UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN
GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

Fairness beyond Equality:

A case study on community perceptions of the land redistribution policy in New Padampur

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Individual contributions

Every step in this study is a result of synergic group effort, making it a balanced learning process for all. The outcomes presented in each section are drafted collectively, as our research was conceptualised by equal contributions, meticulous discussions and consensual decision-making. Therefore, the following division is only an overview of how we combined our inputs:

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Abstract

Studies have shown that people tend to favour equality of resource distribution in laboratory environments. But, as Amartya Sen has noted, equality in one dimension tends to go with inequality in another. This led us to believe that equality is not an end in itself, and rather fairness is the fundamental parameter in evaluating the consequences of a distribution. In this context, this study examines the case of resettlement of the village of Old Padampur from the Royal Chitwan National Park, Nepal, to New Padampur. We explored whether the relocated citizens perceive the changes in land distribution resulting from the resettlement policy, aiming at a more equal land allocation, as fair. The definition of fairness stems from our respondents' perception of an ideal distribution. Based on a literature review on resettlement policies, we chose a theoretical lens that informs how forms of inequality can be possibly fair and justifiable. Our methodological point of departure is a paper by Starmans, Sheskin, and Bloom (2017) which claims that people prefer fair inequality over unfair equality.

Using a sequential explanatory design, we first mapped the actual distribution of land in New Padampur to compare it with people's perception of the actual changes, and their ideal distribution. The following phase consisted of an interactive experiment that allowed participants to visualize and express their perceived and ideal land distribution through the allocation of beans. In the subsequent phase of the study, we investigated the drivers of the distribution found during the initial phase by conducting semi-structured interviews. The results suggest that people do value fair inequality over unfair equality in terms of land distribution. Therefore, the result suggests that future land redistribution policies should not be centred on equality, but rather fairness.

समानता बाहिरको निष्पक्षता : नयाँ पदमपुरको जमिन पुन वितरणमा समुदयको धाराण एक अध्ययन

अध्ययनहरुले के देखाउछ भने मानिसहरुले प्रयोगशाला बातावरणमा साधान श्रोतको समान वितरण रुचाउछन । तर अमत्र्य सेनले के भनेका छन भने समानता एक पाटोबाट देखिए पनि आर्को पाटोमा असमानता हुन्छ । यसले हामीलाई के विश्वास दिलाउछ भने समानता हाम्रो उद्दश्य होईन तर पुनवितरणको नतिजा मुल्यांकल गर्न निष्पक्षता एउटा आधाभुत एकाई हो । यही सन्दर्भमा यो अध्ययनले साहि चितवन राष्टिय निकुञ्जबाट पुरानो पदमपुरलाई नयाँ पदमपुरमा पुनर्वासको केसलाई अध्ययन गरेको छ । हामीले यस अन्तर्गत पुनर्वास भएका नागरिकले जग्गाको समान वितरणलाई निष्पक्ष रुपमा लिएका छन कि कसरी लिएका छन भनेर खोज्ने प्रयास गरेका छौ । निष्पक्षताको परिभाषा उतरदाता कै आदर्श धारणा अनुसार लिएका छौ । भएका पुनर्वासका निति सम्बन्धी लिटरेचरहरु केलाउदा हामीले सैदान्तीक चस्मा छनौट गरेका छौ जसले असमानताको किसिमहरु निष्पक्ष र औचित्य हुन सक्छन । हाम्रो विधीको प्रस्थान विन्दु ले के दाबी गर्छ भने मानिसहरुले अनिष्पक्ष ससमानता भन्दा निष्पक्ष असामनता रुचाउछन ।अनुक्रमात्मक स्पस्टीकरणात्मक विधी मार्फत हामीले शुरुमा पदमपुरमा वास्तविक वितरण भएका जमिनको नक्सांकन गरयौ जसलाई हामीले वास्तविक परिवर्तनका धारणासंग तुलना गरयौ । पहिलो चरणमा अन्तरक्रियाको मध्यमबाट सहभागीहरुलाई सिमिको दाना दिएर तिनीहरुको बुझेको जग्गा वितरणको

आदर्शलाई कल्मना गर्न भन्यौ । अध्ययनको पछिल्लो चरणमा, हामीले अर्ध संरचित अन्तर्वार्ताहरु मार्फत पहिलो चरणमा देखिएको वितरणका सम्बाहकहरु पत्ता लगायौ । नतिजाहरुले के भन्छ भने मानिसहरुले जग्गा वितरणमा अनुचित सामानतालाई भन्दा उचित असमातालई महत्व दिन्छन । पुनश्चः हाम्रो अध्ययनले के प्रतिविम्बित गर्छ भने पुनस्थापित नागरिकहरुले सामान्यतया पुनर्वास पछिको भूमिको वितरण अझ राम्रो भएको ठान्दछन ।

1. Introduction

The relocation of local communities, following the establishment of national parks, has become common state practice in developing countries (McLean & Stræde, 2003). After the establishment of the Royal Chitwan National Park in 1973, the Nepalese Ministry of Local Development decided on the resettlement of agrarian villages within the park (McLean & Stræde, 2003). The scholarly attention to resettlement has been focused on conservation (Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997; West, 1994), on relocated/indigenous communities access to resources and social outcomes (Brandon & Wells, 1992; Colchester, 1997; Nepal & Weber, 1995; West & Brechin, 1991), and on resident well-being and cultural heritage (Dhakal, Nelson, & Smith, 2011; McLean & Stræde, 2003). While the above stated literature provides insights about the impact on the livelihood of relocated communities that continue to depend on land-based resources, this study responds to a dearth of inquiry in exploring the community perception of the egalitarian motivated land redistribution enacted under the resettlement policy.

Building on existing literature on equality in distribution of resources and people's perceptions of it in a fair society, studies suggest that humans might not necessarily value equality (Norton & Ariely, 2011; Rawls, 1971, 2001; Sen, 1992; Starmans et al., 2017). Norton and Ariely (2011) examine wealth distribution in the United States, but their ideal society exhibits non-egalitarian characteristics. What matters is rather the perceived fairness, and when fairness and equality clash, people may prefer fair inequality over unfair equality (Starmans et al., 2017). What is perceived as fair varies across cultures, and for example, Schäfer, Haun, and Tomasello (2015) find that western-based meritocratic fairness is not present in a pastoralist African setting. In Rawls' theory of justice, inequalities can be part of a well-ordered society, on condition that they benefit the least-advantaged members (Rawls, 2001). This can be referred to as the maximin principle, where people, when put under the veil-of-ignorance, seek to maximize for the least-advantaged. In his work on inequality, Sen (1992) highlights that one of the consequences of 'human diversity' is that equality in one space tends to go with inequality in another. He recognises that equalizing ownership of resources or holdings of primary goods need not equalize the substantive freedoms enjoyed by different persons since there can be significant variations in the conversion of resources and primary goods into freedoms. Therefore, Sen (1992) suggests that inequalities in fundamental terms can also be defended based on the reasoned judgement of social arrangements.

In the case of Old Padampur, located in the Northern area of the Chitwan National Park, the resettlement policy aimed at increasing equality in land ownership through land redistribution. As a part of the resettlement process, landless villagers were given small plots of land whilst the land size of the large landowners' plots in Old Padampur was reduced, thereby creating a more equal distribution of land (Dhakal et al., 2011). Against this backdrop, this study used the resettlement of

the citizens of Old Padampur as a case for examining whether egalitarian land redistribution policies are considered fair. Specifically, this study seeks to answer the following problem statement: *Are egalitarian land redistribution policies considered fair?*

Our findings in this case study suggest that community considerations on fairness give due regard to reasoned inequalities in land holdings, which may be overlooked when redistribution policies enforce equality as the paramount guiding principle.

2. A distant reminder of the past

On a clear day, the snow-capped Himalayan peaks soar in the distance, but in the village of New Padampur, in the Chitwan province of Nepal, the weather is always pleasant due to the mitigating presence of the nearby jungle, a distant reminder of the past. The village is a gridded system of roads easily navigable by foot, studded with banana plantations, small vegetable gardens, and stretches of turmeric drying in the sun. The village is located on the crossroads to the regional Headquarter of Bharatpur with another brand new road to the same place under construction at the time of the research. The juxtaposition of the tranquil village and the busy network of regional arteries is a constant reminder of the dual nature of New Padampur: once an arcadic settlement surrounded by lush and fruitful nature, the village now stands as a model of development and modern infrastructure in the area.

