CHAPTER-EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the years after independence, economic development has remained the ‘mantra’ for the state. Thousands of crores of rupees have been poured in various development projects to achieve the target growth. Displacement has been a fact of life for millions in India due to the rash application of high-technology for developmental projects, sponsored by the state with full control of its natural resources and with unrestricted power to use force. The obsession with this pattern of development in which displacement is unavoidable has caused huge disruption to the lives of affected people, mostly the marginalised section of society. In the initial year of planned development since India’s independence, neither displacement figured on the agenda of policy makers, nor were there any strong voices against displacement. The human sorrows and sufferings of the uprooted people have gone largely unnoticed. Given the over enthusiasm of the first Prime Minister for technology driven rapid development, who labelled gigantic projects as the ‘temples of modern India’, protest movements took time to crystallise. The rise of civil society and the growing discontent of the affected people with the unrelieved harsh consequences of displacement have now sparked numerous protest movements.

In case of Jharkhand, massive displacement of population was induced by the central and state governments sponsored development projects during the post colonial period. This has mostly affected the weaker section of society. In the name of development the state snatched land and livelihood from a large section of people,
mostly marginalised and tribal. The process of land acquisition by the state displaces people not only physically from their land, but also from their livelihood, culture and community life. In the process, they have been experiencing a series of unending insecurities inseparably linked with their displacement. Surprisingly, the state has taken land ‘in the public interest’ from the ordinary mass. Instead of empowering the ordinary citizens living in the peripheral region through its development projects, the state has disempowered them to a large extent. They have been marginalised further by the developmental process. With the globalisation of economy and its resultant primacy for the private capital and market, the people are being increasingly relegated to the background position. Their position is likely to worsen further in the absence of intervention of the state, civil society and the people.

The Jadugura Uranium Mining Project exemplifies the similar story of human displacement, suffering and protest movement on which the present study is conducted. Keeping in view the displacement scenario, the researcher has examined the dynamic of social life of the displaced people in the light of large scale displacement of village people by the Uranium Corporation of India Limited (UCIL). The field study was conducted in 2008 (January to June), state assembly election 2009 and during 15th Lok Sabha election, and a total of 341 respondents were interviewed to collect information related to nature and sources of displacement, rehabilitation package, their impact on the health, livelihood and environment of the people, and people’s response to the process of socio-economic changes in the locality. These respondents were displaced from their land in between 1985 and 2006. The head of these households were selected randomly, 65 per cent of whom were males and 35 per cent were females. A large
section (87%) of them belonged to Scheduled Tribe community without or with little education. The present research has selected a large number of respondents from higher age group in all the categories. An attempt was also made to elicit their overall views about displacement, rehabilitation package, their impact on the health, livelihood, and assess the level of their awareness, perception, aspiration including protest movement. Displaced women were also studied separately and gender dimension of displacement were also investigated during the survey. Chatikocha case study and role of JAVBS and JOAR was studied to supplement interview data.

8.1 Major Finding of the Study

Displacement claims the social and human costs of development that some citizens have to bear as best as they tend to promote the greater good of all. The evil (pain and suffering) is outweighed by the larger ‘good’ (welfare) arising from developmental projects. Costs are simply inevitable: there is no development without displacement. The people of Jadugura are being forced to bear the brunt in the name of India’s Nuclear Programme. In Jadugura, large numbers of people are displaced due to the Uranium mining project. At present UCIL management is engaged in mining at Jadugura Mines, Bhatin Mines, Turamdih Mines, Narwapahar Mines, Bagjata mines and Baduhurang Open Cast Mines and ore processing at Jadugura and Turamdih in the East Singhbhum district of Jharkhand. The UCIL is solely responsible for mining and processing uranium ore in the country and thus occupies an important position in the nuclear programme. Jadugura has the only productive uranium mines in the country. From these places villagers were uprooted ever since the project was commenced and displacement has been persisting till date, as UCIL management continue to construct tailing ponds.
one after another at a regular interlude in the nearby villages.

