventually discovering 53.70 million tonnes of kimberlite containing 34 million carats of rough diamonds, according to the report to Ministry of Mines in 2013. However, they failed to get environmental clearance when they applied for an extension in 2014. Moreover, a Supreme Court-appointed committee headed by Belinda Wright, Kishore Rithe and the aforementioned director of the reserve- R. Sreenivas Murthy, also recommended the NDMC mine's closure (running since 1958) in 2016, citing environmental and wildlife preservation and conservation issues, consequently quoting- “the extraction and production process of the Diamond Mine Project at Majhgawan should come to an end by 30th June 2016, and that the reclamation and rehabilitation process and handing over the area to Panna Tiger Reserve should be completed by 30th Jun 2018.” However, the mining activities continued till 2020 and were later on also extended till 2040.

Surprisingly, recent developments in the area are marked by the occurrences of protests by locals, which are taking place in Buxwaha, in the district of Chhatarpur, in opposition to a proposed diamond mine that was allotted to Essel Mining and Industries Limited, which is a

subsidiary of the Aditya Birla group, which proposed to mine the Bunder diamond block, predicted to contain 34 million carats of diamonds valued at Rs 21,296 crore, for which a total of 364 hectares of land were leased to the group. These developments mark a difference or ideology shift in the current government's conceptions of the reserve and contrarian remarks on the part of the state and central forest authorities.

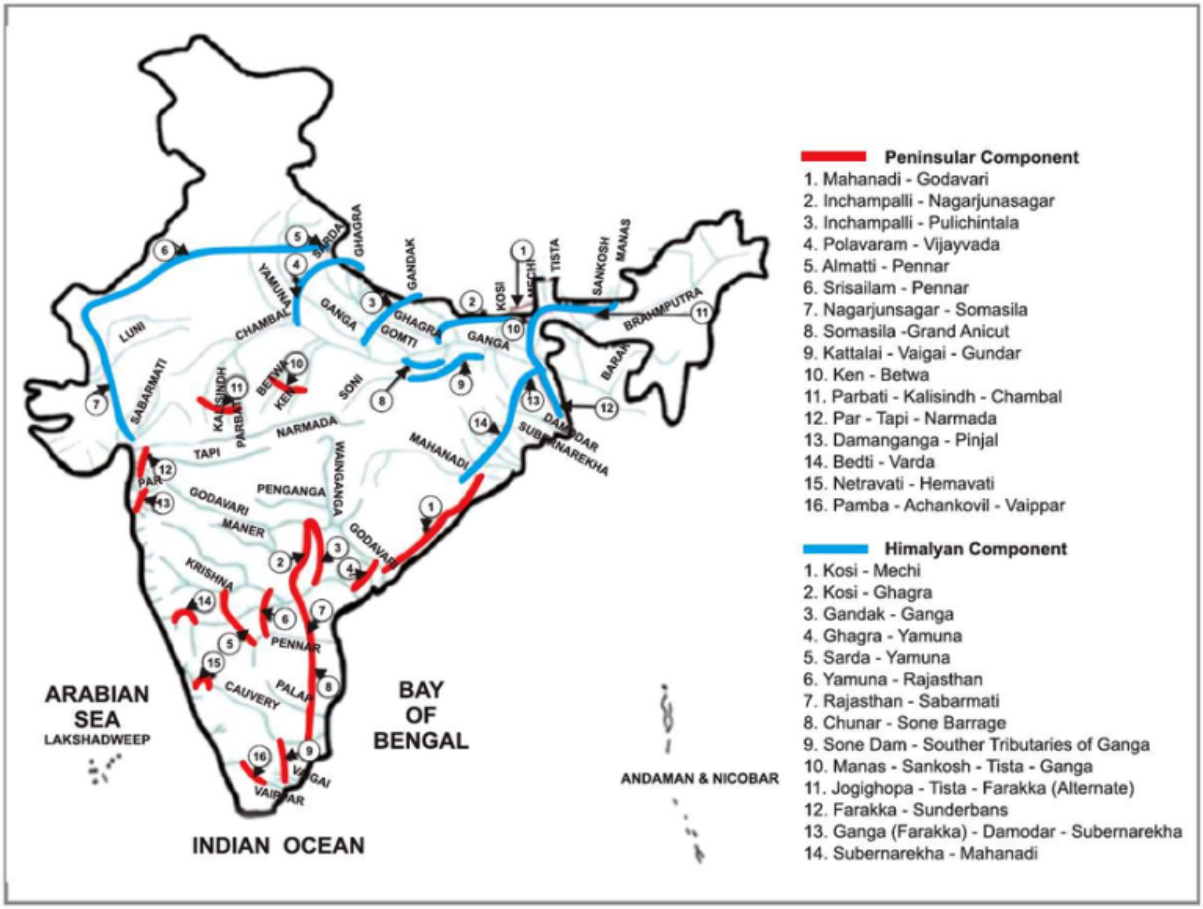
Therefore, the consequences can be summarised as although the tribals posed some degrees of threat to the tiger populations, especially in the cultivation and collection of NTFPs, as well as seeking employment in diamond mines, the main perpetrators posing a threat to tigers are mainly the government officials who are stopping mild threats as opposed to large mining projects. The diamond mining processes do not only consequentially affect the tribals, as they were indirectly relocated due to the processes, but they also pose a considerable threat to the tigers and the wildlife in the area. The indirect consequences of giving the go-ahead to large-scale diamond mining projects are also related to the case of setting precedents, and the apparent divide between judicial as well as governmental processes with no significant measures taken for the overruling of certain judgements reveals an unorganised and chaotic state of affairs in the country.