Figure 1 - Private photo from New Padampur

The establishment of the Royal Chitwan National Park (RCNP) in 1973 meant that the villagers of Old Padampur were forced to relocate their village (McLean, 1999). In 1994, the Padampur Resettlement Committee initiated the resettlement of the villagers of Padampur to an area located approximately 20 kilometres north of the original site, a process that took nearly ten years to complete (Dhakal et al., 2011). Some of the residents lamented issues with the amount of land obtained in the new settlement. The households that did not own land in Old Padampur or that owned less than 3 katthas[1] were given 3 katthas in the new settlement, plots of land between 3 katthas and 1 biga in size remained unchanged in New Padampur, households that owned plots bigger than 1 biga but smaller than 2 bigas received a plot sized 1 biga plus ⅓ of the remaining land and monetary compensation, while those who owned 2 bigas or more, were allocated a 2-bigas plot in the new settlement, and were granted additional monetary compensation (Dhakal et al., 2011). The compensation was established proportionally to the amount of land lost, namely 3 lakhs - or 300.000 NR - per biga. Controversies arose because land ownership in Old Padampur was attributed by considering the household as the elemental unit, regardless of the number of people that were dependent on it for their sustenance. Given that land size was reduced in the new site, in particular for the households that owned large plots of land, a disparity emerged between those large landowners that could effectively divide the land and split the household into different units and those that did not have the awareness or opportunity to do so. This site is today the lively agricultural village described, and constitutes the case area of interest for this study.

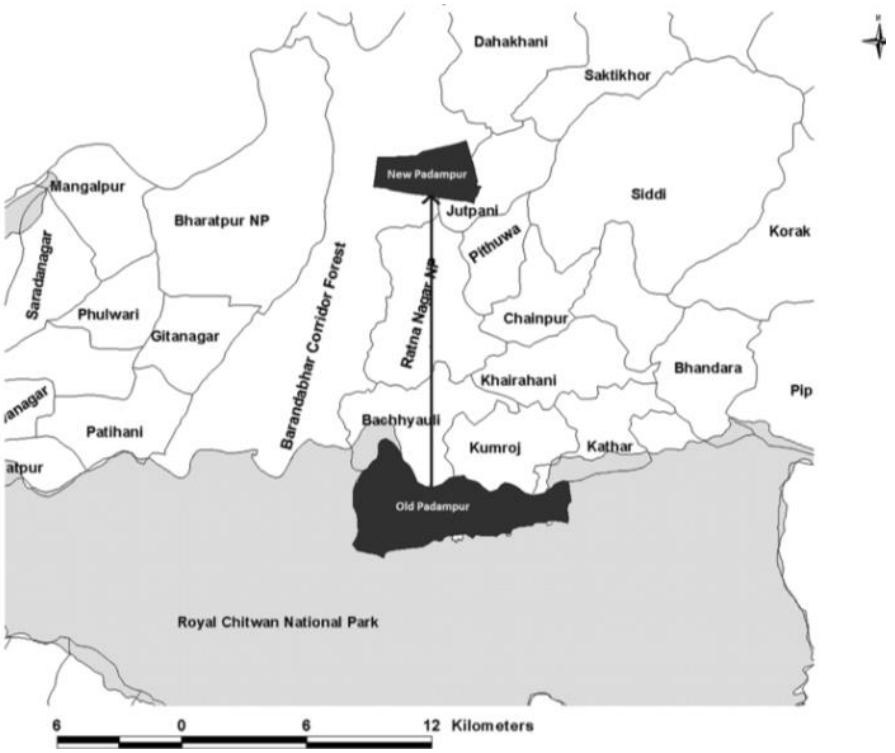

Figure 2 - Map of New and Old Padampur, Chitwan district Nepal (Dhakal et al., 2011)

[1] 1 khatta corresponds to 338 m^2. 20 khattas constitutes 1 biga.

3. Methodology

When using a case-study design, it can be difficult to define what the case is really about. Following this, a case is not "natural", but rather a mental or analytical abstraction used to construct and organize knowledge about reality in a manageable way (Lund, 2014). Lund (2014) advocates that case studies can be located within the two continuums: from the specific to the general, and from the concrete to the abstract. Following this line of thought, the case study presented in this research is specifically and concretely about a resettlement policy, which relocated people from Old Padampur to New Padampur. The concrete and general dimension of this study is land redistribution policies. The specific and abstract is related to community perceptions of fairness in New Padampur. The final dimension, the general and abstract, can be related to broader theories on egalitarian motivated land redistribution policies that suppose primacy of equality in organising society. Hence, this case study moves beyond being the natural description of something specific, and towards being an analytical abstraction of real world phenomena that can be related to broader complex perceptions in society. As outlined in the introduction, this study is concerned with building on existing knowledge on resettlement policies, but from a different angle. This study can, therefore, be seen as a way to acquire more knowledge on a subject, and it can be generalized towards claiming whether egalitarian land redistribution policies are considered fair.

To investigate the relationship between equality and fairness as an outcome of the resettlement process we are conducting a case study applying a sequential explanatory design. Yin (2009) highlights how a well-done case study should triangulate data. Using mixed methods to deepen the understanding of a research matter can be a way of triangulating data since it tests the validity of the results (Ivankova, Creswell, & Stick, 2006). The sequential explanatory design is a mixed-method approach constituting a quantitative section guiding the design of the qualitative one (Ivankova et al., 2006). Central to the sequentially carried out research is that the data collection happens in two consecutive phases but within the same study (Ivankova et al., 2006).

The methodology of this study consists of three separated but concatenated phases shown in Figure 3. First, through the use of satellite imagery analysis, we have **examined the distribution of land in New Padampur**. This has been done by using Google Earth Pro to measure the different plots in the village. McLean (1999) notes that big landowners are located in the Northern part of New Padampur, and small landowners are located in the South. Since the village is a gridlocked system, the sizes of plots from South to North within a line are considered to be constant across the village. By taking this into account when sampling, taking two random sections from South to North is comparable to a

random sample. These measures increase the chances of obtaining a sample that can then be considered representative of the village, and the result can, therefore, be extrapolated to cover the entire village. After the initial mapping of plots in New Padampur, we conducted a field check, by measuring the size of the plots and asking residents directly whether they owned the land next to their house and what was its size, and made some minor corrections (see Appendix). Since the mapping of land is done by creating polygons, and since these will never correspond completely to reality we rounded them to fit with the information we obtained during fieldwork. This was done by correcting for the fact that the smallest unit of unsplittable land is one kattha. Hence, if a polygon shows a plot size of 3.2 katthas it has been corrected to 3 katthas.

In the second phase of the data collection, we conducted a lab-in-the-field experiment (LFE) to examine: firstly, how the respondents perceived the government-mandated resettlement process; and secondly, what they considered a fair distribution of land in their ideal society. For the first part, we used a baseline of land distribution in Old Padampur. These calculations were based on Joshi (2013), which was the only available source. Joshi (2013) groups farms in Old Padampur into four categories. Small farms with a size of 0-6 katthas, medium farms being 6-20 katthas, large farms sized 1 biga to 4 bigas, and very large farms having a size of more than 4 bigas. In establishing this baseline, we had to make some assumptions. Firstly, we treated the four categories as internally homogenous; secondly, we used the average value of the categories; and thirdly, we assumed that they were proportionally increasing in size. After establishing the baseline for the land distribution in Old Padampur, we calculated it into quintiles and did a pilot-experiment where the respondent was shown a pie-chart. We found that a pie-chart was too abstract a visualization of the quintiles, and subsequently produced a chart (Figure 3), which was then used for the LFE. The chart represented the land belonging to the community, depicted as 5 different households, which represented the entire village. Beans were used to denote land units. In the first phase, 39 beans represented the total amount of land in Old Padampur and were allocated to quintiles as shown in Figure 4. Since the total amount of land in New Padampur was reduced compared to the amount of land in Old Padampur, the respondents were first asked to

Figure 3 - LFE land distribution chart

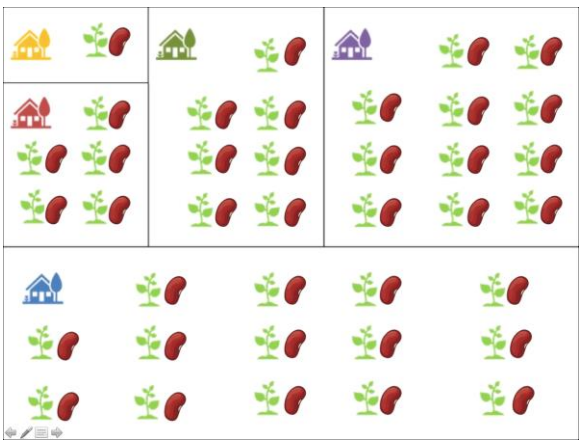

Figure 4 - LFE land units distribution

remove 12 beans according to whom they thought lost land in the resettlement process. This part of the LFE examined the respondents' knowledge of the resettlement process. In the second part of the LFE, we asked the respondents to redistribute the 27 remaining beans according to what they perceive as a fair distribution of land in their ideal society. Having both the perception of the government-mandated land redistribution and the perception of what an ideal and fair society would look like gives us the possibility to **evaluate what residents consider fair in terms of the distribution of land in an ideal resettlement policy.**

