CHAPTER-SIX

DISPLACEMENT AND WOMEN

The travails of displaced women basically stem from the already existing gender inequalities within the Indian society and the family. The discrimination lies firstly for being women and secondly for not being incorporated for any decision making matter. There are intra household inequalities between males and females in terms of nutrition, ownership of land, and access over resources, literacy and so on. These inequalities tend to get aggravated at time of displacement. There have been many cases where the women’s interests were ignored when the rehabilitation policies were being implemented. Most of the time, the relief work lacks gender sensitisation. The need of the women and the girl child are not taken into consideration, which create much hardship for women. It brings traumatic experience for women. The freedom and independence of women related to their land based livelihoods was diminished by their displacement. Their economic relationship to the land was neither recognised nor compensated for. Women are worst victims. But they are rarely taken into consideration while planning for the project and the later resettlement and rehabilitation. There is a strong need for gender perspective in issue related to displacement and rehabilitation. Uranium mining project has brought several economic and social problems to the displaced women in Jadugura. Some of the impact that uranium mining project incur for women are discussed in this chapter.
6.1 Deterioration of Women Economic Autonomy

Access to land, forest, river and grazing land supports subsistence livelihood and provides greater securities against poverty to women. When, these resources are not replaced during resettlement area, they have to bear the disproportionate share of the resulting cost. It is also noted that if women do not lose complete access to these resources, increase in distance from resettlement to these common property resources will have a long term impact on women and their family income.

In Jadugura, not only the sources of livelihood had shrieked but women’s economic autonomy itself has undergone a dramatic decline. They have lost their earning from forest and other common property resources and other non-farm activities like tribal handicraft, cottage industry and livestock rearing. This economic loss then led to the loss of freedom that they had previously enjoyed in their original village. They were no longer able to buy for themselves, and with their own income, certain personal items such as jewellery, cosmetics, hair bands and ribbons. Their dependence on their husband grew, as they had to ask them for whatever they wanted to buy for their needs. Their men folk did not appreciate this situation and often rebuked the women for the family’s financial troubles. Women again are the most affected in that they are deprived of every single aspect of whatever synthesis of economic, social and cultural status they had attained and also managed to retain over generations. Forest products have declined due to construction of tailing ponds and mining in forest area. As a consequence, the income of tribal and other rural women from forest based activities has reduced drastically. With deprivation of land, forest and non-wood forest products as a consequence of displacement, women are no more equal partners with men in the tribal society in food
gathering, hunting and cultivation. This resulted into the loss of their freedom in social matters and their independence in economic matters. Contrarily, their gain in the political and educational field of social change is negligible. Along with declining access to land and other common property resources, their usual productive activities at home such as livestock rearing, kitchen gardening, poultry and petty business got disrupted and this has adversely affected their status within and outside family.

Prior to the displacement, indigenous people did not face problems like landlessness, hunger or food insecurity in their subsistence, yet a self sufficient economy because of their access to forest products and customary right to their household economy through the sale of livestock, baskets, bamboo mats, ropes and pottery. Women had greater economic independence and land rights in the egalitarian tribal set-up. However, displacement has torn the people away from their sources of sustenance of life. Once deprived of their usual livelihood options, women have to depend on the income of their husbands. Only a few women have been able to manage informal jobs of daily wage labourer outside the project. Obviously, many women are reduced to the status of housewives, which is far cry from their earlier role of being contributors to the family economy. Since their role as caretaker of the household remains unchanged, they have to purchase their basic needs such as food, which they used to get from their land and forest. Under such circumstances, displaced women have to encounter an additional problem. Now they also have to manage their household with little money as their husbands are often seen spending the cash for entertainment and purchase of non-essential consumer goods being influenced by outsiders. Domestic quarrel and often violence are resulting out of such habit and life style of the male earning members.
6.2 Breaking of Social Support System

For women in tribal areas, kin relationship still constitutes the prime avenues of access to scarce resources such as information, economic assistance, and other social support. Much of these social support flows from the close networks like child rearing, assistance during sickness, access to information, economic assistance and a variety of other supports. Resettlement that takes women far away from their ancestral land might severally affect their welfare, as support in times of crises that might have come from parents and brothers may not be forthcoming due to loss of frequent contact. The increased distance between the women’s natal home and her marriage home due to displacement takes away the emotional support available to married women.