The rehabilitation and resettlement policy of the UCIL covered all displaced persons whose land/houses have been acquired by the company for its project. The corporation also had the goal to minimise displacement and acquire minimum forest land while drawing a plan for putting up a project. The rehabilitation and resettlement package aimed to compensate for loss of land/house owners. Efforts would be made to raise standard of living of Project Affected Families (PAF) by providing various facilities. The corporation also committed itself to maximise benefits arising out of putting up of a project to PAF and the person living in the immediate neighbourhood of the project as per the absorptive capacity of the society. Schemes for rehabilitation and resettlement were:

(a) All vacancies in unskilled cadre arising in the project will be filled up among awardees (surviving members, whose name appear on the award given by the state government, provided their names appear on the certificate, to be issued by UCIL authorities).

(b) 30% of employment for semi-skilled/skilled workmen category will be filled up by these awardees subject to their suitability to the level of skill required for the jobs.

(c) Preference amongst awardees for employment will be given as below:

(i) Oustees of houses on Raiti land or their nominees, to whom certificates have been issued by UCIL, will be given first preference;

(ii) Next preference will be given to awardees/certificate holders of land or their nominees according to quantum of land acquired by the company.
(d) The awardees, not provided with employment, will be paid an amount of Rs. 10,000/- per acre per year through bank for first 10 years from the date of physical possession of land by the UCIL, 75% of the said rate for more than 10 years and less than 15 years and 50% of the said rate for more than 15 years and less than 20 years respectively. No payment will be made after 20 years of acquisition.

(e) These payments will be stopped as soon as employment is provided by UCIL.

(f) Efforts will be made to provide employment to the PAF under any working contractor in UCIL.

(g) UCIL shall try to provide a quarter in any adjacent (within 5 kms) residential colony belonging to the company depending upon availability of A-type or equivalent quarter to nominee of the house owner, who has been provided with employment in UCIL, if available.

(h) A lump-sum grant of Rs. 50,000/-per award would be paid by cheque to the house owner/awardees for construction of house.

(i) UCIL shall pay the cost of land compensation package as determined by district land acquisition officer along with value of trees, pond, well or other assets on the land as estimated by the district land acquisition officer.

But the overall UCIL rehabilitation and resettlement policy proved to be highly complicated, confusing and at the same time deceptive. The land-for-land based rehabilitation was not done. Employment generation was initiated; but there was little effort to achieve the goal set effectively. In any case, the assurance for providing employment was only in the form of ‘preference’ and ‘subject to availability of
vacancies’ and ‘suitability of the affected persons’ and therefore not certain. The mode of providing compensation through cash was only for those who have title deeds of the land. This policy also did not specify how displacement would be kept at the minimum.

It was seen that in Jadugura region district land acquisition officer acquired land, and it was the district authority who distributed cash compensation among displaced people. After acquiring land from indigenous people, district administration handed over the land to UCIL project management. Interestingly, compensation (includes money and jobs) was given only to those who had ownership right on the land and whereas, persons having problem in succession and inheritance, were compensated by money and not through jobs in UCIL. As a consequence, many displaced persons remained outside the purview of complete compensation package of the company. It is worth noting here that out of 341 respondents, whom I interviewed, only 32% were having title deeds (patta) of the land. It is obvious that non-patta holders had a tough time to claim even their monetary compensation.

Complete rehabilitation was not done by UCIL management. My study reveals that the UCIL management had tried to resettle the displaced people at Dhabone, but it was not possible as the local people objected to the entry of additional people. A large majority (84%) of those interviewed are actually living in some nearby villages by purchasing land as local people didn’t make any objection to it, and 12% was found living in Jamshedpur and Chaibasa and rest were residing in the UCIL colony. I also noticed that there was a slight decline in mud houses as against a significant improvement in rocks, bricks and asbestos houses. The reason for this is a large part of
the amount received as compensation for land was used not to purchase land but for the construction of houses.

Although UCIL management had given employment to some adults of the affected families and deposited the compensation amount in few people’s account for building houses, nothing more was done. Till my field work, rehabilitation was yet to begin though the work on building the third tailing pond had been completed. Later, the UCIL became busy in raising boundary of tailing pond so that waste materials of pond would not mix with village stream. It is worth noting here that some villagers were exposed to these hazards and were admitted to the UCIL hospital. As a result of a casual approach followed by the management towards proper rehabilitation and resettlements of the oustees, I could notice several protesting activities including gherao of UCIL official by the displaced people from Dungridih. Being unable to ‘manage’ these movements, the management came out with the funny argument that they did not have enough job vacancies to recruit all those displaced.