FIGURE 5

Visual Model for Mixed-Methods
Sequential Explanatory Design Procedures

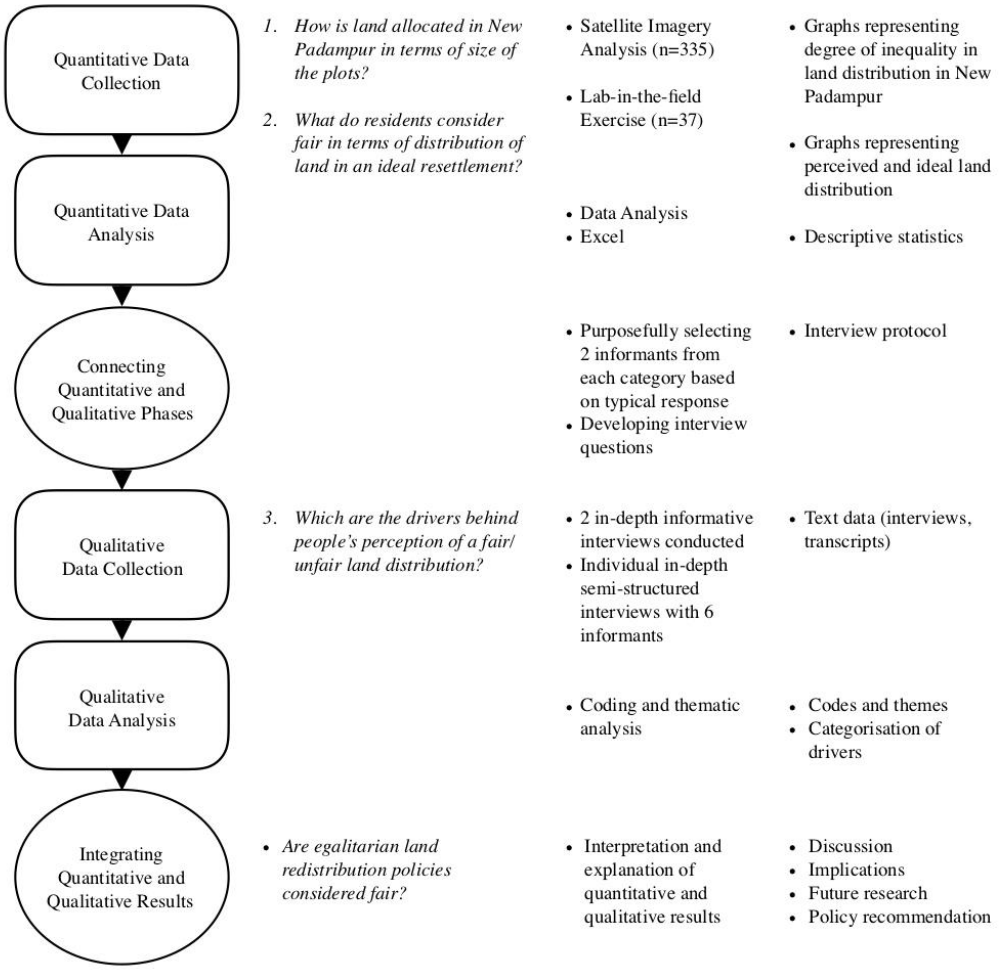

Figure 5 - Visual Model for Mixed-Methods apprehended from Ivankova et al., (2006).

As Gilligan, Pasquale, and Samii (2014) note, the high level of illiteracy in Nepal poses some difficulties in having people participate in lab-in-the-field experiments. One way of overcoming this is supervision (Gilligan et al., 2014). However, being present while respondents are conducting an experiment poses some problems due to potential social desirability bias where the participants give answers they think the researchers would like to hear (Gilligan et al., 2014). Moreover, the presence of family or community members observing the interviews might have led the respondents to express opinions that they regarded to be socially accepted in the community or their household rather than expressing their own beliefs and opinions freely. In more than one occasion, the spectators expressed their preference or suggestions on how to complete the experiment. From the beginning, it was made clear to the respondents that they could do anything they wanted to, and that all answers were good answers, but that they themselves had to move the beans.

In order to describe the degree of inequality in the different distributions, we present the Gini coefficient associated with them. For considerations and limitations on this index, see the Appendix. Based on valuable insights from Starmans et al. (2017), this study incorporates the findings from Norton and Ariely (2011), and compare the ideal land distribution in New Padampur to the ideal wealth distribution in the US found by (Norton & Ariely, 2011). While Norton and Ariely (2011) examine a monetary distribution, we examine a spatially delimited resource, and hence the Gini coefficient for income distributions could potentially be higher than for land distributions. We have kept this in mind, and when comparing the resources from two different domains, we acknowledge the difference in said domains.

Starmans et al. (2017) note, that the concept of fairness is susceptible to equality bias, and therefore the design of the LFE has taken this concern into account. First, we chose an uneven number of beans (39) to be allocated in the chart depicting Old Padampur. Consequently, when the respondents were asked to remove 12 beans, that left them with a number (27) that is impossible to distribute equally among the quintiles. In addition, Dawes, Fowler, Johnson, McElreath, and Smirnov (2007) highlight how humans are subject to augmenting others' income even at a personal cost even when there is no cooperative behaviour to be enforced. Dawes et al. (2007) show that greater inequality goes with stronger negative emotions towards top earners. When estimating the land distribution in Old Padampur the calculations we made underestimated the actual degree of inequality in land distribution in Old Padampur. The conservative estimation, as explained further in section 9, minimizes the equality bias.

The answers given by the respondents were used to guide the qualitative and third phase of the research. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, we deepened the understanding of the **drivers of the perception of fairness**. While conducting the interviews, we made use of an interview

guide, which can be seen in the Appendix. As recommended by Bryman (2016), we started with relatable and factual questions, in order to create a comfortable environment for the respondents.

At the end of each interview, we showed the respondents the ideal distribution they selected during the LFE and conducted a PRA exercise in order to examine further the individualistic or collectivistic reasoning behind their perception of fairness. During the LFE the respondents were asked to distance themselves from their own social position and could fall in any of the 5 categories depicted in the chart, meaning that we put the respondents under what Rawls calls the veil-of-ignorance (Rawls, 1971). During the PRA we removed the veil-of-ignorance so that the respondents could indicate what category they thought they belonged to, thus becoming aware of their own social position. The respondents were asked whether they would prefer ten beans to be equally shared between the five quintiles of New Padampur, meaning that the category that they belong to would get two beans or whether they would rather have four beans to themselves and nothing for the rest of the community. After the conclusion of the PRA exercise, we dedicated some time to take possible queries from the informant.

4. A dialogue between theories

A central framework holding equality as the fundamental baseline for distributive justice and devising fair principles to govern socio-economic order is drawn by John Rawls (1999, 2001) in his theory of justice. According to him, the principles of a just society are drawn by free and equally situated citizens, having an impartial point of view. This is ensured by the fact that the parties are under a veil-of-ignorance, unaware of their characteristics and position in the society. Furthermore, they have an equal interest in holding primary goods, which are resources that every rational individual is presumed to want more of (Rawls, 1999). The individual's command over these resources becomes the basis of having a fair distribution of advantages amongst people. Rawls (2001) suggests that an ideal distribution of primary goods is devised on equality-based reciprocity captured in the second principle of justice. This explains that a departure from an equal distribution is perceived as fair when 1) inequality assists in generating equal access to opportunities i.e positions and occupations open for all 2) inequality leads to preferential treatment towards the least advantaged members in society. According to Rawls (2001), what constitutes a primary good depends on the specificity of every context. This presumed importance of equality-driven fairness in resource distribution was central to the resettlement policy of Old Padampur. Given the importance of agricultural land in shaping the socio-economic order of the Old Padampur community, we argue that land constitutes a primary good.

Sen (1992) provides significant insights on assessing the consequences of such pursuits of equality by giving due regard to the empirical fact of "human diversity", i.e. the presence of heterogeneity in people's internal characteristics and external circumstances. According to him, due to the presence of interpersonal diversities, equality in one space tends to go with inequality in another (Sen, 1992). He evaluates Rawls' theory of justice as aiming for fair equality in opportunity by equalisation in primary goods. In his interpretation of the Rawlsian approach, Sen seeks to direct the assessment of equality towards "freedoms enjoyed" by people rather than limiting it to the outcomes achieved (Sen, 1992).