It has been found in the field that the tribal women usually depend on the emotional support of family, neighbour and kinship relations. Their social responsibilities during tribal festival, marriage ceremonies are fulfilled by these relations. Now Santhal and Ho tribal festivals like Erok Sim, Harianisim, Jauthar, Sohrae, Sohral, Baha Parab and Karam are not celebrated as earlier. During the initial stage after displacement, due to loss of religious shrines and deities, they could not observe any festivals. This disturbed them emotionally. Changes are more visible for women. Earlier in the celebration of festivals in the region both men and women had equal role and status. They decorated house in artistic way and had emotional attachment with land and house. But after displacement they have lost their role and status and social network has broken down, which is now unbearable for women. The long term negative impact like breakdown of families, additional workload, and deteriorating health condition weakened social support
networks and sense of insecurity associated with displacement caused women greater hardship.

6.3 Breakdown of Family

During the transition period between actual displacement and resettlement, women suffer more being homeless. Some of the families were forced to live in temporary homes for long years. Only a few of those living in temporary settlement knew where they would move from there. During this period some of the displaced people continued to have two houses. Experience from the field reveals that it is mostly the women, the aged and the children who are left behind adding to the responsibilities of women at both locations. In the absence of sensitive handling and a supportive atmosphere, the displaced people of Jadugura uranium mines and tailing ponds found it difficult to shift to the new site. Many, therefore continued to maintain two houses—one near the tailing pond and other in the resettlement area as they have emotional attachment to their old location, resulting in fracturing of families.

Inter family relations had become strained after land acquisition due to three major reasons, i.e. creation of nuclear families, living at distance places and disputes over compensation. The brunt of strained relations is almost always tolerated mostly intensively by women, in that they lose whatever family support and solidarity they had built over time. The major impact of displacement and the takeover of tribal homelands is the denigration of their culture, custom, language and dress by the mainstream community. Women have to cope up with the crumbling institutional arrangements. Factors like distance from the parental home, scattering of kinship group, disruption of traditional structures of support and solidarity and breakdown of community networks
and social cultural disarticulation have combined to decimate the very fundamentals of whatever women had been able to device in order to exist in an overwhelmingly and increasingly patriarchal society. With the internalisation of women’s subordinate status, in many cases, new generated behaviour patterns emerged. Women themselves come to accept the dominant caste custom of the housewife eating late after feeding the elders, their husbands, other men, boys and girl children. In the context of food shortage, girls and housewives get very little food, with malnutrition being a consequence.

6.4 Changing Marriage Practices

The most important fallout for the women of the resettlement work in the Uranium Mining Project is the increase in dowry cash and commodities, and the lowering of age of marriage for the girls among non tribal. Sometime girls were married immediately after the cash compensation was received. Jadugura region consisted mainly of Ho and Sanththal population. These tribal groups have followed certain age-old marriage practices. The Hos practice monogamy but in certain situation like barrenness or widowhood, they practice other forms of marriage. For the purpose of marriage they follow the tribal endogamy and clan exogamy. According to tribal convention ceremonial marriage is called “andi”. A modification of the same along the line of Hindu marriage (like the inclusion of the burning of the sacred fire) is called “diku andi”. The main feature of the andi form are that the selection of partners is made by the father or some other guardians of the person to be married, a middleman (dutam) is appointed to negotiate between the families desiring the union and a bride price (gonong) has to be paid, the amount of which must be settled to mutual satisfaction. The village headman must also be consulted. Clan exogamy must be observed. Marriage is considered a village affair and
only a date convenient to most of them can be chosen. Consequently marriage can take place only during those months of the year when there is not much pressure of work in the field. Marriage takes place only between those who have passed the puberty stage. A young man himself may often choose a girl and his friends inform his parents about it who set the negotiations going by engaging a dutam. The term of bride price payment are discussed when the bride’s party visits the boys house. Later the marriage takes place when the bride-groom’s parties visit the bride’s house. At the marriage ceremony, a deuri (local priest) is required to recite the prayers and offerings are made to the tribal gods. Marriage based on mutual love often leading to elopement is socially recognised. Such marriage is called rajikhushi marriage.