Ken- Betwa Interlinking Project

The NTCA report of 2016 also took into account the fact that a large area of the Panna Tiger Reserve will be submerged in the Ken-Betwa river linking project. It recommended that satellite habitats and dispersal routes of tigers, like the Buxwaha Forest, should be preserved for tigers to colonise and use for migration, opposing the continuation of mines in the forest. However, it is

ironic how the report takes into account the third conflict which is a culmination of the previous two conflicts- and is problematic towards tribals and villagers, which form the humanitarian and social components as well as the environmental and biodiversity-related components alike.

To provide a brief background, the governments of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh signed a tripartite memorandum of agreement with the centre for the implementation of the proposed Ken-Betwa river connecting project, which forms a part of the National River Linking Project (NRLP), formerly known as the National Perspective Plan, which in turn envisions the transfer of water from water "surplus" basins where there is flooding to water "deficit" basins where there is drought/scarcity.



(NRLP, Figure from: https://www.drishtiias.com/daily-updates/daily-news-analysis/ken-betwa-link-project)

The Ken-Betwa Interlinking Project, announced in Nirmala Sitharaman's 2022-23 budget speech, marks the start of the implementation of the NRLP to divert surplus water from the Ken river in MP to Betwa in UP to set up a multi-crore irrigation project in the drought-prone Bundelkhand region. The project entails constructing a 230 km canal, a 77-meter-tall Dhaudhan dam, and a 2 km broad dam.



The benefits of the project, mainly represented in its Environmental Impact Assessment and policy papers, are said to be manifold, focussing mainly on the drought reduction of the area- which suffers from lack of industrialization, out-migration and is one of the 'aspirational districts' of India- provision for irrigation, electricity generation (103 MW) due to the building of the Daudhan dam as well as drinking water supply to about 62 lakh people, while also promising rejuvenation of the biodiversity in the Panna Tiger Reserve due to sources of gushing water, that seems to be questionable.

However, the EIA of Phase-I was met with extreme agitation by environmentalists and activists alike, who signed a paper and sent it to the MoEFCC, highlighting the inadequacies and the violations in the EIA process- especially in the way the public hearing was conducted and with regards to the intentional non-divulgement of certain species such as the Phillipino pangolin and the slender loris that will be affected by the project. Recently, the conflicts were also concerned with implementing the Ken-Betwa Interlinking project, which is designed to submerge around 9000 hectares or 10% of the reserve area, as well as acquiesce land from about more than 10 communities and their 1,585 families. Although the area is plagued by less rainfall and lack of water even in groundwater or surface water sources, there is a wide interregional variation amongst areas- as well as seasonal variations which have led some experts to question the climate efficiency and resilience of the project- especially with regards to studies conducted with regards to its topology and hydrogeology, which may also affect the area adversely- impacting rainfall patterns and climate change (Ghosh, 2019), while providing no trustworthy and consistent sources of water or irrigation. A Supreme Court-constituted committee in 2019 also recommended alternatives of traditional water harvesting and management practices instead of canals or dams as the only explored solution but to no avail. Due to the interregional differences,

multiple villagers have also opposed and started protesting against land acquisition and resettlement and rehabilitation practices- due to a lack of trust in the government's water promises all year round, as well as dissatisfaction with the proposed compensation in the impact assessments.