Sen's critique of Rawlsian equality within a resources paradigm consists of two main arguments. Firstly, he posits that each person has their own comprehensive view of the good, leading to interpersonal variations in what we value as an end (Sen, 1992). This plurality makes it difficult to ascertain an ideal scheme of distributing the means to freedom (i.e primary goods), independent of the end goals (Sen, 1992). Secondly, equality in the distribution of primary goods cannot generate equal capabilities and freedoms to pursue the ends. Since equality in holding primary resources goes hand in hand with serious inequalities in the actual freedoms enjoyed by different persons, it affects how resources are translated into one's conception of good (Sen, 1992). He, therefore, presents cases where equality of primary goods can give a disadvantaged person "less freedom to achieve and not just less achievement with respect to one comprehensive doctrine" (Sen, 1992, p. 84). This critique provides valuable insights for our study, suggesting that equal distribution of a resource might not necessarily be an ideal condition in itself, as the freedoms to achieve subjective end goals are not equal in society.

Based on this reasoning, Sen (1992) theorizes a defence of inequalities. He presents that pursuit of equality cannot be examined without including the broader context of "internal plurality" of demands and recognition of other claims that take us beyond basal equality in general. In practice, inequalities in certain variables can be defended and accepted as fair, without disputing the relevance of equality for social arrangements (Sen, 1992). His arguments highlight how the demand for equality can be misplaced in the wrong variable, or how inequality in a particular context may be bad, but the "badness may be outweighed by its efficiency advantages" (Sen, 1992, p. 139). This suggests that eliminating inequality might lead to worse consequences for the position of all or most people (Sen, 1992). Thus, certain inequalities are accepted as beneficial and fair for various concerns of encouraging free choice and individual incentive, or preserving productive asymmetries in social arrangements.

A complementary theoretical analysis relevant for understanding the ethics of social arrangements in peasant societies is presented by Scott (1976). He delineated how the crucial struggle for peasant cultivators facing precarious environments is securing basic reliable subsistence, and the

consequential “fear of dearth” explains the atypical socio-economic arrangements accepted in society. Scott (1976) calls this primordial necessity the subsistence ethic, which is rooted in the economic practices and social exchanges of peasant societies. Various forms of entitlements like access to land rights, redistributive mechanisms, and forms of reciprocity linked peasants to elites and one another. Far from being radically egalitarian, these socio-economic arrangements are valued for their role in providing subsistence insurance, reducing undue risks and improving stability for peasant households, even at the cost of a reduction in status, autonomy or average returns. He further emphasizes that developments in capitalism, commercialisation of agrarian relations, and growth of centralising state, act as forces that challenge the societal layers of subsistence customs and “replace them with contracts, the market, and uniform laws.” (Scott, 1976, p. 189). A cross-cultural discussion is built by Guneratne (1996) who places Scott’s claims in the context of Chitwan’s Tharu society and identifies that peasants in Old Padampur preferred subsistence strategies that ensured survival and livelihood security through other means than controlling land. He claims that a situation of “voluntary landlessness” was idealised amongst the peasantry to avoid administrative burdens associated with land ownership, while receiving minimum requirements of food, clothing and shelter in exchange for their labour on landowner properties.

This study makes use of the above mentioned theoretical discussions and their nuanced observations to understand what the residents of New Padampur perceive as fair in the distribution of land, and how that can be used as a case to evaluate the perceived fairness of egalitarian land redistribution policies.

5. Is equality fair?

The objective of the quantitative section of this study is twofold: first, it aims at calculating the current land distribution in New Padampur, and second, it seeks to understand what residents consider fair for an ideal resettlement policy.

In order to address the first objective, we conducted a satellite imagery analysis. The data obtained are used to inform a bar chart representing the land distribution in New Padampur at the time of our study. Each category of the bar chart constitutes a quintile (20%) of the population, while the size of each category represents the amount of land in percentages belonging to that quintile. The actual land distribution in the village has a Gini coefficient of 0.416. Furthermore, the analysis of the distribution of plots confirmed what was noted by McLean (1999), that bigger plots tend to be allocated in the northern part of the village, while smaller plots tend to be found mostly in the South.

As per the second objective of the quantitative analysis, the two different phases of the experiment address (1) the perceived effect of the government policy on land redistribution and (2) the ideal land distribution in a fair society. On average, in the first phase of the experiment, the respondents showed knowledge of the resettlement policy, given that the majority of them considered the largest landowners to be those that lost the largest amount of land in the resettlement process. In addition, the average distribution of land that emerged from this phase of the experiment has a Gini coefficient of 0.236.

For the ideal land distribution, the respondents on average provided a more equal allocation of land than the actual resettlement policy. This shows that people tend to prefer what Starmans et al. (2017) has named "fair inequality". The level of inequality obtained in the ideal distribution is not only due to the methodological design, i.e. that the respondents had an uneven number of land units to allocate (27) but rather the fact that the respondents preferred a certain level of inequality. The uneven number of beans to be allocated would only explain a difference of one or two land units allocated to each quintile in the disaggregated data. If all respondents allocated the two land units to the same categories, creating an average distribution such as 5-5-5-6-6 or 5-5-5-5-7, the Gini coefficient would be 0.044 and 0.059, respectively. Instead, the average ideal land distribution has a Gini coefficient of 0.140, which means that, on average, the respondents considered an unequal land distribution fair.

However, the ideal distribution found among the respondents in New Padampur has a lower degree of inequality than that reported by Norton and Ariely (2011) regarding ideal wealth distribution in the United States. The difference in the degree of inequality can be partly explained by the fact that land and wealth are two different primary goods, and that affects the degree of inequality that tends to be present in the two distributions. These different outcomes in the fair distributions of resources can also find an explanation in context specificity. For example, exposure to large scale institutions alters the perception of fairness (Henrich et al., 2010). Henrich et al. (2005) find that preferences over economic choices are affected by group-specific, economic and social interactions of everyday life. The degree of inequality in what is considered a fair distribution of primary resources in two very different societies could be identified as a preference over economic choices, and consequently be highly dependent on factors such as social institutions or cultural fairness norms.

We find further correspondence between our findings and the results obtained by Norton and Ariely (2011) when looking at the comparison among the 3 different results presented in Figure 6 and 7. The level of inequality is the highest in the actual distribution of land as calculated with the satellite imagery analysis, while the respondents' perception shows a lower estimation of the inequality level. Accordingly, the graph presented in Norton and Ariely (2011) depicts a high level of actual wealth inequality in the United States, which is underestimated by the respondents. As for the ideal

distributions, both in Norton and Ariely (2011) and according to our results, the respondents favour a certain level of inequality. This result might seem to contradict the studies conducted in lab settings that find a general preference for perfect equality (Starmans et al., 2017). That is, when respondents are undergoing an experiment in a lab setting and with a small number of people among which to distribute different kinds of resources, they show a preference for perfect equality, or equality bias (Starmans et al., 2017). But when referring to real-world distributions among a higher number of subjects, the inequality bias takes over - in other words, respondents prefer unequal distributions.

Figure 6 - The actual land distribution in New Padampur plotted against the perceived and ideal distributions across all respondents.

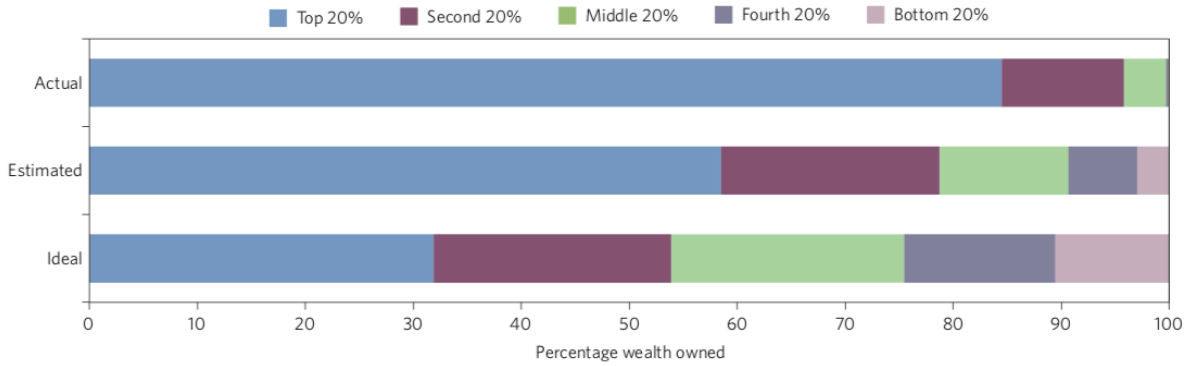

Figure 7 - The actual US wealth distribution plotted against the estimated and ideal distributions across all respondents (Norton & Ariely, 2011 in Starmans et al., 2017)

The reason behind this difference in preference is that the central parameter is not the degree of equality in a certain distribution, but rather its fairness (Starmans et al., 2017). Experiments conducted in laboratory settings are based on an assumption of random characteristics of the recipients of resources, and thus there is no reason not to distribute equally. As Starmans et al. (2017) note introducing differences in merit makes people prefer fair inequality over unfair equality. However as noted by Schäfer et al. (2015) merit-based fairness varies across cultures, and hence the drivers for fair inequality in New Padampur need further examination.