In Santhal society, marriage is not only the most significant event of individual life cycle, it is also a significant event in the developmental cycle of domestic groups. Baple is the term generally used for marriage by Santhals. It means mutual strengthening of two families. They practice monogamy but polygyny is permissible on rare occasions. In their society, second wife is usually taken when the first wife is supposed to be barren or unfertile or when there is none to take care of young child. In this case, levirate and sorrorate marriages can be done. In levirate type of marriage, a man may marry the wife of his elder brother after the death of his brother. The researcher found three cases of levirate marriage in Jadugura area. Evidence from other area suggests that in past levirate marriage was a common practice but now it has become a rare practice. In sorrorate, a Santhal may marry his wife’s younger sister after the death of his wife. Five cases of sorrorate were seen in Jadugura area by the researcher.
Tribal marriage practices are slowly changing and dowry has crept in. The dowry in cash and commodities also increased in Jadugura region. Slowly the tribal bride price is replaced by dowry. Some of women respondents reported of a few cases where daughter-in-laws were tortured for dowry and returned to their parental house. The prospective bridegroom’s families perceive that the displaced person collect enormous amount as compensation and consequently, they could pay for dowry. This view has led to an increase in demand for dowry. Displacement due to the construction of Jadugura project has destroyed the close social and marital ties that had existed historically among Hos and Santhals in this area. It has been found that young girls are left by grooms on the pretext of being impotent and incapable to fulfil one of the norms of marriage institution i.e. for the procreation of children. Hence on this ground they desert the girls and they are left to look after themselves. In these cases, instances of increasing drunkenness even among women have been found.

6.5 Declining Job Opportunities

Due to reduced family income as a consequence of displacement, women are overburdened on two counts: searching livelihood to add to the household income, and the responsibility of household chores. This is because migration of men in search of employment has increased the responsibility of women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Compensatory jobs given to</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>Post given by UCIL</th>
<th>Nature of jobs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The compensatory jobs given by UCIL mainly have gone to men. Data in Table 6.1 show that husband and son have been the beneficiaries of the jobs given by the company. Although UCIL did not restrict women from getting the compensatory jobs, yet because of prevailing patriarchal notions, men (husbands and sons) have been the beneficiaries. Even those women, who did receive manual jobs initially, were thrown out of such temporary jobs after technological up-gradations and mechanisation of the uranium mines. Caste and tribal structure play important roles in determining distribution of job benefits. Whatever little skilled or semi-skilled employments were given to the selected persons by the UCIL, these went to men as mining labour, fitter etc. Women were also given jobs that are unskilled and low paid and often on daily wages. Jobs being scarce with the project, the first casualty are the women because they lack skill. Again, in the face of competition between family members for scarce jobs, the women tend to lose out, often almost voluntarily. The point is, while women are being displaced from their traditional occupation, they have not been allowed access to the new sources of employment that may come up in the area. The attitude of the rest of the displaced people towards their own women is not always positive concerning job. They consider that women cannot compete in the formal sector, as there is high illiteracy among them. They lack training and professional skill. Some have the opinion that women’s place is at home and not outside.

However, in interview with Jharkhand’s Organization against Radiation (JOAR) people, it was found that in most cases displaced people have not been given satisfactory compensation. In fact, it has been found that several women especially those with a single
status are leading miserable life after losing their life supporting land. UCIL uranium mines, which are increasingly dependent on technology, offered no scope for participation of tribal women, as they lack technical skills and face cultural and social prejudices. Management has declared that they do not have job vacancies during the field survey of this research.

6.5.1 Change in Occupational Pattern

Tribal women play important role in the agriculture sector. They took active participation at all levels including that of maintenance, subsistence and sustenance. Any change in land use patterns particularly due to displacement and loss of livelihood thus affects women more than men.

Field survey reveals that the displaced women have been forced out of their land-based work and are being pushed into unskilled and marginalised forms of labour, which are considered socially degrading. Numerous women have been relegated from pompous cultivators to daily wage labours. The change in responsibility has enlarged the workload of women. This is clearly due to an overall change in the occupational pattern. Cultivation, farm labour as well as grass cutting activities have been severely suffered due to displacement. Tribal women are the main caretaker of livestock like cow, goat, sheep, and poultry which had provided at least some income to women and also provided nutrition for families; but after displacement their control over livestock are declining day by day.

UCIL took some initiative to impart training to local and tribal women on subject like mushroom cultivation, chalk making, nail polish remover, vermiculture, tailoring, terikota, dress making, machine embroidery, herbal product, beauty culture, health care
and cottage industries (making of candles, incense sticks, greeting cards etc.). This training programme has been primarily conducted for the women of Bhatin village. The training programme has been concluded recently and it will facilitate the trained women to set up a production centre for these items. UCIL has initiated this programme in view of the government of India’s declaration of the year 2001 as the ‘women empowerment year’ in order to highlight their rightful place in the mainstream of national development.

UCIL has also started a training centre for tribal women at Rajdoha village. Presently this centre is imparting training to women for hand glove making. The material made by the people is sold in market. UCIL also has a plan to impart training to village women in jute bag making so as to get more money from handicraft material. It can also assist women to form self-help groups in new resettlement areas to restore their economic freedom lost due to the shifting. It has been reported to researcher by JOAR members that due to decline in source of livelihood as well as joblessness and increased poverty, displaced families were forced to stop their children’s education and convert students into child workers, particularly girl child who now are required to help at home. Families are often compelled to seek work in local cities due to decline in source of livelihood. These temporary migrations interrupt the schooling of children. The decline in access to education obviously has long-term effects in that it produces a workforce that is less skilled than earlier.