Displacement not only evicts the owner from the land and destroys his livelihood and employment opportunities but also affects the families of the agricultural labourers, domestic labourers and artisans (blacksmiths, carpenters, cobblers etc). They are primarily those who work as labourers, milkmen, tillers, harvesters, cow and goat rearers and flower and vegetable vendors. The demand for farm labour work has become more fluctuating and uncertain. After displacement, a landless labourer is much more uncertain at the beginning of a month. Legally, ‘directly affected persons’ are entitled to compensation and other benefits as a part of settlement and rehabilitation; but ‘indirectly affected people’ do not get any compensation. They do not at all belong to
the category to avail rehabilitation package. These groups of people who were
dependent on land and land owners indirectly lose their right to life, security,
employment and livelihood opportunities.

The forced shifting to rehabilitation centre has generated several socio-economic
problems to the oustees. This is because, as in the case of Jadugura, the government did
not provide basic minimum support facilities like transport to shift the luggage and
other resources to the affected people. Further, oustees reported that at the time of
shifting there were no facilities like roads, water, electricity, schools and market in the
colonies where they were given plots. As a result, they had to settle in different other
places or villages nearby, instead of shifting to those colonies where plots were
provided to them. They further stated that plots given at UCIL colony were not given at
proper time, and they were allotted to few displaced people after the oustees had settled
somewhere else. Most of the respondents in the study area have faced so many
problems in shifting from the original village to new places.

Not only this, while constructing the third tailing pond, childless widows were
displaced from their houses; but they did not get their compensation as the patta
(ownership paper) of land was in the name of their husband. The UCIL project, in terms
of rehabilitation or any other benefits, addressed the family as a unit. And within the
family, the beneficiaries were the adult male members. Women rarely got compensation
as they formally own neither land nor house. This made the position of single women
and widow more vulnerable. Their children were struggling to support their families,
could not take care of their old parents. Thus, the old women had to depend upon the
old age pension.
The study reveals that the land acquisition has affected the social, economic, religious and political life of the oustees very badly. Thus, to begin with, economic constraints and changes in land ownership pattern forced the oustees to abandon joint and extended families and start nuclear and single units. Land acquisition has also brought about a split in the families, as people went to several places in search of livelihood. The rise of single headed families since displacement signifies breakdown of social relations and societal bonds that hardly characterise life of tribal and other communities in and around Jadugura. Simultaneously, there has been marked change in the occupational life and the place of work of the people affected by the land acquisition. There is significant decline in agricultural activity because of reduction in availability of land for this purpose. Thus, only 40% of oustees could continue as peasants as compared to 67% earlier. A significant number of displaced people (29%) now work as contract labourers with UCIL while the proportion of either agricultural labourer or artisans was 20% earlier. Large numbers of persons now depend on the main city area for work. In several places, women who used to assist in agriculture and animal husbandry, have now started working in the houses of other persons as domestic help. Shift from a stable source of livelihood to a competitive and shaky mode of earning has left deep imprint on the pecuniary conditions of the families. It may be noted that only about 12% of my respondents could earn Rs. 1200 or more a month during the survey. This indicates the poor conditions under which the oustees have to live. Let me now discuss the major impoverishment risks faced by the displaced people of Jadugura:

**Landlessness:** The study has revealed that a significant number of people became
landless after land acquisition. Landlessness has its adverse impact not only on the economic sphere, but also on general lowering of the social and political status in an agrarian society, as also on the mental state which handicaps the displaced people in coping with new behaviour patterns. Among 341 respondents, 38% were found landless after land acquisition where as the number of such people were only 8% before land acquisition. For the tribals and ruralites alike, ownership of land along with control over forest resources had tremendous social, economic and psychological bearing in both individual and community life.

**Joblessness:** In Jadugura there was temporary rise in wage employment initially, which was associated with project construction activities. But these options declined rapidly once manual task in the project came to an end. Gradually, unemployment or underemployment engulfed the resettlers leading to their impoverishment. Unemployment and underemployment pushed displaced people to seek options of seasonal migration and inter-state migration including options like bonded or child labourer for the minors. Constraints in the family front also forced women, children and even old persons to supplement income by joining poorly paid informal sector jobs.