Given the relevance of the drivers of the fair distribution, besides taking into account the average values, we analysed the disaggregated data. After finding no variations considering the fair distribution of land according to gender, age, and size of land owned, we proceeded with dividing the experiment outcomes into three categories: (1) an unequal distribution favouring large landowners; (2) an equal distribution; and (3) an unequal distribution favouring small landowners. For each of the categories, we conducted two in-depth semi-structured interviews. By doing that we shed light on the reasons behind the different perceptions of fair distributions

6. What is fair?

In the following sections, we will build on the results found in the quantitative analysis through a two-part qualitative analysis. First, based on 6 qualitative semi-structured interviews we will analyse the different reasons our respondent gave for favouring inequality or equality in terms of land in their ideal society and why they found this a fair distribution of land. This will be done by identifying overarching themes and arguments that our respondents expressed during interviews. Second, we will analyze the results from the PRA exercises conducted at the end of each interview to shed further light on the drivers behind their perception of fairness and their ideal distribution of land.

6.1 What drives fairness?

As was argued in section 5, our quantitative analysis revealed that on average our respondents tended to prefer an unequal distribution of land, however, they didn't always prefer the same kind of inequality. Some preferred an unequal distribution favouring the small landowners, whilst others preferred an unequal distribution favouring the large landowners. Similarly, they also justified this inequality differently.

Some of our respondents explained how small landowners were often relatively more hardworking than large landowners. Small landowners also had more experience tilling the land and could thus be regarded as better farmers and they, therefore, argued that this justified that small landowners should own more land than the large landowners. Similarly, other respondents also justified inequality based on a difference in which skills people possessed, though these respondents advocated for inequality favouring the large landowners. They argued that large farmers possessed better farming skills and had more knowledge of good farming practices. One respondent, for instance, claimed that larger landowners were better at minimizing their use of fertilizer. Some also mentioned how small landowners were often adopting traditional farming practices that were less efficient than the modern practices that large landowners had attained. Large landowners were also described as being more conscious of time, which could further increase the output of the land. In contrast, they, therefore, advocated for inequality favouring the large landowners.

The beliefs expressed by these respondents show clear resemblances with the arguments of Sen (1992). Sen argues that inequality can be justified when equality is conflictual with efficiency concerns. When inequality is disadvantageous in one space, this may be outweighed by the efficiency advantages of the very same inequality. This leads Sen to argue that giving more resources to people that are more able and skilled than others would ensure more efficient use of capabilities (Sen, 1992). In much the same lines of thinking, the respondents justify inequality in the distribution of land by arguing that some members of the community are more hardworking or skilled in terms of farming practices. For this reason, more land should be allocated to them since this would make everyone in the community better off.

Furthermore, some of our respondents believed that the resettlement policy had reduced the land of large landowners too much. In their eyes, this was unfair since large landowners were disproportionately negatively affected by the resettlement process compared to the rest of the community. They believed that the community should have been more equally affected by the resettlement process and perceived the egalitarian motivated redistribution of land from the larger landowners to the smaller landowners as unfair. The thoughts of these respondents are rather similar to the arguments of Sen (1992). Sen argues that inequality can be defended by what he calls "the wrong space argument". As described in section 4 according to Sen equality in one space will inevitably lead to inequality in some other space. The wrong space argument implies that the current equality exists in the wrong space and should rather have been found in some other space (Sen, 1992). In this case, the respondents expressed how inequality in terms of land was perceived as fair, instead, it was the fact that the land redistribution of the resettlement policy affected the members of the community unequally that was deemed unfair. Thus, according to them inequality existed in the wrong space and should have instead been found in the distribution of land rather than in the impact of the resettlement policy. In this way, Sens wrong space argument is useful in explaining why some respondents considered the egalitarian motives of the resettlement process as unfair and defended inequality in land distribution.

Other respondents emphasized the social order in the community when justifying inequality favouring the large landowners. For instance, one respondent expressed how an unequal distribution of land was, in fact, beneficial to the social order in the community in terms of the distribution of labour. He emphasized the necessity of having people that owned only little land for them to work on the farms of large landowners. If everyone owned large amounts of land, the community would lack agricultural workers to farm the land. In much the same way, Sen argues that inequality in some cases can benefit the social order within a community. For instance, some people should have more authority than others and be in charge of making operational decisions to avoid confusion and ensure efficiency of

operation. According to the views of the respondents described above, this also justifies why only some people should be large landowners whilst others should work as agricultural workers, since this distribution of labour would ensure a more efficient use of resources. This efficiency would, in turn, benefit all members of the community, including the landless people and small landowners.

Further to this, some respondents expressed how the unequal distribution of land also benefited landless people in a range of other dimensions. For instance, by not owning land in Old Padampur, people were exempted from having to pay government taxes and administering the farming of the land. In addition, in New Padampur small landowners often had other sources of income and therefore wouldn't need as much land to sustain their livelihoods. For instance, many small landowners would take jobs in the city or run small shops to contribute to their household income. Large landowners, on the other hand, only earned money through farming. Moreover, some respondents who owned large amounts of land in Old Padampur also emphasized how large landowners would often help out small landowners and landless people in times of need. They would provide them with food or money in order to make sure that they could sustain their livelihoods. For these reasons, some of our respondents described the relationship between large landowners and agricultural workers as being reciprocal and symbiotic and they, therefore, argued that the unequal land distribution was highly beneficial for all members of the community.

The opinions expressed by these respondents have many similarities with the arguments of Guneratne (1996). Guneratne points out that land in Old Padampur was abundant because of the adjacent jungle and for this reason landless people could at any time easily have acquired more land if they wished to. All they had to do was to start farming new land and it would be considered theirs by the community. However, Guneratne (1996) argues that because of the burdens and risks of owning land, such as finding people to work the land in a society where labour was scarce and having to pay taxes to the government, landless people had actively chosen to be landless out of their own free will. According to Guneratne (1996), landless people, therefore, benefitted from owning no land and hence could be considered voluntarily landless.

Thus, what makes the unequal distribution of land fair in the eyes of these respondents was that it benefited the least advantaged members of the community. This is equivalent to the second part of Rawls second principle as described in section 4. Rawls argues that people when being under the veil-of-ignorance would choose an unequal distribution of resources that benefits the least advantaged in society because they could themselves potentially be belonging to this category. It can, therefore, be argued that by claiming that some degree of inequality in the distribution of land benefits the least advantaged these respondents were to a large extent voicing the second part of Rawls second principle (Rawls, 1999, 2001).

However, in contradiction to the views of the above-mentioned respondents, others expressed a deep discontent with the unequal distribution of land in Old Padampur and felt highly disadvantaged by owning only a little or no land at all. In Old Padampur, landless people and small landowners would earn a large part of their income by farming the land of large landowners. However, as many of our respondents pointed out the day wages for agricultural workers were very low and thus insufficient to sustain a decent livelihood. Moreover, landless people would commit themselves to farm the land of their employer for one year at a time and would receive a part of the harvested crops as payment for their work. Though, some of our respondents pointed out how they would have preferred money as payment rather than crops. Further to this, landless people and small landowners would live in the homes of the large landowners whilst working their land. However, this also meant that landless people had no home of their own and were forced to move once their employment was terminated. One respondent who was landless in Old Padampur explained how owning her own land in New Padampur meant that no one could push her and her household out of their home and stressed how owning her own land today in New Padampur was valuable to her. For this reason, some of our respondents stressed how they were not landless by choice and would have gladly taken more land if they had been given the opportunity. According to them, the relationship between large landowners and agricultural workers could therefore not be characterized as symbiotic since landless people and small landowners were disadvantaged by it.

Thus, our analysis indicates that not all landless people were in favour of the unequal distribution of land. This raises doubt about Guneratne's argument on voluntary landlessness and brings into question whether landless people were indeed landless because they preferred to be so. On the other hand, Scott (1976) argues that the ownership of land is one of the most important guarantees of subsistence in peasant societies and underlines how ownership of land is often valued and highly favoured over tenancy or casual labour (Scott, 1976). Scott's views are thus more in accordance with the opinions expressed by the respondents, who felt disadvantaged by not owning land.