6.6 Prostitution

Pre-marital relationship is not forbidden in tribal communities of Jharkhand. This is permissible within the tribe and not within the same clan. The dancing ground is the centre of attraction for unmarried girls and boys. After the dance, they pair off for more intimate
relationship. Such relationship seldom ends in matrimony. After marriage, however, a
tighter discipline is enforced by society. In case, extra-marital relationship comes to light,
divorce is allowed on the request of the husband or the wife as the case may be. In course
of time, this permissive behaviour declines.

It has been noticed that tribal women are most vulnerable segment of society due to
the displacement. Tribal women’s economy, culture, social and political structure depend
on natural resource. They have some control over natural resources as long as they are
placed in a natural setting which has community assets. But after displacement and
consequent shifting to an area with little community assets, low paid unskilled jobs are
the only option open to them. Earlier they were considered economic assets as they
contributed to the family income. Women no more play a significant economic role and
hence there is deterioration in their social status.

Development projects are creating havoc in the day to day lives of tribal womenfolk.
These projects not only deprived them from natural resources but also push them to cities
where children are forced to become bonded labour. The lives of girl children and women
are miserable. Many tribal women and girl are now involved in flesh trade. They are
considered fallen women by the tribe. They turn to prostitution to earn their livelihood.
The researcher has talked to some of the victims whose account is narrated here.

6.6.1 Case study of Khejuria

Khejuria is 24 years old and married to a man who has crossed 60 years. She was married
at 15 years of age. Her father Rampa was a farmer and was leading a good life. But his
life took a sad turn when his two acre of land was taken away by the UCIL. He had five
daughter, eldest being Khejuria. Rampa was always worried about his family as his
limited income as a labourer would not satisfy the household requirements. At that stage one Krishna, aged 56 years met him. Krishna was a drunkard and has adequate income. Khejuria’s father told him about the financial difficulties. Krishna promised to help him. Thus whenever Khejuria’s father wanted money, Krishna went on giving money liberally.

The accumulated debt came to Rs 75,000/-. Rampa knew that he would be in trouble. Krishna demanded that he should be paid in a month’s time. Rampa pleaded with him. At the end of the period, Krishna came to the house. Rampa was in tears. Krishna told him that the only practical way open to them was to allow him to marry Khejuria. Rampa was shocked and could not say anything. He wanted three day’s time. Krishna agreed and left the place. Rampa was worried. Khejuria knew the entire background. Poverty was the reason that forced 15 years minor girls to give her consent to marry Krishna in order to save the problem of the family.

Krishna was informed of the decision. Khejuria was married to him. He kept her happy for four weeks and started misbehaving. He would always be drunk and behave vulgarly with his own wife. In due course, he changed his mind and forced her to give company to his friends. She resisted. But he would just beat her up. Finally she yielded out of disgust. Thereafter she started to work as prostitute. In this case poverty is a relevant factor in promoting this profession. Here victim fall prey to agents driven by acute poverty and domestic violence.

6.6.2 Case Study of Kamala

Kamala is a Santhali speaking girl aged 23 years. She has dark colour and not attractive. But age is her advantage. She was married six years ago. Both Kamala and her husband
are illiterate. After displacement they moved to Jamshedpur in search of job where her
husband met with an accident and got his leg amputated. Since then he cannot work.
Kamala started working in somebody’s house. She was paid just Rs 100/-per month. It
was too inadequate for her family. The gentleman of the house started loving her and thus
she was able to earn another one hundred rupees.

There was a lady working in the neighbour’s house. She met her and came to know
her background. The lady advised her that she should do something else to earn money.
Kamala was surprised and felt it was not correct. But that lady continued to bring
pressure on her. She talked to Kamala’s husband. After a few days her husband gave
consent. He told her that there is nothing wrong. He forced her to earn money without
cheating anybody. She thus got involved in prostitution. So poverty drives such type of
women to take up this profession in search of livelihood. Besides, they are illiterate and
are unaware of the outside world. For them their own locality is their world. When she
sees other women from their peer group being part of this profession, they do not hesitate
to follow them and join it.