Apart from these effects, multiple NGOs and activists oppose the move based on its dreary environmental, ecological, and social impacts. Apart from submerging 10% of the core tiger reserve area of a reserve that has already suffered dwindling tiger populations- as well as the felling of 24 lakh trees in an already deciduous and dry region, the project seeks to affect the cycles and habitat of multiple species of fishes, vultures, gharials etc. thus affecting the biodiversity of the region terribly. Panna Tiger Reserve's former director states that the dam's construction would result in habitat fragmentation and the destruction of a vital corridor and threaten the survival of tigers in the reserve. The Panna Tiger Reserve is to be combined with three additional nearby reserves as part of the landscape management plan; however, according to Murthy, these additional reserves lack a sufficient prey population for tigers to exist. Due to these significant concerns, the project is still pending permission from NGT.

Therefore, the direct consequences of the project can be gleaned from the points above. Some of the indirect consequences of the project, which will be explored in the final paper too, mainly revolve around the fact that the launch of projects such as this marks indirect progress to large-scale, infrastructure-based solutions similar to the Chinese Water Machine that may focus on tags such as 'world's largest' or 'world's biggest' to reassert national identity in international

relations while neglecting the ecological damages which could have been mitigated or reduced through the utilisation of traditional water harvesting techniques.

Ethical Themes and Analysis

Since I have categorised and done a stakeholder analysis, causes and consequences analysis of all the conflict areas respectively, it would make sense to divide and highlight the main ethical and justice-related implications in all the categories, commencing with a broad understanding of the significant themes that replicate and are similar in all three cases.

- Indigenous Rights- An environmental ethical and justice implication that keeps on appearing throughout the case study is indigenous rights and governance. With regards to the first and second case, the consideration of indigenous rights is synonymous with 'Anthropocentrism' in ethical theories, wherein the welfare of indigenous people, including the Gonds and the Yadavs, especially the Pardhis, is at odds with the existence of tigers in reserve- as they primarily derived their livelihoods from the forest cultivation, or in the form of poaching, employment in mining activities- all of which are harmful for tigers in the area, and have been connoted as the main reasons attributed to the decline of tiger populations in the reserve.
- However, another ethical dilemma and justice implication that arises in the context of tribals is mainly related to the fact of cultural appropriation, especially concerning perceptions about their modernization through the eyes of an outsider. Is modernization

really providing indigenous tribes with water and employment opportunities, or is it actually sustainable traditional ecological practices in families and communities, embedded in their culture that they so fondly protest for.

- Animal Rights- Animal rights, especially of tigers and vultures or ghadials, that were present in the reserve, especially with regards to the animals living in symbiosis with the nature, possessing a great habitat for subsistence and equitable living, were also highlighted throughout the three cases. The ethics and justice implications and analysis of the aforementioned two areas pose multiple challenges and questions. If one takes an anthropocentric approach- one would think about employability, the benefit of citizens, especially for cases such as the Ken-Betwa Interlinking project, and even about tribals in a way, as at the end of the day, they are humans. Not only are the directly/ indirectly responsible stakeholders responsible for the animals or the biodiversity of the region, as well as for environmental conservation, but they are also equally accountable for 'sustainable' development of the area- especially an aspirational district such as Chattarpur- which can only be facilitated by providing employment options, water and sanitation, setting up of industries etc. This turn of events, called human-wildlife conflict, often leads to multiple ethical dilemmas, for which the PTR administration enabled policies involving locals and tribals in the restoration of tigers, 'on paper', to take into account their stand in the entire process properly, as well as not only make them the receiving ends but also the means and facilitators of the tiger reintroduction program. Divergent views and narratives exist in warped internet holes. Still, the interpretations are akin to understanding biocentrism instead of anthropocentrism.

- In case of ethical dilemmas, especially regarding human-wildlife conflicts, the government is noticed taking a short-term utilitarian approach, in the way of preferring humans over animals, and providing temporary relief while ignorantly neglecting the consequences of an upset biosphere and ecological network, which may come snowballing in the far future. Given the long-term effects of the same, and glacial time periods, the effects are rarely evaluated because of the rule of vote banks, which are more of an immediate threat! However, with the case of the tiger reintroduction programme, the government begged to differ- placing humans or tribals at a lesser priority as compared to tigers that weren't even physically existent, and were going to be reintroduced. We will explore a possible explanation in the next point.
- Although it is somewhat ironic and challenging to sieve out the thoughts of the administration and the directly responsible stakeholders in most of the cases- with the government and officials supporting tiger reintroduction in PTR in the first case, even if it meant affecting the lives of tribals while continuing mining activities, as well as proposing the Ken-Betwa project in the second and third cases, which will adversely affect the tigers and other wildlife aspects of the now vibrant and booming reserve, it is imperative to understand the ethical viewpoints and motivations of the policymakers in all cases. The somewhat evolution of the technocratic nature of governance witnessed throughout the timeline of the case study- with the government focusing on forming 'world's most successful tiger reintroduction programme' as well as 'world's biggest river interlinking project' supersedes the interest of the directly affected stakeholders, including those of people and natural actors, mainly to reinvent national images as a modern and technologically advanced economy in the international state of affairs, given