**Homelessness:** Home refers to the place, which enshrines and enriches life. Its loss is tantamount to the loss of cultural space, identity and hence it ultimately leads to cultural impoverishment. Home gives a sense of belonging, social and psychological security and an assurance of togetherness. It also provides a psychological and more than that a spiritual attachment with ancestors. In a broader cultural sense, loss of a family's individual home and the loss of a groups' cultural space tend to result in alienation and status deprivation. In the Jadugura region it has been found that loss of house and
shelter may be only temporary for some displaced people as they are able to construct house; but for many homelessness remains a chronic condition because they have eaten up compensatory money and now they are living near Rakamines railway station by constructing temporary houses. They are totally dependent on the mercy of railway authority. Their living conditions are miserable. Some of the displaced people are living in tin sheds in the UCIL colony. The people are not facilitated with civic amenities, except drinking water.

*Marginalisation:* In Jadugura, marginalisation has occurred when displaced families lost economic power and spiralled on a downward mobility path. Additionally, there was a significant reduction in the possession of livestock after land acquisition by UCIL. Many families had to reduce their livestock due to the non-availability of land including grassland and uncertainty of their own livelihood. Like livestock, there has been drastic reduction in the number of trees and also resources from trees after displacement. Displaced people have not been able to substitute new trees in the place of old ones. As a result, there is a total loss of income from trees after land acquisition. Numerous displaced people cannot use their earlier acquired skills in new location; human capital is lost or rendered inactive or obsolete. Field survey also suggests that there is a drastic reduction in the possession of agricultural assets in Jadugura. Reduction in the number of agricultural assets of the oustees has led to ‘asset poverty’ of the marginalised. Economic marginalisation is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalisation expressed as a drop in social status, loss of confidence, a feeling of injustice and deepening vulnerability.
The risk of marginalisation has posed threat to the displaced villagers as they are assigned to be a part of lower socio-economic status in the locality by the dominant members of host community. Such marginalisation is accompanied by loss of self-esteem when these people start settling in a new locality. The host often put the blame of environmental and social degradation in their locality on the displaced people and labels them as ‘others’ possessing lower cultural and social status. Conversely, the displaced people also get involved in self-destructive activities like excessive drinking of liquor, domestic violence, destruction of forest and so on. On the whole, displacement in Jadugura had pushed men and women into repetitive, unrewarding seasonal migration for construction and other temporary work, and marginalised not just them, but subsequent generations as well.

It is worth mentioning here that a few of those evicted and later employed by the UCIL were lucky enough to improve their social and economic status. These ‘gainers’ also could use the compensation money gainfully to purchase land and strengthening their bank balance. On the whole, therefore, displacement has contributed to creation of new classes particularly among the tribals. The gap in the social and economic status of the ‘gainers’ and the ‘losers’ has widened since displacement.

*Social Disarticulation:* The Jadugura experience reveals that displacement reduces employment opportunities for the tribal population as a whole and causes impoverishment to many, thus denying them their right to employment, work and livelihood. It also led to deterioration in social, cultural and economic support mechanisms at relocation sites. It has been a practice for any poor tribal to depend on their kinsmen at the time of crises in their family as also at the time of marriage and
funeral, which required deployment of substantial resources, beyond the capacity of a family. Displacement disarticulates such social equilibrium.

Food Insecurity: In Jadugura, it has been found that the consumption of green vegetables decreased as resettlers were unable to grow vegetables in resettled places and buying them in market was beyond their means. Their self-reliance was disrupted due to the loss of agricultural land. Over and above, destruction of common property resources in and around Jadugura made the tribals dependent on market supply. Given little alternatives, they have to buy cheap food stuff from local market resulting in a low calorie and monotonous diet.

Before displacement, a variety of crops such as paddy, wheat, maize and various types of oil seeds, vegetables and tobacco were grown by the people in different categories of land such as plain land, hill slope land, and low land. But in the post displacement period, most of the displaced have been resettled in plain areas. Types of land under cultivation at present are totally different, as a very few people have purchased hill slope land in the new place. Due to change in variety of land under cultivation, there is a drastic change in the cropping pattern in post-rehabilitation period. As a result, oustees are faced with the unfamiliar problem of food- insecurity.