6.6.3 Case study of Seema

Seema Soren, a 20 years old girl, the daughter of Palam Soren was taken by Girihari of
the same village to Ranchi in November 2002 with the promise of marriage. As her
father’s two acres of land was acquired by district administration for developmental
project and he was facing financial crunch so he agreed to send her daughter. However
Seema was sold for Rs 80,000 for prostitution to Radhabai, a pimp from Ranchi. Girihari
keeps her father in dark, giving him the false impression that he has married his daughter
who is living with him in Ranchi. One day Seema’s father went to Ranchi to see his
daughter. He could find neither his daughter nor his son-in-law at the address given earlier by Girihari. Some people gave him the address where his daughter was to be found. It turned out to be a brothel where her daughter was working as a prostitute. When he tried to bring her back, the brothel owner and agents kept him in captivity. Then they left him at railway station and changed his daughter’s place. He was not succeeded in freeing his daughter from their clutches. In this case the victim fall prey to pimps through fake marriage.

6.6.4 Case Study of Rani

Rani hails from a poor family. Her father was agricultural labourer, working as hired labour at Chatikocha village. Land acquired by district administration for UCIL third tailing ponds turned him jobless as he was dependent on land. District administration/UCIL authority did not provide any kind of compensation and left him on his fate. But anyhow he managed to get his daughter married to an auto rickshaw driver. The couple led a happy life for four years. She delivered two female children consecutively. Her husband got disgusted and scolded her. As days passed on, he started neglecting her and one day he sent her out of his house. She pleaded for mercy. He allowed her to take back her female children. She went to her parent’s home where she was welcomed. But after two years her parents passed away. Her elder brother got married. His wife started ill-treating Rani. Rani was forced to do all household works and was not allowed to rest at all. She had no time to take care of her two children.

One day her elder child went to the kitchen and pulled down the burning oil stove, immediately things around caught fire. Rani and her sister-in-law jumped into the room. The child was saved by Rani. But the sister-in-law beat the child mercilessly. She scolded
Rani and threatened disastrous consequences if she did not leave the house in a week’s time. Rani protested that she was living in her father’s house. Her brother made her aware that none of the property belonged to father and other than that where father was working was also not his own property.

Rani did not know what to do. She approached quite a few neighbours for some job. Finally one widower Susant took pity and gave her part time job with one time food and accommodation. He said that he could help her if she keeps her children in an orphanage. Initially she was not inclined but later she left the children in an orphanage.

Susant, who gave her work and shelter, developed affair with her. He promised to keep her for ever and help her children. He did keep up his word for four years. The gentleman promised to marry her. For her bad luck, the gentleman fell seriously ill and died. The close relatives of Susant came in the house and enquired about their relationship. She was mercilessly driven out of the house. A lady who had known Susant comes to her rescue. She took Rani to her house and gave her some comforts. Rani promised to stay with her and do whatever she was asked to do.

Her friend, Muniamma, slowly started introducing her to her friends. She used to take her out in the evening. By now Rani knew what was ahead of her and she had mentally prepared herself for any eventuality. She had done whatever she was asked to do. She has suffered so much that she does not mind continuing in this profession. So it is the family members and relatives who inducted the victim into the flesh trade.

6.6.5 Case study of Binita

Binita Soren, who is 40 years old, is the daughter of Som Soren of village Bhatin. Her father was cultivating two acres of land but land ownership was not in his name. When
district land acquisition authority acquired land for Bhatin mine, he was not given cash compensation/job in UCIL. He is still struggling for compensation. She was married to Ramana Soren of the village Matigoda about 20 years ago. After becoming a mother of three children, Binita eloped with her lover named Kabi from her village. They live together for some time moving from one place to another. Her lover left her after a while and settled down in village Baruguta, marrying a local girl. Binita, who returned to her village after two years, was not accepted by her parents as they could not bear the burden of extra responsibility. Their survival was itself difficult. She now lives in the town of Chaiebasa, and is believed to be making a living as a prostitute. So in this case poverty ended in prostitution.

It appears from the above mentioned cases that the girl child is often forced by their parents to shoulder the burden of subsistence through flesh trade. From psychological perspective, when the tribal women are dissatisfied with their life situation due to displacement, as in the case of widows without support, or the unwanted and uncared girls, the procurers cleverly falsify them by promising them a happy and prosperous life later. It is therefore, mostly the emotionally distressed tribal women and children who become victim to the soothing ministrations of the traffickers. The procurers, who are mostly women, possibly retired prostitutes are mainly and directly responsible for precipitating the problems by converting these vulnerable tribal women into prostitution. Not only are the women engaged as prostitutes rather the innocent girl children are pushed into the den of prostitution where they work as girl child prostitutes. It deprives the girl child from her childhood, besides affecting her physically, emotionally, and
socially. It also effects the normal development of childhood and is considered globally as a gross violation of human rights.