Finally, in contrast to the above-described respondents, some of our respondents were strongly in favour of an equal distribution of land. They argued that everyone should benefit equally from the land distribution since ownership of land was considered crucial for one's ability to advance socially and economically in life. In the first part of Rawls second principle, Rawls argues that social and economic inequalities can only be justified when they are attached to positions in society that are open to all members of society under fair equality of opportunity (Rawls, 1999, 2001). Thus, everyone must have equal access to these opportunities regardless of their economic and social background. However, since our respondents stressed how being landless can negatively affect the economic and social opportunities that one has access to, inequality in the distribution of land cannot be justified.

Instead, they wanted the distribution of land to be equal in order to ensure that everyone had equal access to the same opportunities to advance in life.

6.2 I deserve, or we deserve?

As mentioned in section 3, at the end of our qualitative interviews we asked our respondents to complete a brief PRA exercise in which we asked them whether they would prefer getting ten beans to be divided equally in the community or four beans to themselves if New Padampur was made up of just five people. When conducting this PRA exercise, participants were not asked to distance themselves from their own social position in the community. Thus, we did not attempt to create Rawls veil-of-ignorance in which people have no knowledge of their only societal position.

In total, four of our respondents chose four beans to themselves, whilst the remaining two respondents chose ten beans to the community. Thus, our interview respondents on average depicted a more individualistic behaviour. According to Starmans et al. (2017), sometimes people prefer inequality, not because of a desire for fairness but instead because they wish to have more than others. People engage in constant comparison of themselves to others and knowing that they are relatively better off can have a substantial effect on their happiness. Therefore, a preference for inequality might reflect an underlying desire to improve one's societal standing relative to others. In this way, the individualistic behaviour shown by our respondents may be explained by a desire for relative advantage associated with an unequal distribution of beans (Starmans et al., 2017). In addition, Rawls argues that people are rational and self-utility maximising and would always seek to increase their own primary goods (Rawls, 1999, 2001). When under the veil-of-ignorance Rawls argues that people would choose a distribution of primary goods that benefits the least advantaged because they themselves might belong to this category. In this light, the individualistic behaviour shown by the respondents in the PRA exercise when not asked to distance themselves from their societal position can, therefore, be seen as an attempt to maximize the primary goods that they have access to.

7. Are egalitarian land redistribution policies fair?

The central aim of this analysis has been to examine whether the land redistribution policy enacted in New Padampur was considered fair by the members of the community. To address this objective, we carried out both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

The main finding of the quantitative section of this study is that respondents in New Padampur show a preference for a land distribution characterized by a certain degree of inequality, that is regarded as fair. What matters in a distribution is not the level of inequality, but rather its fairness. This preference for fair inequality is motivated by a variety of rationales, which were informed by respondents'

subjective experience of the redistribution itself. In addition, fair inequality can assume different forms, according to whether the respondents preferred a distribution that favours small or large landowners.

To conclude, it became apparent during the analysis of this study that fairness should be the guiding principle of distribution policies, not equality. In an attempt to answer our research question, namely whether egalitarian land redistribution policies are considered fair, three elements are to be compared: (1) land distribution in Old Padampur; (2) land distribution in New Padampur; (3) fair land distribution resulting from the respondents' preference. As shown in Figure 8, the current land distribution in New Padampur is more similar to that identified as "fair" by our respondents. However, fairness is a layered concept, that is subject to a vast array of interpretations. In particular, the respondents had very different reasoning behind what kind of inequality they would accept in a fair society, and who deserves to own more or less land. This implies that there is neither one single definition of fairness nor one definitive judgement on the new land distribution's degree of fairness. Therefore, even if the land allocation to the quintiles of the population in New Padampur is visually more similar to what the respondents consider a fair distribution of land, we cannot argue that the distribution resulting from the enactment of the resettlement policy is fairer. Rather, it has a degree of inequality that is closer to the one that our respondents associate with a fair distribution of land.

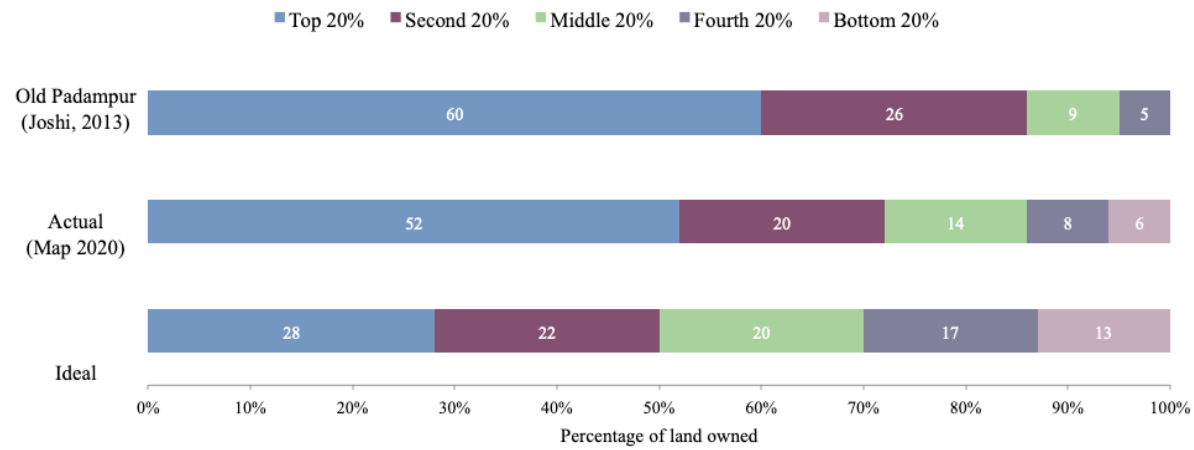

Figure 8 - Comparison between land distributions in Old and New Padampur and ideal land distribution

8. Limitations

Through the conduction of fieldwork, several limitations were identified. These limitations are here described in order of the three phases of the research.

When calculating the distribution that we presented in the LFE based on Joshi (2013), we assumed that the land size was proportionally increasing in every category, something that has since been established not to be the case. Specifically, we assumed that the very large farms on average had 5

bigas, but when conducting the LFE we found that some of our respondents had up to more than 20 bigas. Another assumption we made was that the data was uniform in the individual categories. A way that the limitations of the calculations became apparent was by calculating the difference in the degree of inequality. In fact, following the assumptions initially made on the categories in Joshi (2013), the land distribution would become more unequal in New Padampur, when comparing Joshi's distribution to our mapping of New Padampur. Since the policy by design equalized the land ownership, this conclusion was illogical, and therefore the calculations needed to be corrected. The rationale behind using the data was that it was the only data available, and the rationale behind the calculations was based on missing information, which was only obtainable during fieldwork.

The polygons created in Google Earth Pro are not precise, and in some instances, it was not possible to ask people whether the information gained from the satellite imagery analysis was correct. In addition, some of the plots did not have attached housing, therefore best estimates were used.

The data used as the baseline for the LFE has some limitations that arise from the use of a conservative estimation of the land distribution. Therefore, when the respondents were asked to take away 12 beans, the perceived distribution becomes affected by it. First, if the respondents were to remove land corresponding to the actual amount of land lost during resettlement, then 18 beans should have been removed. Another factor was that while conducting the experiment the respondents were only allowed to remove beans and not to redistribute them. That means, that even though some people gained land after the resettlement policy, the respondents were not able to accurately depict this.

9. Methods discussed

This study takes the point of departure in an estimation of the inequality of land distribution in Old Padampur that, as became clear while conducting fieldwork, is conservative. This revelation bears important consequences for the interpretation of part of the results. In particular, since the conservative land distribution was used to build the graphs and visualizations employed during the experiment, it affected the respondents' perception of land distribution in New Padampur. However, the data obtained remain relevant both because they show that the respondents fully grasped the game because it proves that they had knowledge of the government policy, which adds validity to their consideration of a fair or ideal society. In addition, the distribution shown to our respondents was less unequal than the one that was present in Old Padampur. Hence, part of the potential equality bias arising from negative emotions towards top owners in highly unequal settings can be overcome (Dawes et al., 2007). Moreover, the issues encountered with the land distribution derived from Joshi (2013) do not affect the results from the second phase of the experiments, concerned with the ideal distribution of land in a fair society. After the realization of the conservativeness in our estimation of

the degree inequality of land distribution in Old Padampur, we attempted to recalculate the degree of inequality by keeping into account the information on land distribution collected during fieldwork.

First, the overview of land distribution in Old Padampur presented in Joshi (2013) does not take into consideration the fact that 13% of the households were landless in the old settlement (Dhakal et al., 2011). This became apparent when considering that the percentage of households in the category that he defines as small (plots smaller than 0.204 ha, or 6 katthas) went from accounting for 9.72% of the population in Old Padampur to 33.33% after the resettlement. Given that the households that owned less than 1 biga did not lose land whatsoever, the increase in the percentage is explicable only by considering that all those that were landless obtained 3 katthas of land in New Padampur. Some of the increase in the percentage of the smallest category could also be explained by the fact that, as some of our informants pointed out, a few households could have split the land among different members, thus dividing the household into two or more units, in order not to lose land in the resettlement process. However, this opportunity was not made known to the majority of the population - according to our informants, Tharu people, who were the majority of the population in Old Padampur (Dhakal et al., 2011), were generally not informed about this - thus this practice could explain the increase only partially.

