CHAPTER - ONE

INTRODUCTION: UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENT & DISPLACEMENT

The emergence of third world as a force in the second half of the twentieth century has thrown open many questions and challenges. The foremost among them is the paths of development in the third world countries. The task of improving the conditions of the impoverished masses living in the under-developed third world countries has been the biggest question before the statesmen and policy makers. To improve the condition of the people and for the rapid economic growth, planners in India like other third world countries perceived development in terms of economic growth measured by the growth of Gross National Product (GNP) or increase of per capita income. To achieve this target growth, they emphasised on ‘big push model’ and focused on heavy industrialisation, modernisation and urbanisation. Though some progress was achieved in agricultural, economic and industrial front, development on the other side has pushed indigenous people and weaker sections of the society into poverty and backwardness (Parida 2006: 5).

Development is a multi-dimensional process. It implies transformation, indicating qualitative and balanced change that is oriented towards the future. As Gaulet (1975: 9) says, ‘development is the entire gamut of changes by which any social system optimally attentive to the wishes of individuals and sub-systems comprising it moves away from a condition of life, widely perceived as unsatisfactory, towards some condition regarded as humanely better’.

Development is also a value-laden concept with historical, philosophical and ideological dimensions. When development is debated, what is deliberated upon is not just
what is it that one wishes to develop, but also how one wants to do it. In such a scenario, development signifies advancement towards the realisation of goals that have been defined as desirable. The concept of a goal for development does not presuppose a unique goal or even its realisation goal is not necessarily realised or necessarily unchangeable. Over a period of time, the goals in and of a society may reflect not only changing opinions but also changing realities. However, goals of development should not be confused with indicators or degree of development indicators such as gross national product or per capita income. Indicators are intended to tell us at best where we are and where we might be heading, not where we should be heading (UNESCO 1988: 9). We are today intensely involved in debating and often protesting against development ‘pathologies’ like disparity, distress, discrimination and displacement (Oommen 2006). Development is a double-edged sword: it definitely benefits a few. When ordinary people lose jobs and traditional sources of livelihood like land, water and forests, how is it possible to name this change as ‘development’? Whose development is being spoken of? The current trends of development give rise to gains and losses; it is a few who gain at the cost of the pain of many. Can we alleviate this pain? Can we make development inclusive?

Development is thus held responsible with some immediate plausibility for the damage. The contemporary trend has defined development as enhancement of human freedom, involving diverse concern but incorporating expansion of social opportunities and the quality of life; development cannot but be sensitive to the quality of environment (Sen and Dreze 2002: 219). In the name of ‘development’, a vast majority of people in different parts of the world witnessed marginalisation, decay, stagnation, retardation, underdevelopment, inequality or violence. In other words, the promise of sustained
progress and our journey to a new paradise appear to be more and more remote even after several decades of ‘development’ sponsored by nation-state and supported by accredited world organisations. The Western experience of ‘development’ since 17th century has been full of disillusionment (Ghosh 2011: 20). India’s post colonial experience of state-sponsored development projects unmistakably signals that the benefits of such projects have been usurped largely by the economically and politically dominant sections of society. Development has been biased and unequal in its manifestation. In many cases, it has been brutal, ruthless and inhuman in its consequences (Hussain 2008: 15).

1.1 Plethora of Approaches to Development

The theories of development have passed through different phases. Ever since the world divides into two blocks in the aftermath of World War II, the theories on development have taken turns. T. K. Oommen (2004: 9-25) has identified three major perspectives in the trajectory development. He designated them as Mainstream Perspective on Development (MPD), Alternative Perspective on Development (APD) and Post-Development Perspective (PDP). As Professor Oommen argues, the earliest avatar of MPD could be traced to colonialism and its civilising mission. Establishing primacy of industry over agriculture was the second phase in MPD. However, political changes in the colonies and the less industrialised Central and East European countries provided a new twist to the career of development. Anti-colonial movements rejected the agency of colonial West for development but accepted its goal, namely modernisation. Modernisation has now become the endogenous project of development to be executed by the ‘national’ elite. Colonialism was re-placed by the modernisation, which in effect was westernisation. In the case of Central and East European countries the arrival of socialism gave birth to a new model of
development. This also gave birth to two competing models of modernisation: one based on capitalism, another on socialism. The idea of stages of growth crystallised during the Cold War period. There were the Right and Left versions of such growth. But, both endorsed industrial urbanisation and modernisation as their goals and advocated that the backward economies should follow the same trajectory. The difference was in the prescription for the backwards, how to acquire capital and technology. But the devastation brought by industrialisation on environment produced a new trend in development thinking. Development produced the ‘risk society’ as the whole world is exposed to ecological devastations. Understandably sustainable development became the new refrain. In the meantime multi-party democracy gained near-universal legitimacy and the Second World got dismantled. The bi-polar world gave birth to a uni-polar world and the Cold War disappeared. The new instrument of development is the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP); modernisation is replaced by globalisation. The two current offspring of MPD are neo-liberalism and Human Development. Thus, the Mainstream Perspective on Development (MPD), on the whole, often conceptualises development as a single homogeneous process towards modernisation underestimating the potentials for diversity, complexity and adaptability. In fact, most studies in this tradition undertaken through sophisticated quantitative analyses conclude that growth is positively related to equality. On the other hand, dependency theory raised the issue of global inequality. The fact is that inequality has been increasing even as rapid growth is taking place. The narrow economic framework employed by the neo-liberal model is consistent only when it leaves out social, cultural, political psychological and environmental variables. In fact, development was initially understood as economic development. Sociology and Social Anthropology entered
the arena of development studies to explain the factors which facilitated or hindered development and launched the notion of social development. It is this moving away of development studies from economics, which heralded the beginning of the Alternative Perspective on Development (APD).

APD is a critique of mainstream perspective on development. There are two strands of this. First, an alternative approach to development. That is, apparently the goal is the same as that of MPD but the means differ – it is participatory and people-oriented. Here the agency of development becomes crucial, a shift from state and/or market to civil society is emphasised. A visible manifestation of this shift of emphasis in the agency of development is found in the fact that in the past two decades more funds are channelled through Non Government Organisations (NGOs) than through governments by IMF and World Bank. This also hints at the peaceful co-existence of the two perspectives – mainstream and alternative.