Increased morbidity and mortality: Involuntary resettlement in Jadugura has led to increased social stress, insecurity, psychological trauma, and the outbreak of relocation-related illness, particularly parasitic and vector-borne disease, such as malaria and dengue. Unsafe water supply and poor sewerage system increase vulnerability to epidemics and chronic diarrhoea, dysentery and so on. The weakest segment of the demographic spectrum-infants, children, and the elderly are affected most strongly.
Loss of access to common property and services: As tribal people mostly live within or close to forests where common property resources are available, their traditional right to such resources are lost when they are forced to relocate. Access to common property resources has drastically deteriorated in the Jadugura region after displacement. Most of the displaced people complained that common property resources like firewood, fruits, honey, house construction material, vegetables including fish or animal meat are not sufficient in resettlement site and is much less than what they had earlier within or close to village.

Disruption of Formal Educational activity: The chaotic environment that results from displacement as well as improper resettlement distracts parents from focusing proper attention on children as they struggle to reconstruct their physical and productive environment. What normally follows is dropout of children from school and converting them into child labour. There are instances of children dying within five years of their birth due to lack of proper care, immunisation or treatment. Research has also shown that such dropout is also related to early marriage of girl-child including trafficking of children. The dropout rates are already very high due to acute poverty and deprivation which did not allow parents to send their children to school.

Degradation of Environment: The large-scale mining in Jadugura region has caused severe damage to the land resources of the area. Vast areas of rich forests and agricultural land belonging to the indigenous people have been laid waste due to mining and construction of tailing ponds. As a result, the flora and fauna of the region have been adversely affected. The pollution at Jadugura Uranium plant site is more threatening to people. They reported that the production of food grain repeatedly failed.
within 5 sq.km of the plant area, and that the health of both human and animals were damaged due to the increased radiation level.

8.1.1 Social Consequences

Following resettlement of oustees in new locations, the tradition of sharing resources and maintaining a close community life suffered setback. In most of the villages where land was purchased by the displaced people mistrust or rift over resource sharing (especially common property resources and civic amenities) among unknown people was likely. Since the villages in new locations got divided into ‘we’ and ‘they’ groups, the sense of a strong community feeling became weak. The newcomers were unwanted as they put pressure on limited resources for the host population.

It has been found that the tribal women usually depend on the emotional support of family, neighbour and kins. Their social responsibilities during tribal festival, marriage ceremonies are fulfilled by these relatives. 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. But after displacement they have lost their role and status and social network has broken down, which is now unbearable for women.

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 have started accepting the dominant caste custom like housewife eating late after feeding other family members. In the context of food shortage, girls and housewives were bound to get very little food, with malnutrition being a consequence.

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 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 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. procreation of children. Hence on this ground they desert the girls who are left to look after themselves. In these cases, instances of increasing drunkenness even among women have been found.
8.1.2 Economic Consequences

The compensatory jobs given by UCIL mainly have gone to men. It has been found 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. 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 wage basis. Jobs being scarce with the project, the first casualty were the women because they lack skill and do not normally protest. Again, in the face of competition between family members due to scarcity of jobs, the women tend to lose out, often almost voluntarily.

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.

Field survey also reveals that the displaced women, except those few who could manage a job at UCIL, 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 labourers. 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. More importantly, the Jadugura project has pushed women and children to nearby towns and cities and forced many of them to get involved in flesh trade. 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 spend their income to buy 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. Moreover, availability of forest products has declined due to repetitive 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.

8.1.3 Psychological Consequences

The issues of displacement and psychological disorder are exacerbated by the fact that many indigenous groups often feel a spiritual connection to their local environment, forests and native land and suffer from immense distress when separated from them. Landless people have stated the reason for their psychological disorder to be land acquisition, loss of livelihood and financial problem. During field survey, the present researcher has met some women suffering from mental abnormality. Out of 260 women, 56% have stated to have undergone stress and post-traumatic stress disorder due to land acquired by UCIL and loss of their livelihood. Among the remaining causes, migration in search of better jobs, financial problem, division of families, less income, debt, alcohol drinking and gambling by husband have been identified. The availability of cash in their hands and the psychological pressure they were facing at that time gave rise to the tendency of increased drinking. Shock and trauma of losing everything had frustrating impact on their 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.

8.1.4 Cultural Impact

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.

8.1.5 Health Risks for Women and Children

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 and still birth among married women, chronic lung diseases are noticed. The health of women living around uranium mining areas is more vulnerable. This research proves that out of 250 women, living in the seven villages located within one kilometer radius of the tailing dams, 43% reported disruptions of their menstrual cycle, 17% had suffered from miscarriages, and 10% reported some sort of fertility problems. Nearly all women complained of fatigue, weakness and depression. Infant and child mortality are also found to be 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 also been found in Jadugura 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.