In addition, during fieldwork, it was discovered that some of the plots owned by our respondents in Old Padampur were bigger than initially estimated. In the initial calculation, we estimated an average of 5 bigas in the top quintile of the population, but this seems to be too conservative.

But this distribution remains problematic. That is, it sums up to a total size of land in the old settlement that is much higher than that reported by Dhakal et al. (2011), namely 3133.9 ha versus 1800 ha. The total area of land would still be overestimated if considering the average in the largest category - larger than 2.62 ha - as just slightly bigger than 2.62 ha or almost 4 bigas. A possible explanation could be that Joshi (2013) uses households as the unit of analysis, and there could be problems with double counting. Since some people split up plots within the household, some households could be incorporated twice in the representation of landowners in Old Padampur. In addition, the overestimation of the total size could be due to the fact that a number of our informants reported farming government-owned land in Old Padampur, in some cases in plots as big as the one that they had legal ownership on. It is possible that Dhakal et al. (2011) do not take this into account, while the informants of Joshi (2013) did consider the government-owned land as part of the household's property. While this concern must be kept into account when looking at the distribution presented by Joshi (2013), this increases the accuracy of the estimation of the existing level of inequality in the society, as it depicts the size of plots farmed by each household instead of merely land ownership. Furthermore, it must be noted that some of our informants mentioned a slight

uncertainty with regards to land size in Old Padampur. This was not only due to the time passed, but also to the fact that ownership titles were not perfectly defined in the old settlement, and to the frequent flooding of the Rapti river, that delimited the northern border of the village, into a number of plots.

When allowing for larger plots of land in the top quintile, and when considering the 13% of landless households missing from Joshi's estimation, the land distribution in Old Padampur would have a Gini coefficient of 0.564, compared to an initially estimated coefficient of 0.316 (Figure 9). In hindsight, we should have conducted a survey on land distribution in Old Padampur before carrying out the LFE. That would have made us capable of making the calculations for land distribution in Old Padampur shown in Figure 9 and would have made up for a more realistic depiction of the distribution. This would hence also have allowed for a more realistic depiction of the perceived land distribution as given by the respondents during the LFE.

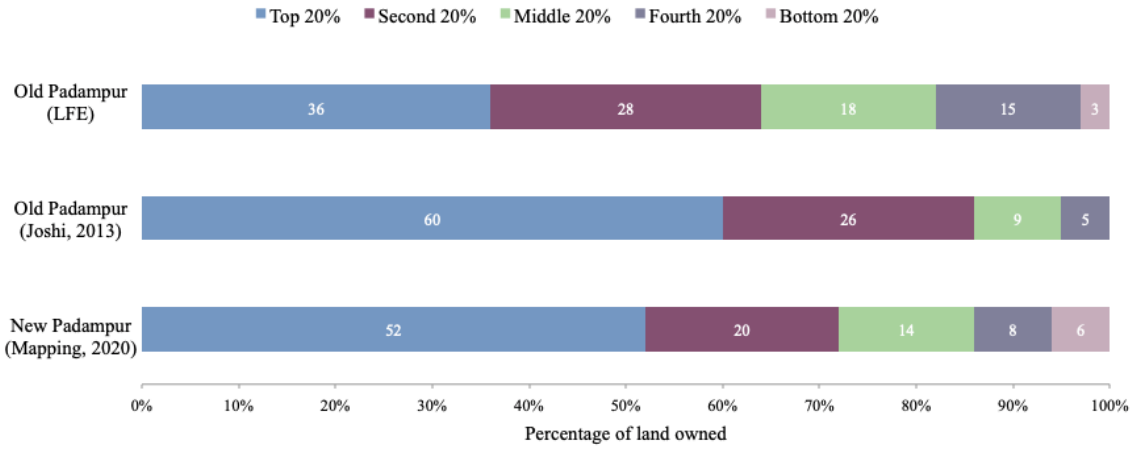

Figure 9 - Old Padampur LFE, Old Padampur (Joshi, 2013 - corrected) and New Padampur (2020).

Looking at the corrected land distribution in Old Padampur, as shown on Figure 9, it becomes apparent that the land resettlement policy did make the general land distribution more equal, as shown in the bar chart Actual (2020). Part of this is because the previous landless obtained 3 katthas of land in the new settlement, while the bigger landowners - those that owned more than 1 biga - lost land, thus by design making the distribution more equal. This is reflected in the fact that the first and second quintile have become smaller relatively. However, the land distribution in the new site is still more unequal than the one that our respondents, on average, consider a fair land distribution. That means that the actual land distribution currently observable in New Padampur is still not what would be defined by the informants as fairly unequal, and instead partly reiterates inequalities in land distribution that were present in the original settlement, and are considered unfair.

Despite the limitations highlighted in the dedicated section, and their implications listed above, the results obtained in the LFE remain valid. The main consequence of building the experiment upon a

conservative estimation of the degree of inequality is not that the relevance of the results is tout-court compromised, but rather that the results need to be interpreted differently. In particular, we no longer consider the results obtained from the first phase of the experiment to depict the respondents' perception of the actual land distribution in Old Padampur. Instead, those results are now a valid demonstration to the informants understanding of the resettlement policy, which endowed them with the knowledge necessary to provide an accurate and thoughtful fair land distribution. Moreover, the limitations encountered do not affect the other results presented in this analysis, that is the actual land distribution resulting from the satellite imagery analysis, the fair distribution emerging from the second phase of the LFE, and the qualitative results obtained during the interviews.

10. A position of power

To begin with, as researchers we are guests. Guests in a new culture, guests invited warmly inside the respondents personal and professional spaces and guests with their own background and biases. We attempted to explore people's preference for fair inequality in the presence of a vast economic divide and social boundaries within the resettled community. In that process, we faced three main ethical issues.

During our interviews, we wished to dwell into the relationship between the hill people and the Tharu people before and after the resettlement. However, we quickly realised that some of our respondents were reluctant to answer our question and it seemed like there had been some tension between the two groups regarding the resettlement process and the distribution of land. Despite this being an interesting angle on our research question we, therefore, decided not to pursue the topic further in order to avoid putting our respondents in an uncomfortable situation. This could also have compromised the rest of our interviews as well as our relationships with the respondents and the trust they had shown towards us.

In addition, some respondents expressed an innocent hesitation during the LFE, because they had little or no education at all, which resulted in some difficulties in counting the 39 beans used in the experiment. This suggests that we might have made them uncomfortable by putting them in a situation where they felt that they lacked the basic skills needed to complete the exercise. This was not our intention, and we did attempt to make our respondents comfortable by helping with calculations when necessary and reassuring them that there was no right or wrong answer. However, some of them, especially at the beginning of the LFE, showed signs of reluctance and worry, which thankfully faded away with time and encouragement.

Furthermore, we acknowledge the possibility of having created tensions within the households or the community at large, as an unintended consequence of opinions expressed during the LFE. When conducting the experiment, our respondents were often surrounded by curious neighbours and family members. In particular, we were struck by the fact that one woman timidly asked us whether she could participate too since her husband had already taken part in the LFE. This suggested that she considered her contribution less relevant. This interaction made us aware of the possibility of creating tension within the household itself, when the opinion expressed by an informant was not shared by other members of the household, especially by those in a position of power.

11. Conclusion

In this report, we have examined whether resettlement policies aimed at creating a more egalitarian distribution of land are considered to be fair. Specifically, we have analysed the perceptions of fairness of the new land distribution that resulted from the resettlement process of New Padampur and what a fair distribution of land would look like in an ideal society according to the residents. On average, our respondents preferred a more equal distribution that still incorporated some degrees of inequality. This was followed by a deeper analysis of the different drivers behind why our respondents thought this to be a fair distribution and a discussion of these findings in relation to mainly the theoretical frameworks of Sen (1992) and Rawls (1999, 2001), though other theoretical and analytical perspectives were also taken into account. Several overarching themes and arguments have arisen through this analysis. A significant part of the community in New Padampur considered the unequal distribution of land as fair, however, this inequality could take different forms, such as favouring either the small or the large landowners. This was justified based on differences in people's skills and knowledge of farming practices, the efficiency of a traditional distribution of labour and the benefits of an unequal distribution of land for the least advantaged members of the community. Some respondents also pointed out that the land of large landowners had been cut disproportionally much and emphasized the unfairness of the differential impact of the resettlement process. Other respondents advocated for an equal distribution of land and expressed a desire for every individual benefitting equally from the resource arguing that land was important in determining people's access to different economic and social opportunities in society.