Secondly, an alternative goal of development is visualised through APD – people-centred development, geared to satisfaction of needs, which is endogenous, self-reliant and in harmony with the environment. In this rendition, APD incarnates as anti-capitalism, green thinking, feminism, eco-feminism, new social movements, Buddhist economics, Gandhian morality, and post structuralist analysis of development discourse. Alternative development then is development from below, that is, community centred and NGO initiated. APD generally refers to three spheres – agents (NGOs) methodology (participatory, self-reliant, and endogenous) and objectives (geared to basic needs).

The hallmark of alternative development methodology is participation, the epistemological root of alternative development is local knowledge, and its
implementation strategy is decentralisation of economy and polity. But all these elements are increasingly incorporated by MPD. The society-centred participatory development is now being co-opted by modernists and neo-liberals. What is labelled as indigenous is not always local but that which is locally accepted. Many of the indigenous items have been alien once. Finally, decentralisation is now widely endorsed by MPD. Even the World Bank advocates putting the people first, Professor Oommen therefore suggests that there is a dialectical relationship between MPD and APD; they shape and influence reciprocally, giving birth to mutations such as Human Development Perspective (HDP).

While both MPD and APD pursue development, even if of varying quality, the Post Development Perspective (PDP) rejects development as conceptualised by MPD and APD. APD advocates the death of development; it is beyond development. Indeed it is anti-development. PDP emerged with a western critique of modernity and techno-scientific progress such as critical theory, post-structuralism and green movements. Please note an important distinction between APD and PDP. APD rejects the idea of development equals modernisation equals westernisation, which is often the refrain of MPD. APD refuses to be a mere endorser of the western model of development; it rejects the notion of singular modernity. But it does not reject the notion of modernity as such, it pleads for multiple modernity, the non-west being creators of their versions of alternative modernity. But PDP rejects the very idea of modernity and hence development. The main target of attack by PDP is western science, particularly Newtonian Physics, Positivism, Cartesianism and Enlightenment thinking. But it forgets the fact that science has been continuously renewing itself. The main limitation of PDP is that it puts a moratorium on human creativity; it ignores the capacity of MPD to adapt. PDP even denies the agency of South; the
importance of dependency theory, the relevance of alternative development, the sensibility
of human development.

It appears that ‘development’ has no definite boundary, no specific pathways and no
universal approach and strategy (Ghosh 2011). It has been argued that the development
discourse is very rich in rhetoric but rather poor in coping with reality. Part of the reason
for this is that positions and counter-positions in development studies often operate on the
basis of simplistic dichotomies – modernity versus tradition, western science versus
indigenous knowledge, the global versus the local and the state versus the market (Pieterse
2001). In this context, as Ghosh (2011) argues, development can be viewed as a ‘discourse’
- a way or framework of thinking and action about things having consequences for power.
As a framework of ideas, behaviour and practice, the discourse(s) on development
produces and employs ‘knowledge’ to make distinctions between perceived and proposed
conditions of living in both abstract and concrete sense. Such an approach to development
is also helpful to locate changes in its meaning over time and space. It has been shown in
numerous studies that the meaning, strategy, and dimensions of development do change
and are changing with the changing passage of time. Even in a given context,
‘development’ means several things to different stakeholders. In other words, there are
several discourses on development and the ‘success’ of a particular model/strategy should
have to be judged keeping in view questions like ‘development by whom’, ‘for whom’, and
‘at what costs’. Existence of multi-plurality of discourses on development may lead one to
refrain from considering any particular mode of thinking, mechanism, or paradigm as final
or acceptable universally.
1.2 Notion of Displacement

Displacement is the project impact that necessitates resettlement of affected persons. Displacement may be either physical or economic. Physical displacement is the actual physical relocation of people resulting in a loss of shelter, productive assets or access to productive assets (such as land, water, and forest). Economic displacement results from an action that interrupts or eliminates access to productive assets without physically relocating the people themselves (Mathur 2006: 38).

The discourse on the contours of displacement and rehabilitation and its in-depth analysis is mainly cornered around the issue of political, economic and its implication on the entire process. These studies either remained emphatic on the state’s insensitivity towards the alarming issue of displacement or highlighted the immediate effects of dislocation (Patnaik 2000). But some other dimensions of the displacement and rehabilitation also need serious attention. The changing pattern of interpersonal and social relationships among the displaced people, the process of social disarticulation and re-articulation are also some significant arenas, which remained as core issue for the sociologist.

A thorough understanding of the impact of displacement on the social structure of the displaced community has been a formidable task, which is successfully dealt with by the sociologists. As every development project requires large chunk of land, which can be easily available and grabbed in the remotest rural and tribal part of the society, the planners generally fall back to these areas. Consequently, the victims of industrial development overtly lose their dwelling and livelihood and covertly their culture, civilisation and bonding with the natal place. The condition becomes more pathetic when the project-
affected persons (henceforth PAPs) are not even consulted before, during or after the whole process. Ironically, they remain ignorant and unaware about their future and oscillate between hope and despair. At times, with great amount of expectations, they dream hefty package from the rehabilitation agencies and on un-accomplishment of wishes and desires, they show intense resentment (Verma 2011: 164). Therefore, the process of development should commensurate with the local needs, cultural conditions, individual or group aspirations.

For the purpose of analysis, we can distinguish three kinds of displacement or relocation, depending on the willingness (or lack of it) of the displaced families to be relocated: First one is voluntary displacement - when the concerned communities or families move out on their own. Second is forced displacement - when the relocation takes place despite opposition or unwillingness from the concerned communities or families. Third is induced displacement - when the relocation is sought or accepted by the communities or families concerned, due to circumstances created by the mega project (by itself or in conjunction with other factors). These circumstances could include severe pressure and harassment by officials, deprivation of natural resources that are essential for their livelihoods, denial of basic developmental facilities, or sandwiching between a mega project and project authority. The category of ‘induced’ displacement is crucial, for it may be the most common one in recent times, and could get mistaken for ‘voluntary’ displacement.

1.2.1 Development Induced Displacement

This model of development is broadly understood in terms of the technological and industrial intervention for modernising Indian society similar to the western path of
development. It includes recent trends in the globalisation of national economy with the key role of multinational and international financial organisation.