8.1.6 Movement against Displacement

The question of displacement and land alienation is so acute in Jadugura that the people of this area had set up their own displaced persons organisation called Jharkhand Adivasi Visthapit Berojgari Sangh (JAVBS) and Jharkhand's Organization against Radiation (JOAR). Jaduguda people are active participants in the movement against displacement led by JAVBS and JOAR and they are ready to carry their struggle till justice is done. While the construction of third tailing pond at Chatikocha was going on, JAVBS and JOAR have fought extensively on behalf of the displaced people. They protested against their houses being bulldogged and agricultural fields being levelled. UCIL management also did not spare their sacred places of worship and graveyard. As a result of these movements a dialogue between the displaced persons and UCIL management could be established. Initially, however, JAVBS and JOAR worked mainly to establish rapport with the displaced people and demanded effective implementation of displacement package. They then organised demonstration, road blockade and pressed the authority for announcing appropriate compensation to the displaced families. As a result of which few displaced family members were given job in the UCIL industry later.

Displacement in Chatikocha however could not be resisted and the JAVBS and
JOAR had to approach the Ranchi Bench of Bihar High Court in mid 1996 seeking restrain of the UCIL authority from forcibly evicting the people and bulldozing their houses. The court, instead of giving a clear verdict, advised the people's representative and the district administration to enter into a composite dialogue and sort out the problem. The reason for which court could not respond was that the right to property was no longer a fundamental right.

Accepting the inevitable fact that displacement cannot be completely stopped JOAR again put forward a new set of demands before the UCIL authorities on behalf of villagers for their lands and proper rehabilitation. The leadership of JAVBS has also submitted a memorandum to the District Commissioner of East Singhbhum in this regard. Their demands include: (a) no new uranium mining in and around Jadugura or Chatikocha, (b) bring the existing mine under the international safety guide lines, (c) return of tribal land acquired earlier, not utilised for mining, (d) provide livelihood and rehabilitation to the displaced people, (e) clean up of the contamination, (f) make an independent study of the environmental and health impact of the UCIL’s operation in Jadugura.

The people of mining areas live under threat of their lives due to the radiation as there are open cast uranium mines. After the uranium ore is mined and processed, the yellow cake is sent to the Nuclear Fuel Complex in Hyderabad for enrichment. The waste is then brought back to the UCIL complex for further extraction. Finally, the waste is dumped into the ponds, which is open and unprotected. The UCIL admitted the issue, but denied any threat to life from radiation due to such exposure. Moreover, the UCIL claims that it has not seen any effect of radiation on its workforce. Organisations
like JAVBS and JOAR however think the opposite. Hence, they have resisted any further land acquisition for uranium mining and attempted to educate the people about uranium waste and its implications on health and environment.

It is interesting in this context to inquire into responses of the state to the whole issue. The Jharkhand government has given its official stand on rehabilitation issue. It is supporting the demand for land by displaced people. But the fact is that the government does not have enough land for distribution. Hence, it restricts its responsibility to find any land of any quality for providing at least a homestead plot and a house to all landless displaced people. The State government at least officially acknowledges its responsibility towards the welfare of the tribal people. Yet, no one knows how to balance between the claims of the industry and those of the displaced people living at the margin of the society. The whole issue calls for a critical scrutiny of the existing models of ‘development’ and evolve real alternatives that would benefit the maximum number of people in society, promote participatory, sustainable and eco-friendly development.