Surprisingly, once the tribal women and girls are brought to the brothel, most of them seem to accept prostitution without much protest or hesitation. When they see large numbers of women indulging in it, the grimness and shame attached to prostitution are lost. This trend has been noticed by the researcher in Jadugura region but due to cultural factors people are not ready to tell the name of girls and women who have entered due to hardship even though they have acknowledged the growth of this trade since displacement.

6.7 Acceleration of Domestic Violence

Violence against women is rooted in unequal power relations between men and women in society and can be understood within a gender framework. While gender roles prescribed a strict division of labour, women are expected to perform largely reproductive functions like maintenance of the household, child care etc. The construction of gender roles implies that women have far lesser access to productive resources and decision making as compared to men, resulting in unequal balance of power. Violence against women is not a myth, but a reality. It is an act of illegal criminal use of physical force and it also includes exploitation, discrimination, upholding of unequal economic and social structures, and the creation of an atmosphere of terror, threat or reprisal. This terror can be seen in domestic violence.

It has been found that the displaced families suffer from different types of adjustment problems between the sexes within family. As men faces powerlessness, women become scapegoat. In case of Jadugura, displacement has brought anxiety, idleness and insecurity.
All these have led to increase in drinking, wife beating and domestic violence. In some cases, cash received in compensation had led to increase in alcohol intake by men resulting in domestic violence.

**TABLE 6.2: Reason for Increasing Domestic Violence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Reason for Increasing Domestic Violence</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Land acquired by UCIL</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Loss of livelihood</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Loss of house</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lack of employment</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Due to migration</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Alcohol drinking</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Injustice in society</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>114</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table 6.2 show that 114 out of 260 women have stated that there is an increase in the rate of domestic violence after displacement and they have identified various reasons for this. The important among them are: land acquisition (17.54%), loss of livelihood (8.77%), lack of employment (30.70%), poverty (5.26%), migration (2.63%), alcohol drinking (13.15%), and loss of house (9.64%). Due to trauma of displacement, drinking has increased considerably among men, so have wife beating and quarrel in the family. Tribal society has the culture of drinking and merry making. But displacement makes it worse, as men did not find job and waste money on drinking. This has been found in most of the displaced family cases.

### 6.8 Health Risks

Malnutrition, especially among women and children, is one of the most significant fallouts of displacement. In Jadugura women and child constitute the majority of those whose health and nutrition has been negatively affected due to displacement. In this
region the incidence of several diseases like tuberculosis, cancer, prevalence of spontaneous abortion among married women, still birth, among women are more vulnerable to primary sterility and chronic lung diseases. The health of women living around uranium mining areas is more vulnerable. Half of the Chatikocha village’s women have problem in delivery and miscarriages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Health Problems</th>
<th>No. of Person</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Problem in Menstrual Cycle</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>42.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Miscarriage</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Still Born</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fertility Problem</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>29.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present researcher has interviewed the people in seven villages within one kilometre radius of the tailing dams. It is found that 107 (42.80%) women out of 250 reported about disruptions of their menstrual cycle, 43 (17.20 %) had suffered from miscarriages, 26 (10.40%) had given birth to stillborn babies in the last five years and 74 (29.60%) reported some sort of fertility problems. Nearly all women complained of fatigue, weakness and depression. So there is a high incidence of miscarriage, fertility problems and disruptions of menstrual cycle.

6.8.1 Maternal Healthcare

Maternal Healthcare includes the antenatal, delivery related and post-partum care. But the available information on maternal health in Jadugura region suggests that situation is satisfactory among displaced family. It has been found during field survey that the Anganwadi programme is going on with the help of UNICEF in villages like Mechua, Taliatand, Dungridih, Ichra, and Bhatin, where displaced families are living. Under this
programme, if registered medical practitioner doctor declare woman as pregnant then Anganwadi programme will provide food grains and cash assistance throughout pregnancy period and even after delivery. Anganwadi workers (sebika and sahayeka) also extend health care services to the resettlers at their doorstep. According to women respondents, such services help pregnant women and children in particular. They articulated their satisfaction with programme for vaccination, concern of pregnant mother and creation of consciousness on disease like malaria etc.

Infant and child mortality are considerably high among displaced family. Some cases reveal that child bearing have occurred among mothers in early age (below 18), exposing them to sex and pregnancy before they are physically or emotionally prepared for it. It has been found during interview that the women are less aware of modes of transmission and prevention of HIV than men in Jadugura region.