This development model undoubtedly helped the country to emerge as one of the influential economic and political power in the world with a large army of technically skilled manpower. However, as it is now observed, the very process of development in the country is generating wider socio-economic inequalities across space and people. The present development paradigm has not been able to tackle the problem of mass poverty and derisory form of living for a large section of marginalised people (Meher 2011: 146). It alienates people from their traditional sources of sustenance such as land, forest and village habitat. The products of these mega projects rarely reach the affected people. Moreover, the displaced families hardly get fair treatment from the project in terms of their resettlement rehabilitation. Most of those who sustain themselves on the common property resources are tribals and persons belonging to the poorest among the backward classes. Many do not own land according to the present law: they sustain themselves on what is acquired by rendering services to the village as agricultural labourers, merchants, artisans, barbers, etc (Dhagamwar 1989: 172). Hence, in case of any eviction, these people depending directly or indirectly on land are not considered land-losers because they do not enjoy any legal right over the land. This development approach ignores the fact that land in the rural set-up is not only a site for agriculture or construction, or only a commodity, but is the means of livelihood for its legal owners and all other dependents. There is a strong element of compulsion in displacement as it affects the entire community. The literate, the skilled, the unskilled, the poor, the wealthy, the healthy, and the crippled - all face eviction. Long established social network get disrupted along with the social support systems
through which the young-old, man-women, rich-poor and other members of the community sustain themselves.

The outburst in development induced displacement is one of the most serious issue plaguing development planners causing widespread concern and demanding immediate attention. The phenomenon of project-induced displacement has compounded many of the problems of social development. It has relegated social objective to the background, which government was committed to until recently, of ensuring land rights and carrying out land reforms and land distribution. By impoverishing the large masses of displaced people, it has aggravated the already complex problem of alleviating poverty. It has also become a major source of the deprivation of basic human rights in the society.

In the mistaken priority to accelerate growth, mainly through mega projects undertaken by private companies, the government has generally taken the side of the companies at the cost of displaced persons. Relocation has seldom been regarded as human problem involving fundamental rights, but considered a simple law and order problem with oustees always been on the wrong side of the law. As a result, any reluctance to part with land has been regarded as violation of law and protests against displacement have been ruthlessly crushed as in case of dam construction in Narmada and Tehri involving more than one states; power projects like National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC); mining industries in the form of Coal India Limited (CIL) or more recently, Nandigram and Singur in West Bengal and in Kashipur in Orissa. Upendra Baxi (2008: 17) has therefore rightly remarked that ‘no development without displacement’ is the mantra of the developers everywhere.
Development projects are one of the many causes of people's displacement. It is little known that India has one of the highest rates of development induced displacement. The consequence of the state choosing area to launch development projects time and again, has led to a high proportion of tribals falling in the category of internally displaced persons. Moreover, the state addressing its powerful vested interest is least concerned about tribal lives and livelihood. During the last 50 years, some 3,300 big dams have been built in India (NHRC 2002). Most of them have led to large scale forced eviction of vulnerable groups. The situation of tribal people is of special concern, as they constitute 40 to 50 per cent of the total displaced population. A reason for the high proportion of tribals among internally displaced persons is that the number of projects in their area has been growing since the 1970s (Hussain 2008:15).

1.2.2 Urbanisation induced Displacement

The importance of addressing the problem of urbanisation induced displacement in India where rapid economic development has resulted in the forced displacement of thousands of people. It often produces social conflicts within societies and results in involuntary displacement. It is observed that land acquisition for urban development benefits only certain segments of the population, but negatively it affects several people. It has severe social, economic and political consequences as well. Many Indian cities have experienced substantial urban displacement particularly after economic globalisation. The affected people live under conditions of deprivation and hardship and they include a large proportion of women and children (Advani 2009: 40). Urban displacement arises mainly due to space needed for various development purposes. Broadly these purposes fall into the following four major categories:
Economic Growth: Because of the advantages that cities offer in terms of banking, marketing and skilled manpower, they rapidly become major centres of industrial and business activities. Space is needed to accommodate the burgeoning business and industrial centres as well as housing for the growing population. The acquisition of land for such developmental requirements unavoidably leads to displacement of some groups from their existing settlements. Most cities in India owe their rapid growth to migration of people from small town and rural backgrounds to urban centres in search of better opportunities.

Environmental Improvement: As cities grow, civic services such as drinking water, energy, sewerage, waste disposal and sanitation, stretched to their limit, fail to operate optimally. Many poor areas often remain cut off from even essential services such as potable water, electricity and road. Environmental improvement works undertaken to restore normalcy to these services, especially in densely populated areas, require space for location of pumping stations and other utilities. This space cannot become available without relocating people coming in the way of improvement works.

Slum Upgrading: Because relocating an entire slum area is an unsettling experience for the affected population as well as a daunting task for urban development planners, relocation of the whole settlement is ordinarily not undertaken unless that area is either considered beyond improvement or required for some urgent public purpose. Slum upgrading is generally preferred to avoid the disruptive consequences of large-scale displacement. Even upgrading slums may, however not be possible without population displacement in some cases.
Non-Urban Projects: Certain projects located outside the urban area, too can trigger displacement affecting urban population. This happens, for example, when dam reservoir even though located at a distance submerges an existing town. In case of Tehri Dam, the towns were shifted to another location due to fear of submergence (Mathur 2006: 197).

1.2.3 Involuntary Displacement

The involuntary displacement of people from their productive assets for dams, industrial or infrastructures projects has equally resulted in acquisition of land for setting up irrigation, mining, transportation or mega industrial project. More and more agricultural lands are being depleted for setting up industrial projects now-a-days. The situation is aggravated due to major conversion of agricultural lands voluntarily or involuntarily into urbanised lands. The Land Acquisition Act, 1984 empowers the state to acquire private lands and properties in ‘public interest’. The Bhakra Nangal Project is one of the most well known dam projects in India. It is a multi-purpose project that includes a massive dam on the Sutlej River at Bhakra and a barrage downstream at Nangal. The project was undertaken at the threshold of independence, a time when there was a mood of patriotism, sacrifice and nation-building. Possibly the most important thing that one can say about the people displaced by the Bhakra Nangal Project is that even today, the oustees are struggling to rebuild their lives, socially as well as economically. People’s testimonies conveyed the feeling of pride that their sacrifice contributed to the country’s economic growth and progress. But the stories also revealed the enormous suffering two generations have had to undergo to get back their lives on track and they have not been completely successful in their endeavour as yet (Darmadhikary 2009: 134).
For the Rourkela Steel Plant, the total land acquired for the project was 19,722.69 acres, out of which 14,824.18 acres were private land and the rest 4,898.51 acres were government land. The total number of families displaced by the land acquisition process was 2,901. It is, however, found that the effort of land based rehabilitation of the oustees was half hearted as there was no uniformity in the principle of compensation paid to oustees. The decision relating rehabilitation and resettlement measures was totally ad hoc and arbitrary. On the other hand, many displaced families were not provided any employment in the steel plant for the sacrifice made by their ancestors in the past (Meher 2010).