8.2 Policy Implications

The displacement of people caused by developmental projects is a serious issue of nationwide concern. Displacement refers to the process of acquisition of land and other resources in order to allow a project to proceed for the overall good. Now the question is how the displaced people would be provided with a better deal and what shall be the responsibility of the institution in this regard. Perhaps this query can be responded well in terms of rehabilitation. Rehabilitation means the process of reconstructing the livelihood of the displaced people. However, it is evident in Jadugura and similar other
instances that the costs of displacement can never be met by cash compensation alone. The small sum received as compensation is soon exhausted and it does not provide a long term source of income. The solution is to allow the displaced people to share the benefits of development first. More importantly, there should be equitable sharing of costs and benefits of any development project by the gainers and losers. Resettlement as a consequence of displacement can be positive when it is seen and planned as an opportunity to improve the livelihood of those displaced by investing in their development and not only by compensating their loses. Involving people displaced from their land as partners in development projects will not only remove conflicts but also ensure a more equitable development process. This would ensure the fact that people are important to projects. It is they who provide land without which no project is possible. People who contribute land need to be recognised as important ‘shareholders’ and to be treated as such. What is most important is to accept that the principal of benefit sharing in all categories of project is a crucial, fair principal, and that political will and legal regulation to implement it are indispensable. Uranium Project generates many benefits, and the way to make the development process a truly inclusive one is to share these with all the affected persons. UCIL authority complains about the lack of resources for resettlement, but the benefits that Jadugura project has generated can be distributed with the displaced families. Benefits could be in any form. These could be targeted at individuals or households or could be in the form of community resources or public services. Project management should initiate welfare measures to help displaced communities for overcoming their negative impacts.
The Jadugura uranium mining project management and Eastern Singhbhum administration should also see to it that their actions should not create gender inequality and power imbalances among displaced people. In rehabilitation and resettlement programme, they should include women as full beneficiaries of compensation and as independent co-owners of land; to make provisions for women’s livelihood along with housing and employment; to recognise and build on women’s informal rights in customary practices; to avoid any violation of their rights; to include strong gender analysis and gender sensitive data regarding the impact of displacement; to have special provisions to include the full participation of women in decision making processes around displacement and resettlement; and to build strong safeguards to facilitate women’s access to compensation and any other benefits. Management should also formulate gender sensitive planning so that women’s issues can be addressed in wider perspective. Improvement of health services by providing training for village-midwives, primary healthcare centres, family planning counselling, clean water supply and sanitation training and also enhance educational opportunities (providing literacy and numeric training, promoting girls’ education), participation in decision making (support for women’s interest groups) and promoting equal opportunity for women’s empowerment

In this context, the World Bank’s resettlement policy has assumed significance which suggested avoiding or minimising involuntary displacement. If it is unversed, then assisting displaced persons in their efforts to improve or at least restore former living standards and earning capacity. Displaced person should be compensated for their losses at replacement cost and give opportunity to share in project benefits. Minimising
the distance between departure and relocation site and moving people in groups can facilitate the resettlers adaptation to the new socio-cultural and natural environment.

The involuntary resettlement policy of Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) stated that the indigenous and low-income ethnic minority communities whose identities are based on the territory they have traditionally occupied are particularly vulnerable to the disruptive and impoverishing effects of resettlement. They often lack formal property rights to the areas on which they depend for their subsistence, and find themselves at a disadvantage in pressing their claims for compensation and rehabilitation. Therefore, the bank suggests that the resettlement compensation should directly benefit the affected community related to their prior situation and customary rights will be fully recognised and fairly compensated, compensation options will include land based resettlement and the people affected have given their informed consent to the resettlement and compensation measures.

The existing social and cultural institution of resettlers and their hosts should be relied upon in conducting the transfer and re-establishment process. New community of resettlers should be designed as viable resettlement system equipped with infrastructure and services. Indigenous people's land which is taken for project must be provided with adequate land infrastructure and compensations.

8.3 Suggestions for Rehabilitation Facilities

The Dhebar Commission’s recommendation explained that a permanent mechanism for study of every individual project and its impact on tribal interest should be set up. The scheme of rehabilitation and resettlement should be an integral part of the project. The time lag between displacement and rehabilitation shall be minimised. It should be the
responsibility of the project authority to provide basic facilities like house, drinking water, sanitation, school, road, hospital etc. It laid emphasis on technical education and attached high priority to absorption of the tribal people in permanent employment. Thus, government should make national policy on rehabilitation by considering World Bank, IADB and Dhebar Commission recommendation. The National Policy on Rehabilitation and Resettlement 2007 Bill was passed by Lok Sabha and placed in upper house of parliament, but the Bill lapsed due to expiry of 14th Lok Sabha.