6.9 Childless Widows and Aged Women

Childless Widows and Aged Women are the silent sufferers, living perhaps more as compared to others, in a condition of insecurity. Their vulnerability relates to the restrictions they experience with regard to residence, inheritance, remarriage and employment. These restrictions limit the capacity of widows for self-reliance and put them in a position of dependence on social support or any social welfare scheme that may be forthcoming. But no policy on rehabilitation addresses to childless widows and aged women. They are automatically left out. In construction of third tailing pond, childless widows are displaced from their houses but they did not get their compensation as the patta of land was in the name of husband. The UCIL project, in terms of rehabilitation or any other benefits, addresses the family as a unit. And within the family, the beneficiaries
are the adult male members. Women rarely get compensation as they formally own neither land nor house. This makes the position of single women and widow more vulnerable. The plight of elder women is much worse as they are mentally and physically too weak to earn a living. Their children are struggling to support their families and do not take care of their old parents. Thus the old women have to depend on the old age pension. But it has been found that the government sponsored scheme for providing monthly pension for the aged and widowed did not reach many of those who were entitled to such benefits.

6.10 Consultation and Right to Information

It is argued that the displacing agency, i.e. project management, should organise *Jaan Adalat* (Public Hearing) and inform people in advance of its coming project and mentally prepare the people in the area for the upcoming changes. The public hearing shall be arranged in a systemic, time bound and transparent manner ensuring the widest possible public participation at the project site. Yet, in almost all displacement situations, the formal consultation did not take place and the affected people were not provided with proper information by the project management. Whether it is regarding the project, land acquisition, compensation or rehabilitation, the project management has rarely taken the initiative to consult the local people to explain the costs and advantages of displacement in the area. The public consultation is the only formal way for local communities to voice their opinion.

Obviously, the right to information was denied more particularly to women on two counts. First by the displacing agency and second by the male members of the family. The belief that men are better equipped and shall tackle the situation outside the four
walls of house is ingrained. A vast majority of women have mentioned during household
survey that they had no access to information on project and the resettlement plans meant
to them; they were excluded also because the officials thought that women do not
understand complex things.

6.10.1 Women and Law

Tribal custom excluded women from inheriting land and property in Jadugura region. Men
have mostly determined the control over land in terms of its management, use and
disposal. Women seldom enjoy the resources generated from the productive use of these
assets such as income accruing from land or rent of property. So deep is the association of
the notion of male control over land, that women do not even perceive the absence of
claims vis-à-vis such assets as the denial of right. The lack of ownership, however, has
made women innocuously vulnerable forever, and made them dependent with greater risk
of being excluded from their home and livelihood.

Gender biases are evident in the Land Acquisition Act. Under Section 42 of the Act,
the notice for land acquisition to a person with an interest in that land can be served only
to an adult male. If, for some reason, the notice cannot be served to an adult male, the law
requires that it be pasted on front door of the landowner’s house, or at another
conspicuous place (for example at the premises of the collector’s court). The notice is
deemed legally served only when it is handed to an adult male or is acknowledged by
him. Women are not treated as ‘owners of land’, are therefore not considered worthy of
receiving this notice. The Government of India National Resettlement Policy 2007
proposes that the land should be allotted in the joint names of women and men; but the
proposed Jharkhand Resettlement Policy, which is supposed to be model on the National
Resettlement Policy 2007, makes no such reference to land allocation in the name of women.

6.11 Breakdown of Lifestyle

Displacement alienates tribal women from their land and destroys their means of livelihood. In Jadugura, displacement has destroyed their custom, dialects, lifestyle and values. Being deprived of their land, tribal women along with their husband migrate to urban centre in search of work. But migration disrupts harmonious family and village life. There are little opportunities for improving the quality of life like participation in literacy courses, women’s group and village meetings. These migrant families are not able to utilise the opportunity offered by the various scheme of the tribal development departments.

Majority of women interviewed responded that displacement has brought many transformations in their custom, belief and ritual practices. Young tribal girls are giving up their traditional lifestyle and going out to work in small companies to supplement the family income. Mingling with other communities has led to mixed marriages where non-tribal men sometime deserted tribal women and other time take control of her land and property.

The new structural economy (new economic reforms) has created challenges to the tribal society as a whole. Previously, tribals were linked with the regional society only through weekly markets. These markets were places where the tribals not only had economic interaction with others including non-tribals; they also cater to their social and cultural linkages. But now, such weekly markets have died a natural death. Instead, markets in new locations have extended beyond regional and state boundaries.
Consequently, tribal artefacts, traditional dresses and utensils are hardly sold in these cosmopolitan markets. With the coming of new consumerism, the tribal folk culture is fast dying. The tribal folk culture is verbal; it is carried over by oral tradition. The new market sells cassettes of Hindi and Hollywood movies. This has given a cultural shock to the tribal folk literature and folk songs. The reality is that globalisation has made culture a commodity for sale and market a mechanism for such purpose.