The experiences of the post independence period related to projects suggest that the long drawn-out process of displacement has caused widespread traumatic psychological and socio-cultural consequences. These include the dismantling of production system, desecration of ancestral sacred zones or graves and temple, scattering of kinship groups and family systems, disorganisation of informal social network that provide mutual support, weakening of self management and social control, disruption of trade and market links. The trade links between producers and their customer base is interrupted and local labour market disrupted. In addition, there is a loss of complex social relationship, which provides avenues of representation and conflict resolution. The cultural identity of community is causing immense mental stress.

Worldwide experience with resettlement has shown that people who are displaced do not easily recover, much less improve, their previous standard of living. Resettlement studies have vividly documented the devastating consequences of failed resettlement projects, which create new pockets of poverty where none existed before. The fact is that
for those affected, development has been too often experienced not as an opportunity, but as disruption and impoverishment. Such displacement not only puts affected people to grave impoverishment risks, but also causes a setback to the entire poverty reduction effort (Mathur 2008: 3-4).

1.3 Mining and Gender

The discourse on mining without having a glance at the gender dimension is incomplete. It is very important to analyse how the mining has affected the male and female members, and how far it is correct to argue that female casualties are more than male in the process of displacement and rehabilitation. The mining projects of course have placed the indigenous people in a precarious condition. Moreover, the rights of women are subjugated and were taken away. In the context of gender positioning, mining has only multiplied the exploitation and degradation of women’s rights with regard to land and livelihoods. Historically and also in the existing legal framework, women have no legal rights over lands or natural resources. There is an invisible distinction between rural and tribal women with regard to control over lands in traditional land based situations in mainstream India. Tribal women enjoy a greater social status with regard to control over resources. This ensures their active participation and decision-making with regard to land utilisation, agriculture and powers over cash flow in a tribal economy. Even in the agrarian society, women have a distinct role with regard to participation in agricultural work, livestock management, and access to common properties.

Large scale mines, which are increasingly dependent on technology, offer no scope for participation to adivasi women, as they lack literacy and technical skills as they face cultural and social prejudice. While women once formed 32–40 percent of the workforce in
mining, now they have now been reduced to less than 10 percent and in the coal sector alone, to 4 percent. Scheme like the Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) have been thrust upon women so as to retrench them first. The mining sector has generated a prejudice that sees women as unfit to work in the mines, and the law does not permit the women to work in the underground mines nor to take up mine engineering professional courses (Rebbapragada 2009: 257).

This prejudice serves to ensure that women do not get space in the formal sector but at the same time it allows for their absorption into informal sector as contract or casual labour under highly exploitative condition. Women wages are always less than those of men, and there are no provisions for paid holidays, not even during pregnancy or childbirth. No equipment is provided to women and worksites lack toilet and other facilities. Women workers are exposed to physical and sexual exploitation by mine owners, contractors and other men. They have to walk miles to return to their villages and are vulnerable to assault on the way. Women in the mining industry suffer from several occupational illnesses, including respiratory problems like tuberculosis, leukaemia, arthritis and reproductive problems. They work with toxic and hazardous substances without any access to safety measures.

When industries shut down and retrench their workers, the men become idle and the entire burden of work fall as upon adivasi women, who then must find a way to support their families. Women living in the mining communities scavenge on the tailings and waste dumps of big mining companies as a way of earning their livelihood, often illegally and are constantly harassed by company guards, local mafias or the police. They are also at the mercy of local traders for selling their ores.
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. In case of coal mining which requires large area, the coal industry has little choice in the location of its activities as mines can be developed on a commercial basis only where sufficient reserves exit (World Bank 1996). In India, many areas suitable for coal mining are relatively underdeveloped, and generally inhabited by people from traditional culture, with little contact from the outside world. They mostly live at subsistence level and lack education. Coal mining in such areas produces a profound impact to the lifestyles of the local people (Mathur 2008: 261). Most mining companies also operate on a deemed consent basis so that even without the mandatory clearances, mining operations are expanded beyond lease areas and periods. The ‘public purpose’ of a mining activity from a gender perspective and especially with regard to what the women in the communities stand to ‘publicly’ gain, is highly questionable.

Rehabilitation programme which are taken up so far, have been entirely insensitive to gender concerns whether in providing land, housing, jobs or cash. Rehabilitated colonies provide no space for women needs for privacy, toilets, washing, domestic, health, recreation or educational facilities. Neither has these provided for taking up economic activities on their own as forests are too far away from the colonies, have no space for livestock rearing or for storage of forest produce. The approach of both industries and governments towards communities with regard to rehabilitation has always been one of
performing magnanimous favours than with a sense of duty or responsibility. Hence, gender needs have never been a priority in rehabilitation programme.

The anticipated economic development from mining does not accrue to local communities and, on the contrary, reduces the women into worse forms of survival than pre-mining conditions. Hence, when companies and governments give projections of project costs and estimated profits, it is very important that these are analysed from the perspective of social and environment costs in order to assess their actual costs and benefits. This is especially crucial when valuing the extractive industry in terms of the production, processing, consumption and export needs of the country for mineral and weighing these needs and values against the social and environment costs. This should define the basis on which mining projects are sanctioned and cleared where the country has a long term economic perspective of mining rather than on individual lobbying capacities of mining industries for 'sustenance' of their businesses. This is also very important when weighed from the viability of the projects if social costs are included as part of project costs and further when relief and rehabilitation are taken up in a socially just manner. Yet, no projects have ever been valued by the state taking into detailed consideration the direct and indirect impacts on communities and the extent of human abuse, deforestation, pollution and ecological destruction and where industries are bound by rules and guidelines to pay up for these costs.