Thus, considering an egalitarian motivated policy on redistribution as fair depends on the composite definitions of fairness adopted by the community, which go beyond giving primacy to equality. This encourages us to build a suggestion for policy considerations. Generating equality in primary resources such as landholdings as an end goal in policy impedes the project of realising substantive development. A constructive policy needs to be sensitive to community considerations on fair allocations, wherein inequalities can be valued for building sustainable, secure and beneficial social

arrangements, conscious of distinct demands to be met from the resource. Conceptions of fairness highlight the interests of the community, their rationality behind acceptable distributive patterns and the principles/norms that determine resource entitlements in society. These inputs can assist in designing inclusive policies that engage with people's preferences while reconstructing socio-economic relations through resource redistribution.

Throughout the fieldwork, it became apparent that widespread changes had occurred to the economic organization in Old Padampur *vis-a-vis* New Padampur. An example of this is that in Old Padampur land workers received food as their salary, and in New Padampur they received money. As Henrich et al. (2010) mention, greater exposure to market institutions can lead to a greater sense of fairness. Hence, our respondents might perceive a more equal society to be fair, than they would have in Old Padampur. An interesting topic for further research could, therefore, be to examine what happens to the perception of fairness after a small-scale society is forcefully incorporated into a market-based economy due to relocation.

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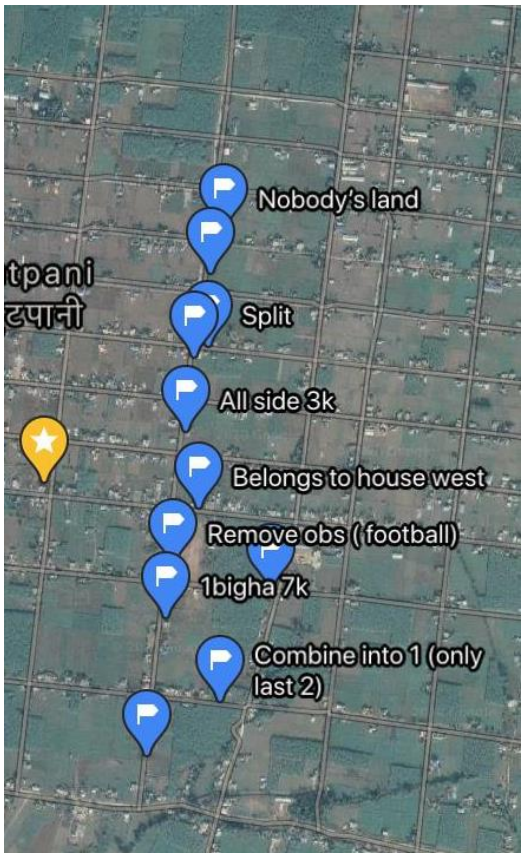
Appendix

Corrections on the satellite imagery analysis



As shown in the picture, after creating the polygons we did a field check and corrected the issues found.

Gini coefficient

For each of the land distributions presented in the paper, we associate a Gini coefficient, in order to make comparisons between different distributions more immediate and intuitive. The Gini coefficient is the most widely used measurement of inequality (Bellù & Liberati, 2006). It has found application mainly in the synthetic description of income and wealth inequality, but also, for example, as a measure of biodiversity (Wittebolle et al., 2009) and inequality in universities (Halffman & Leydesdorff, 2010). It measures the inequality of the values in a frequency distribution, and a value of 0 represents perfect equality, namely that every value in the distribution is the same (everyone has the same income, or, in our case, land size), and 1 - or a value very close to it - represents perfect inequality, meaning that, for example, only one person in the distribution owns the total amount of income. However, this only holds when the population of the frequency distribution is large. On the contrary, when the population is smaller the variability is reduced (Deltas, 2003). Therefore, when considering the Gini coefficient presented in this paper it must be noted that the index has a downward bias for small populations, meaning that for the same distribution in two populations

different in size, the Gini coefficient will be lower for the smaller population (Deltas, 2003). In our case, since we calculate the Gini coefficient based on quintiles, the maximum value that would result from a distribution where one quintile owns the total amount of land, and all the other households in the four remaining quintiles are landless, is 0.8. Another possible limitation to the accuracy of the description of this measure is related to the fact that two different distributions can result in the same Gini coefficient, as shown in table 2. One final consideration is that the Gini coefficient is a relative, not absolute, measure. In our case, that could mean that even if the number of landless decreases, the Gini coefficient could increase due to an increase in the inequality in the size of the plots.

Quintile	Land Distribution A	Land Distribution B
1st	10 bigas	4.5 bigas
2nd	15 bigas	20 bigas
3rd	20 bigas	24 bigas
4th	25 bigas	24 bigas
5th	30 bigas	26.7 bigas
Gini Coefficient	0.2	0.2

Table 1 - Two distributions with the same Gini coefficient. Apprahended from Bellú & Liberati (2006).

Interview Guide

Criteria for deciding interviewees:

Land-owning profile and preference for inequality/equality in fair distribution.

Approximate time used for each interview: 1-1.5 hours

Objectives:

What drives the perception of fairness in preferring an equal/unequal land distribution in ideal society?

How do respondents relate to other landowners in the community?

In what ways is land valued today and in Old Padampur? Were people voluntarily landless?

Given the choice of a fair society, do respondents prefer increasing individual advantage of specific households (including their own) to distributing advantages impartially in the community?

Information about the Interviewee from data already collected:

Name:

Age:

Sex:

How much land owned in Old Padampur:
How much land owned in New Padampur:
Fair Distribution, and its reasoning:

Thank you for giving us your valuable time and insights once again. The last time we met, we reflected together on the land distribution in Old Padampur and New Padampur through a game of beans. You showed us how the government changed the distribution of land (amount of land owned) when land size had to be reduced. We then talked about how you believe land should be distributed according to what you think is fair. Today, we are here to get to know you more, how your life is organised around the land you own, and more about your life in the community with other landowners. Your responses will remain anonymous/confidential and you are free to avoid answering any question according to your convenience/comfort.

Household and land characteristics
How many members are there in your household?
How much land do you own in New Padampur?
What do you farm on your land? (Majority for consumption or sale)

Land relations with people outside the household and with others landowners in the community
Do you farm your land? Or did you give your land to someone else to farm it?
How do you engage with other households (outside family relations) in agriculture? Do you engage agricultural workers or members of the community? What do you give them in return?
Do you go and farm in other people's land? What do you get in return?

Returns from land
Are you satisfied with what you get in return for agricultural work (money, reciprocal lunch, etc)?
Can your household get sufficient income with just the land given to you by resettlement?
Would you prefer to have more land than you currently own here? Why?
Did you buy more land/sell a part of your land after resettlement?

Social Cohesion
Do you have a trusted relationship with any large landowners?
Do you have a trusted relationship with any small landowners?
Do you feel like you could count on them for help?

Situational Question:

Imagine a situation wherein the harvest from your land is not sufficient for your household. What do you do? If you had to approach other members of the community (outside of your household) for help, who would you go to:

You informed us that in Old Padampur, you had _____ sized land and the land distribution was unequal.

Imagine a situation in Old Padampur wherein the harvest from your land is not sufficient for your household. What do you do? If you had to approach other members of the community (outside of your household) for help, who would you go to:

Fair distribution related questions

What can be the disadvantages of everyone having the same amount of land? What can the community lose out on if you couldn't make land distribution equal/unequal?

What makes someone a good farmer? Does all in the farming community hold these qualities?

Participatory Rural Appraisal

- Begins with revisiting the respondent's fair distribution obtained in LFE, along with the reason provided for the same.

We would like you to make another choice, based on which category you fall into out of these 5 land owning groups. If we make more land available in terms of beans (land units), would you want to have 10 beans which will be equally distributed amongst all categories (and you also get 2 beans, like everyone else) or you would prefer to have 4 beans which you can keep for your own category exclusively, without distributing.

Thank you for sharing valuable knowledge with us! If you have any questions for us, please feel free to ask.

Material for assistance in conducting PRA

Rationales for fair distribution obtained during LFE:

Those that allocated more land to large landowners think that those people deserved it because they owned more land before and it's fair for them to own more land in the new settlement; it would also be unfair to take too much land from one single category.

Those that allocated more land to small landowners think that those people deserved it either because they were disadvantaged in the previous settlement and they deserved more land in the new settlement to improve their position or because they put more direct effort in working the land than large landowners.

Those that created an equal distribution think that everybody deserves the same amount of land regardless of previous arrangements or individual characteristics; others thought that an equal distribution would decrease the possibility of exploitation in other people's fields and decrease the inequality in returns to land.