6.12 Psychological Pressure

When displacement is involuntary, it forces families to displace from their traditional land and deprive them from source of livelihood and cultural system. This results in a kind of psychological pressure which was observed during field survey. Such a situation has affected women more adversely. They feel tensed and became short-tempered. When the husband or sons is not getting jobs or not working properly, they felt frustrated. Table 6.4 shows the reasons for stress and post-traumatic stress disorder among women in Jadugura region.

**TABLE 6.4: Reason for stress and post-traumatic stress disorder**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Land acquired by UCIL</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>55.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Loss of livelihood</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>21.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Migration</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Financial problems to meet minimum needs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Division in Family</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Number of earning members reduced</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Debt increased</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Husband alcohol drinking habit increase</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gambling increased</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>260</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During field survey, the present researcher has met some women suffering from psychological abnormality. Out of 260 women who have stated to have undergone stress and post-traumatic stress disorder, reasons like loss of land, loss of livelihood are important. Among the remaining causes, migration in search of better jobs, financial problems, division of families, less income, debt, alcohol drinking and gambling by husband are identified. The availability of cash in their hands and the psychological pressure they are facing at that time give rise to the tendency of increase drinking. Shock and trauma of losing everything they had has a frustrating impact on mental health causing disruptive behaviour. Women members of the family also often lost their cool in the face of such disruptive behaviour of male members leading to repeated conflicts with them. The younger generation is upset due to paucity of employment and gives vent to their resentment by being violent with their parents. This has led to regular quarrel between the parents and their children.

6.13 Impoverishment of Girl Child

Since children are more vulnerable than adult in any displacement situation, they need greater attention and support. Rarely do children find any mention in policy and legal documents. The girl child in all categories is disadvantaged because of the inherent gender bias that continues to exist in Indian society.

The non availability of traditional source of nutrition, especially for girl child, who had regular access to the forest earlier, leads to an increase in malnutrition. Even those children who may previously have had access to education are often deprived of it after displacement. Child abuse had also increased in new place which hampered girl child’s mental growth. Due to deterioration in living standard, the displaced people are unable to
spend on educating of their girl child. The World Bank resettlement source book states that children typically lack the legal, political and economic capacity to protect their standard of living. Disruption of household access to resources sometimes exposes children to nutritional deficiencies. In many rural areas, children contribute significantly to household income or subsistence. If displaced, they may lose the opportunity to graze livestock, gather fuel wood or dung, or collect marketable forest produce.

In Jadugura, it has been found that children are more vulnerable to acute illness because they lack the endurance of adults and also because the negative impact of illness is more pronounced among children. Girl children suffer more because adult are no longer able to devote enough time to their care, as they try to reconstruct their lives. Moreover, lower income forces parents to neglect health needs of particularly girl child. Furthermore, the compensation policy often gives land to major sons, but major daughters are excluded from such provisions.

6.14 Women and Protest Movement

Women see the process of displacement as dispossession that pushes them into pauperisation. Despite a shared commonality of experience with men, women do understand and experience displacement differently, possibly because of the differing status of their roles and rights in the economy of production and reproduction. Women role in protest movement is linked to their familial responsibilities, their relationship with their children and their attachment to their ancestral lineage and land. There are also other reasons which encourage them to participate in protest movement namely imagination and courage. By ‘imagination’ it can be said that their capacity to understand and foresee development of events are argued to be sharper than men. Women are quick to grasp the
harmful impact of displacement. They too have imagination to understand the future problems of displacement in the form of shortage of food, fodder, cash and so on. This imagination also makes them realise what they are capable of achieving. And courage indicates that women have courage to challenge project management, district authority and state government who are involve in applying Land Acquisition Act (LAA) on their land and forcefully acquired land in the name of ‘public purpose’. In Jadugura, protest movement gives women an opportunity to organise themselves so that they will be better informed about displacement and rehabilitation. They also get the opportunity to discuss among them and make strategy for future action.

Thus, the women suffer double discrimination by virtue of being a women as because she is the lowest in the social hierarchy with no control over the resources and the decision making process. Now they are left with degraded options like casual and informal worker, prostitution or are simply reduced to the status of ‘idle’ housewives confined to four walls of the house. The impact of displacement has thus meant a complete transformation, marginalisation and degradation in both the economic and social status of women. The disruption of a close-knit community structure can have several ramifications. Women are socially, emotionally and culturally the worst affected. Their position is worsening due to gender insensitive and biased rehabilitation policies. To bring about a gender sensitive approach, it is essential to give consideration to the anxiety of the displaced women.