Hence how do we value our minerals? If minerals were to be valued at the cost of exposing women and their bodies to abuse and exploitation and if protecting women's human rights is not a priority for defining our indices of human development, the sanctity of gender justice is completely endangered. Therefore, displacement, acquisition of lands,
water bodies and forests, loss of livelihoods of women, atrocities and health hazards on them, transformation of villages into culturally degraded shanty towns, risks of disasters and mine accidents have to be evaluated in the entire project cost in order to determine whether a mining project is necessary against the other existing economic activities or possibilities of creating other forms of economic activities in each area proposed for mining. Unless the state takes up this exercise seriously, it's commitment to communities and ecology and the very economic sustainability of the country stands under scrutiny.

The state has to ensure that the industries first implement complete relief and rehabilitation in the existing and abandoned projects before fresh leases are granted for mining more lands and displacing more people in the green field areas. This is the first step towards building the commitment of the industry and the state to being responsible for mining induced impacts.

1.4 Displacement in India

Displacement is not a recent phenomenon. There is evidence of development caused forced displacement since Gupta Empire (A.D.). It seems to have continued to some extent in the Mughal period and picked up momentum during colonial period. The post independence measures have resulted in much more displacement than in colonial times.

1.4.1 The Pre-Independence Scenario

Much of nineteenth century displacement is process induced rather than project induced. The economy and legal system of the Indian territory were changed to suit the needs of the British economy. From the first coal mines in the 1820 in Raniganj, coffee plantation in Karnataka, tea plantation in Assam, the construction of the Grand Trunk Road in the 1830,
and introduction of railway in 1853, creation of Public Works Department in the 1840 and other projects thereafter, the imperial power needed more and more land in order to change the Indian economy to suit the needs of the British Industrial Revolution (Mankodi 1989: 140).

This effort culminated in the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. Other laws and policies followed around land and forests, and all of them resulted in direct or indirect displacement of people. It has intensified after independence. These were an integral part of the process of changing the economy of the sub-continent to such colonial needs. Basic to it was the de-industrialisation of the colony in order to turn it into a supplier of capital and raw materials for the British Industrial Revolution and create market for Manchester final products. The second step was to change land laws to make its acquisition easy for British plantations and raw material producers. The landless agricultural labourers, most of them dalits, tribals and service groups from other “low” castes, felt its negative effects more than the other did (Sen 1979: 8).

1.4.2 Displacement in Post Independence India

There were several struggles against rules of land acquisition and the changes made in the colonial times, the best known among them being the one of Mulshi-Peta near Pune in the 1920 (Bhuskute 1997: 170-172). The struggle was launched by the freedom fighters. But, though they opposed the colonial government on this particular issue, the nationalist leaders had themselves internalised much of the colonial value system including that of the fallacy of ‘Eminent Domain’ (power of the State). So, the thinking behind development in India remains more or less unchanged even half a century after independence. When they became the decision-makers of independent India, the freedom fighters who had earlier
supported the Mulshi-Peta struggle, continued to use the same colonial legislation to displace people in the name of national development (Murikan 2003).

After independence, with an objective to achieve rapid economic growth a good number of major developmental projects have been initiated and implemented by both central and state governments. These projects include construction of mega irrigation dams, power plants, industries mining operations and so on. Though these developmental projects have provided irrigation to thirsty lands, energy for growing industries and brought about economic prosperity for the country, nonetheless these mega projects have caused forced displacement of millions of people to make the way for these projects. Among the people displaced by various developmental projects, a large number of people belong to scheduled tribe, scheduled caste and other backward communities who are always regarded as the poor and disadvantaged section of the society. India’s Planning Commission, almost exclusively manned by economist, and did not consider displacement as an issue. And given the over enthusiasm of the first charismatic prime minister (who occupied the office for 17 years) for technology-driven rapid development, who labelled huge projects as ‘temple of modern India’ (Oommen 2008: 76). The ‘temple of modern India’ has become ‘temples of doom’ for the uprooted people. In a socialist welfare state like ours it is an irony that the benefits of development have not been shared by all section of society. In the developmental process, it is the displaced people, who share only pains of development, while some other people enjoy the gains. It is, in fact, profoundly contrary to the very goals of development.

There has been much greater displacement and many more struggle after independence, because investment strategies for economic progress envisaged by India’s
five-year plans entail changes in the use of land, water, forest and other resources. These have also led to irreversible changes in the lives of millions who are displaced or otherwise deprived of access to the resources that are their livelihood. There has been an enormous increase in the number of Displaced People (DP) and Project Affected Person (PAP). Despite this, no official database exists on the total number and type of DPs. The present state of development induced displacement has to be studied within this context.

1.4.3 Globalisation Phase

The role of the state has now changed and development is no longer its exclusive affairs. Under the growing impact of globalisation forces, the private sector is emerging as a major player in the development process in its own right, not dependent on licenses from government agencies for undertaking industrial or business activities, as was the case earlier. Government in developing countries are even encouraging Indian Corporate Houses (ICHs) Multinational Corporations (MNCs) to invest in major national projects, and the World Bank and other multilateral development finance institutions are providing financial assistance to many private sector ventures.

As resettlement so far has mostly occurred in public sector development project, not much is known yet about resettlement in the private sector. Whatever little is known about private sector involvement with projects that displace people is however not very encouraging. The costs and liabilities considerations always weigh heavily with business and industry in any investment decision. Experience indicates that where resettlement costs appear to be on the higher side, the private sector tries to use shortcuts to externalise the costs on affected groups, disowning any liabilities on this account. They are helped by the fact that displacement caused by private sector enterprise lack the visibility of large
government projects. This lack of visibility makes the affected more vulnerable, depriving them of resettlement assistance to which they are ordinarily entitled. They also try not to carry out their responsibility if they can, but the obligations still exist, and the state does not respond to political pressures and organised protests. For them there is not much scope to escape.