The post colonial Indian state, very paradoxically, taking advantage of the Land Acquisition Act 1894 introduced by its colonial predecessors, has been engaged in massive acquisition of land for various developmental project. This act, very often imposed in the name of ‘public interest’, has harmed the interest of the humble public. The piece of colonial law aimed at protecting and consolidating the interest of the colonisers in the Indian subcontinent, has given the one sided absolute right to the post colonial state at the cost of the rights of its own citizens. Time has come now to question what is meant by ‘public interest’ when the state is acquiring land for private industrialists. In a judgment on the question of land acquisition by the Uttar Pradesh Government, the bench of Justices G S Singhvi and A K Ganguli of the Supreme Court of India has observed on 5th July 2011 that ‘state governments are taking advantage of the colonial law to push poor out of development agenda. The term ‘public purpose’ should mean what Mahatma Gandhi had said – it should help the poorest person. But the state is taking land from the poor to give it to the rich’. In most mining situations, communities become aware of projects only at the time of eviction when the bull-dozers are brought in, many a times with police presence. The public hearings are organised in
a biased and almost discrete manner where the local administration, the statutory bodies for clearing the projects and the mining companies are in close collusion to ensure that there are no effective objections raised by the public. Most mining companies also operate on the basis of a deemed consent so that even without the mandatory clearances, mining operations are expanded beyond lease areas and periods. Hence, the sooner this draconian law is abrogated, the better it is for the marginalised people.

The Supreme Court of India, in the Samatha judgment, has held that all mining activities in indigenous areas should be carried out through cooperation of the indigenous peoples and private mining should not be allowed. It further argued that at least twenty percent of the net income should be spent on education, health and communication, etc. But this judgment has been completely ignored by UCIL management in practice and ‘eminent domain’ still holds sway in India. Mass discontent is increasing in Jadugura region and UCIL authority and state government should give adequate consideration to the strong feeling of people with regard to save their land. In Chatikocha, Banduhurang and Bagjata, it has been found that people were determined to defend their land even if they have to sacrifice their life in their process. This systemic exclusion of displaced people from development process caused a deep sense of alienation and frustration. The recent Jharkhand government draft on resettlement policy however makes a welcome break with ‘eminent domain’ and invokes the process of ‘free, prior and informed consent’ for all activities leading displacement.

Now it seems that the policies of government should take the following ideas into consideration while dealing with the issue of displacement and rehabilitation. Thus, to begin with, the management should first re-create adequate infrastructure and
institutions for the displaced tribals. Their houses must be constructed on the same pattern as they left behind. The new habitat of the displaced people should be an exact replica of at least the old, if not better, by resettling the whole village in one place and by trying to create an appropriate living environment with all the basic facilities. As displacement leads to the breakdown of the social order, attempt should be made to build traditional facilities like dormitories, place of ancestor burial, worship place, which provide a social milieu for the displaced communities alike earlier. The rehabilitation and resettlement should consider social and cultural factors while providing sustainable means of livelihood. Moreover, the people must be compensated on ‘a land for land’ basis, as their sole occupation is agriculture and they respect agriculture as proper livelihood. If the land compulsorily acquired may be replaced by other land of equal productivity, then there would be no basic livelihood problems in involuntary displacement. At the same time, rehabilitation should facilitate the entire community including the landless labourers, tenant, land holders homeless and the unemployed and forest dwellers to get the benefits of compensation. The project affected people should also be allowed formally to organise themselves as a pressure group so that they can demand adequate compensation from the management and fight against lapse from declared policy. The rehabilitation must lead to a comprehensive development of the people affected by land acquisition. It could be a part of developmental strategy. Rehabilitation would then improve the standard of living of the affected person. On the whole, the development should not only benefit the organisations and agencies, which acquire land and property, but should facilitate the people who are deprived of their resources.
In recent times there is intense debate in the country on displacement, one aspect of which is a fairly widespread agreement that efforts should be made to minimise the possibilities of displacement. In particular, there is quite widespread support for the demand that the loss of fertile, irrigated farmland should be avoided except in perhaps the most unavoidable cases which will be decided by the central or the concerned state government. The process of displacement and rehabilitation itself needs to be more humane, and this is best achieved if it is planned and executed in consultation with the affected people. The formulation of suitable policies as also a development paradigm, that will minimise displacement, should be given top priority. The planning must be carried out judiciously so as to minimise the loss of fertile farmland. The tendency to grab extra land should be curbed and displacement for non-priority purposes should be strictly restricted. So government should practically demonstrate respect for the resettlement issue and recognise displaced people's voices and it has to design pro-poor policies and poverty alleviation programme which can change the negative impact of displacement to a better future for the displaced people.