the current wobbling world order. Something similar to the contested ‘Chinese Water Machine’ and its applications consecutively takes place in India. It also boasts of large hydel power reserves with gushing rivers ready to be harnessed for power generation and redirected, copy or cut and pasted in various districts and localities. Although a utilitarian approach would therefore understand the end and not the means in the first case, morality still disproves the genealogical process of reductionism through which government officials got there- not wanting to safeguard tigers, but to plan and implement the ‘world’s most successful tiger reintroduction’ programme.

- All three cases, especially the second and third ones, pose the imminent question that plagues the minds of environmentalists and politicians alike, which is of progress versus the environment. Although mining and projects such as the Ken- Betwa interlinking project actually lead to development, as judicial actors term it- these projects also inherently affect nature and consequently lead to the destruction of multiple ecosystems and ecological artefacts. Not only is the question about what to choose in the case, but also about what is essential, questioning the modern conceptions of development and modernity. Suppose we apply Kant’s deontological approach to justifying modernization and current development conceptions and processes in all contexts. In that case, it leads to the same inevitable conclusion referring to the line of questioning and justifications that if technocratic modernisation is a system that is a boon for humans and a product of humane choices, it would inevitably lead to the betterment of human life, but, what is the betterment of human life, without human ‘life’ in itself- which is prone to immediate mortality and destruction due to climate change and environmental degradation. So is the

current trajectory of modernisation and development really a self-consistent one? If it's not, according to Kant, it isn't ethical.

- Moreover, the previous understandings lead one also to interpret the artificial and the natural. Is a man-made tiger reserve- really natural? The rise of green belt solutions is cited in multiple environmental management plans, including the one for the Ken-Betwa interlinking project, which includes forming a green belt for tigers to relocate to the newly formed Durgavati Tiger Reserve. What are the implications of an artificially controlled natural reserve or biosphere- similar to a larger terrarium? What does that mean for ecological ethics and deep ecology? With the changing faces of the human-nature relationship, and since humans are in themselves a part of nature- does deep ecology actually represent going with the flow? Creating artificial reserves to suit our needs, diverting waters and linking basins to feed drought-affected areas, constructing large projects and completely uprooting and relocating natural biospheres? Or does it refer to actually retracing our steps backwards, minimising consumption, and reducing our needs of constant electricity and water supply, amongst other unnatural and extremely conspicuous living practices?
- The environmental justice theories that apply to the case are mainly based on recognition, especially recognition of the plight of the tribals, which hasn't been given thought to at all, in any case. Notions of distributive justice also come into play during the consideration of the distribution of the benefits of the Ken-Betwa link, which have been presumed and studied to provide water, electricity and other benefits to people or citizens in other areas instead of the areas that are actually suffering the brutal phases of

relocation and rehabilitation as well as the complete uprooting of their consequent livelihoods.

Conclusion

The Panna Tiger Reserve case reflects a diverse and very pertinent case in the study of environmental ethics and justice due to its innumerable facets and really important questions. Ernest Hemingway lightly remarked, “The Earth is a fine place, and worth fighting for”. Protests against wide-scale technocratic development like the Ken-Betwa Interlinking Project, against governments with lofty ideals, as well as the mere existence of tribals and forest dwellers who cherish ecological biospheres and live in harmony make the heart erupt with relishing sighs in the cacophony of extreme exploitative practices and environmental degradation that we witness every day. The Panna Tiger Reserve case reflects the nature of copy-paste practices, like surplus to deficit river basins, and tiger abundance to tiger deficit areas- making humans feel in control and dominion, exercising power over nature. Protests and retaliations, staged by civic communities and traditional stakeholders alike- are a reminder that the earth is not here to suit one’s whim, and the biggest environmental justice is leaving nature alone.

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