Guha (2011:80) points out the absence of corporate responsibility in the sense of benefit sharing, in the chronicle of industrialisation in India. He further says that recently, the giant Indian multinational the Tatas, have pulled out from West Bengal where 1,000 acres of multi-crop farmland were acquired by government for a proposed small car manufacturing company by the corporate at Singur in Hooghly district of West Bengal. Tax relief’s and a number of financial benefits were also given to the Tata Motors and, above all, the government had to fight a stiff battle against the unwilling farmers led by the major opposition party, the Trinamul Congress often leading to violence. The Government of West Bengal made every sincere effort to overcome the stalemate, which began about a month before the pull-out. But the Tata did not show any interest towards corporate social responsibility through benefit sharing and financing for rehabilitation of the displaced farmers who were unwilling to give up their right over the farmland. Currently, the Singur situation is worsened, since the character of the huge tract of farmland that was given to the Tata has been transformed and cannot be used for agriculture. The land has not yet been returned to the government by Tata, since it was leased out for a long period.

One aspect of the growing private sector involvement in development project that is especially worrisome is that government are going too far to attract private investment, and extend them overly generous concessions at the cost of people whose livelihoods are
dependent on land. This is giving rise to new apprehension about the fate of people who make the most sacrifices for development projects (Mathur 2006: 17).

### 1.5 Eminent Domain

The compulsory acquisition of private property by the state, regarded as its legitimate authority, originated from the concept of its sovereign power, which is generally described in jurisprudence as ‘Eminent Domain’. The right of eminent domain is the right of the state to assert its ‘dominion’ over any portion of the soil of the state on the ground of public exigencies and for public good. The State may directly own lands through acquisition, purchase and so on or by default. That means all lands which are not privately owned are owned by the State (Desai 2011: 95). The rulers in the medieval era exercised the principle of “Eminent Domain” unfettered, without any consideration for the affected people. When Emperor Sher Shah Suri built the Grand Trunk Road, connecting the northwest frontier with the southeast, no one was paid any compensation for the lands acquired. The idea of awarding or claiming compensation was unthinkable in those days (Das 2006: 137).

While the principle of ‘Eminent Domain’ remains valid even today, it is no longer exercised in a dictatorial manner. The principle of eminent domain is now conditioned and accepted under three basic legal doctrines. The first well known doctrine is ‘Salus Populi Est Suprema Lex’, which is ‘regarding for the public welfare is the highest law’. Hence, the state is within its sovereign rights to deny or deprive a citizen of his property rights and acquire the same without his consent only when such acts serve any ‘public purpose’ or ‘common good’. On this ground, many courts have granted an injunction against land acquisition proceedings on the ground that the public purpose or common good could not be established in such acquisition proceedings.
The second restraining condition of the ‘Eminent Domain’, though partial, is based on the well known doctrine is ‘Audi Alteram Partem’, that is every subject is entitled to be heard before he is deprived of his right to property. However denial of such a right to be heard may lead to judicial intervention leading to cancellation of the proceedings on the ground of denial of natural justice.

The third conditionality imposed on the sovereign powers of the state in the matter of compulsory acquisition of property relates to the state’s responsibility of payment of just compensation. India’s constitution imposes a specific restriction on the state to declare the right to get compensation as a fundamental right and just compensation for private land held within the ceiling limits shall not be less than the market value thereof and payment of such compensation is to precede (applied) before physical takeover of the acquired land.

The ‘Eminent Domain’ concept of state ownership of land resources is the main policy instrument governing development caused displacement. Development caused displacement action in India are based on land acquisition measures introduced in the last century, and on legal framework founded before the end of the previous century. Rehabilitation was seen as merely an issue of appropriate compensation, and the state had no responsibility beyond its payment; the reasoning being that the displaced would use their compensation to rehabilitate themselves. After independence, with acceleration of industrialisation and agricultural investment, special classes of land acquisition were recognised by separate legislation.

The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 introduced the concept of the ‘public domain’. The government could acquire land from private ownership for public purposes or for a company. The agency vested with power to make the acquisition was the District
Collector. He is given the responsibility to survey the land required, establish the nature of
the individual claims on it, and settle any disputes amongst the existing right holder and
any that may arise between the owners and the body acquiring the land, and award
compensation. The landowners and right holders of the land to be acquired were to be
compensated in cash. The collector had the initial power to make the award, but his award
could be referred to the determination of the court, provided an appeal was filed within six
weeks of his award. There were provisions making the collector personally accountable for
excessive awards, thus ensuring that he did not attempt to minimise appeals to the court by
overly generous payments (Lobo 2009).

1.5.1 Displacement and Rights

Development induced displacement inevitably leads to human rights abuse. Thus, the need
of the hour for studies in forced migration is to adopt a ‘right centric approach’ towards the
victims of developmental projects. As Phillip Cullet rightly states: ‘What is at stake is not
whether a project like Sardar Sarovar Dam can deliver the benefits it is meant to deliver,
but whether it is affecting the human rights of any individuals or groups. While it is not
doubt fundamental to consider the developmental benefits of any planned project, these

The recent protest movements against Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in India since
mid 2006 has stirred a national debate on the rights of the those displaced and brought
recognition to the fact that development induced oustees are stakeholders in development
and should be entitled to rights as equal partners. The basic question that arises is can a
state’s right to develop, deprive its citizens’ of their right to life and livelihood?
The process of development caused displacement takes away many rights from the oustees, which in fact are granted to them by the Indian Constitution. Ironically, Article 19(e) of the Indian Constitution guarantees to its citizens the freedom ‘to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India’ and Article 21 says that ‘no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by Law’. Thus when land is forcibly acquired by the state, Article 19 and 21 turn into paper rights (Vaswani 1992: 155-68). When the state takes away land and deprives common property resources dependent communities of their livelihood on the assumption that natural resources are state properties ‘the right the state has appropriated to itself go counter to the citizen’s fundamental rights’ (Fernandes and Paranjype 1997: 48). India’s judiciary has tried to uphold many rights of the development oustees. In Francis Coralie versus Union Territory of India 1981, Supreme Court had ruled:

The right to life includes the right to live with human dignities and all that goes with it, namely, the bare necessaries of life such as adequate nutrition, clothing and shelter and facilities for reading, writing and expressing oneself in diverse forms, freely moving about and mixing and mingling with fellow human being.

But displacement causes complete disruption of the traditional socialisation process. The Supreme Court, in a subsequent case, Olga Tellis versus Bombay Municipal Corporation 1985, filed on behalf of pavement dwellers in Mumbai, the court went further and held that the right to livelihood and work were also a part of the right to life. Though the Indian judiciary has tried to uphold the rights that people lose with displacement, in recent cases of urban resettlement there has been a shift in the judiciary’s approach towards the urban poor, mainly the slum dwellers. The court has decried the provision of free land
to slum dwellers for resettlement. Thus the battle for adequate resettlement carries on and in India, civil society and human rights activists have protested against the use of ‘Eminent Domain’ by the state for the transformation of cities that involves large scale displacements in the urban context.

1.6 The Objective of Compensation

In a normal, voluntary sale of land, it is sufficient (fair) if the seller receives the market price of land. But dispossession is not a voluntary sale of land. It is an involuntary sale of land. Land in this case represents to the unwilling seller not its price as land but a source of livelihood. What the person loses is not the (market) price of land, but the livelihood. This is the reason why the objective of compensation has to be not adequate/fair compensation for the land taken, but the recreation of livelihoods of the displaced.

The consequence of the insufficient and poorly conceived compensation and the resultant failure to recreate livelihood is impoverishment (Cernea 2003). A study of displaced households from a coal mining project in Jharkhand, showed that they coped by (a) settling on relatives land in other places, (2) head loading in the adjacent local sale coal dump, and (3) running pilfered coal on cycle to local market - an illegal activity (Herbert and Dixit, 2004). Given the inadequacies of compensation, it has been suggested that a system of social safety nets could be added to the compensation system. At present the safety net available in India is that from the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA). This would enable each household to get 100 days employment for one person, at a rate around the existing minimum wage. At best, this safety net would provide about Rs 5000 per year, per household.
A comprehensive social net system is certainly needed. It can be of help as a short term measures when incomes fall, as they will with involuntary displacement. But can or should the displaced spend the rest of their lives on social security? This goes counter to the meaning of social safety net, which should be a temporary measure when incomes fall, for whatever reason. So, the safety net is superior to the present system of one-time compensation. But this proposal has the weakness that it leaves the reconstruction of livelihoods as the responsibility, including financial responsibility, on the displaced themselves.

1.7 Resettlement and Rehabilitation

Resettlement of the displaced people is one-time relocation at a new site with payment of compensation for the land acquisition and without other support such as jobs, training and welfare inputs to resettle in a new society and economic situation. Rehabilitation focuses on social and cultural factors and attempts to remind the dispossessed livelihoods of the displaced and project affected people. It is not limited to economic compensation but, goes beyond to include welfare approach.

Rehabilitation is more often understood as an economic rather than psychosociological phenomenon resulting from displacement. It is normally perceived as a 'planned change effort'. In a strict sense, it implies that, the overall objective of the change is to restore the situation to its original condition. The nature of rehabilitation is quite different from other developmental processes. All developmental efforts imply planned change to improve existing conditions, whereas rehabilitation is designed to restore the status quo. This makes it imperative to understand the term rehabilitation in a much wider perspective, and its components, which make it difficult from other developmental
processes (Sinha 2006). However, rehabilitation should go beyond maintaining of the status quo and adopt welfare approach to improve the standard of living of the displaced people.

1.7.1 Approaches to Resettlement

The prevailing approaches to address resettlement are broadly of two kinds: (a) Property compensation approaches, and (b) People-centred approaches. It is important here to make a distinction between these two approaches,

Property Compensation Approach - The property compensation approach, which has generally prevailed in the last 20 years or so, is focused entirely on the property affected. Because it is about compensation for property, the proof of ownership is important here. Many of the poor and marginalised people, however, do not have titles to the land on which they subsist. This approach, then excludes non-formal property owners from compensation because of its focus on legal title on property assets, and in the process tends to hurt people lacking land titles. Moreover, once the land requirement for project is established, the natural tendency in land acquisition agencies is to minimise the price to be paid for the property, as a way to save on project costs. This, then leads to protracted litigation, because aggrieved by such decisions people approach the courts for increase in compensation amount, and courts often generously allow that. However, this is an expensive remedy beyond the reach of most people whose lands are taken over.

People-Centred Approach - The people-centred approach, on the other hand, focuses on the people displaced. It includes all the displaced people whether or not they have title to the land, to help them become again self-sustaining and effective individual contribution to
society, as rapidly as possible. In this approach it is, then, not very relevant whether or not they have title to the previous land to have a right to get replacement land or proper employment as long as they become productive and fully re-established. Resettlement managers at all levels should avoid the minimalist approach in which once compensation is paid (which usually is a pittance) the people are simply left to their own devices. Managing resettlement successfully is, ultimately, about how quickly resettlers re-enter the mainstream productive activity. It is non-adversarial; it minimises the interferences of bureaucracy, and engages the community much deeper (Serageldin 2006: 58).

1.7.2 Successful Sustainable Resettlement

From the point of view of the affected people, successful resettlement would however seem to involve the following as the minimum: (a) a degree of involvement in the planning and implementation processes (b) no use of force in moving to the new site (c) no breakup of the existing social group due to relocation (d) housing and basic services at the new site to be in a fully operating condition and (e) availability of economic opportunities for improving the living conditions. In short, resettlement with development, not just relocation, as has been often been the case in the past (Mathur 2006: 78).

Success in resettlement cannot be just for many years, possibly until the next generation. Relocated people in a new environment take time to recover from trauma and get back on their feet, and require assistance for a considerable length of time. As Scudder (1997: 48) pointed out successful resettlement takes time. At minimum, it should be implemented as a two generation process. If success cannot be passed on by the first generation of resettlement to their children, then resettlement has failed. The fact is that it is not easy to measure success in resettlement.
Even where success is achieved in the resettlement process, sustaining success into the next generation may prove difficult. The main difficulty in achieving sustainability is due to the prevailing tendency for projects to deal with resettlement problems only during the life of the project. There is no long term commitment. Once the project ends, no stocktaking is systematically undertaken to see whether it achieved its objective of improving the lives of affected people.

1.8 Review of Literature

Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation of tribals in Jadugura is relatively a neglected area of study and most of the available literature on the subject focuses on various aspect of development programmes. Even though the literature on development is plenty, displacement and rehabilitation of tribals received less attention of scholars. Let me discuss here some available literature on the subject focusing on mega projects and their effect on people.

Thukral (1988) analyses the various aspects of rehabilitation measure under Narmada Project. He stated that this project is one of many glaring examples of what happens to evicted people. The displaced people are not aware of the nature of displacement and extent of land to be submerged. The number of people affected are underestimated and incorrect information are encouraged in order to ensure that project meet the various criteria for approval.

Alvares and Billore (1987) also point out that the distribution of a part of the village pasture as land compensation to those displaced by Sardar-Sarovar Project led to a clash between the oustees and local population. In fact this land is of inferior quality from the
productivity point of view and hence the original settlers use this land as pasture ground for many years.

Meher (2011) argues that the damage caused by the Narmada dam will far outweigh any potential benefits. He maintains that besides causing serious damage to the region’s natural ecology (a recognised consequence of large-scale dam construction), the dam will cause displacement of millions of poor peasants and tribals, causing not only a loss of livelihood, but also a loss of an historical way of life. In addition, some environmental scientists and geologists apprehended that building of the dam will make the region more prone to earthquakes and the benefits estimated to generate by the dam will be much below than the social and environmental costs of displacement and loss of livelihood of millions of people. Furthermore, the river supplies water to residents in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan, and there are fears that the dam will block the flow of water to these regions, causing widespread devastation in some of the most arid parts of India.

Similarly, Meher (2011) shows that nearly 5,200 hectares of land are lost to the reservoir over the Tehri Dam on India’s Bhagirathi River. Since its inception, the Tehri Dam, because of its ecology and geo-physical features, became highly controversial. The rehabilitation package failed to satisfy everyone. The oustees felt that the alternative sites provided were too far from Tehri. The State Government had provided them land near Pantnagar in Udham Singh Nagar district of the Terai area. It was difficult for the oustees to settle in the plains, as they were all born and brought up in the hilly terrain. The problem of the oustees in spite of all possible compensation made by the state in terms of both cash and kind continues to exist.
Mathur (1997) highlights the condition of displaced people in the Pong Dam project in Himachal Pradesh. Here land was allotted to the oustees at a distance under a harsh desert environment of Rajasthan, an area physically, climatically, socially, and culturally different for the oustees. Hence, they faced several obstacles in pursuing agriculture in an unfamiliar setting. As a result, most oustees gave up the effort and went back to urban areas where they face an even more uncertain future.

Rao (1986) observes that the plight of suffering to the villagers resettled due to Rengali Dam in Orissa is very pathetic, because of the distribution of poor quality of agricultural land. Although every family has been provided with six acres of land, which is not cultivable land. Their problems have been further aggravated because of inaction to issue of land titles and indecision in declaring the ecology as a revenue village. This prevented the villagers from getting institutional loans for making their lands arable.

Patnaik (1996) attempts to arrive at an in-depth understanding of the processes of change among the "Paraja", a tribe of Southern Orissa, resulting because of their dislocation from the traditional habitat due to the construction of a river dam project. The emphatic point in his study is to understanding the impact of displacement and rehabilitation on the social structure of a community. For this larger objective he wants to understand some basic concepts like social structure, social change and so on. In this study he attempts to understand the social structure and the consequent social change among the “Paraja” due to the impact of displacement and rehabilitation. The construction of the upper Kolab Multipurpose Project in the region of Koraput district, which is mainly inhabited by the “Paraja”, is one of the main reasons of change. The dynamics of the Paraja life are analysed here with the aid of the three concepts viz., structure, organisation and
Trembath (2008) unveils the Shuikou Hydroelectric project in Fujian Province of China as an example of successful development based resettlement. The author put forward the argument that this project has greater regional development responsibilities in return for the use of local resources. He cites the example of Urea Project in Colombia, Itaipu Binational Project in Brazil and Argentina, and Kali Gandaki Project in Nepal, where royalty sharing are used for infrastructure development works.

Verma (2011) examines the land acquisition for Rihand Sagar Dam in the beginning of the 60’s. The whole region came under chaos and turmoil and underwent pathetic experiences. The compensation given was far inadequate in comparison to the loss incurred. Somehow, PAPs settled down, not fully but partially, in the vicinity. They thought, it is once for all and now, no one will disembark in future to infringe their privacy. But the beginning of the 1980’s earmarked another doom day in their life. Now they had to forego the present patch of land to government agencies, on which they were lately living, for the sake of national goal. Naturally, they got displaced for the second time within the span of 20 years and came across same awesome encountering of distress, agony and anxiety.

Nesar Ahmad (2003) has examined displacement on account of coal mining and its implication on socio economic structure of the indigenous people in Jharkhand. He has tried to analyse the extent of deprivation in this region due to coal mining project. Keeping the gender question in view and taking a serious cognisance of it, his study highlights that how women suffer more than men in the impoverishment risks like, landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, increasing food insecurity, marginalisation and social
disarticulation. Nesar examined two important issues in his study, first the implication of psychological pressure and socio-cultural risks faced by women. In his study Nesar made all efforts to interrogate the social and economic implications on women belonging to the displaced families on the one hand and the impact of new economic policy of liberalisation and privatisation on mining and displaced people on the other. However, Nesar has suggested some measures to be undertaken to curb the menace of displacement. He firmly argued that there is a need for a National Rehabilitation Policy for the persons displaced by the development projects. He argued that displacement should be the final resort and prior information must be shared with the public before they are asked to vacate the places. He is of the opinion that the issues of rehabilitation must precede the idea of displacement. The issue of displacement has a gender dimension as well as it has adversely affected the women hitting them the hardest. Their trauma is compounded by the loss of access to food, fuel and fodder, the collection of which inevitably requires greater time and effort. In the same way, children are also adversely affected since not only schooling becomes difficult, but also the traditional socialisation mechanisms get disrupted.

Guha (2007) argues that the Left Front government in West Bengal has historically promoted land reforms, which are favourable to small and landless farmers. However, this trend cannot be a sustained one due to contradiction in government policy, which started with the introduction of New Economic Reforms in 1991. This government acquired land from peasants for the development of new industries and the infrastructure given reduces their minimal subsistence base, leaving them with what is called two-mouth lands which will not feed a family of five. A large number of non-registered share croppers and landless agricultural labourers have to bear the brunt and systematically transgressed to
pauperisation. It is evident that the State is ready to destroy the agricultural land on the pretext of industrialisation process. Land acquisition in the name of building industry in Singur and Nandigram in West Bengal has seen a matter of popular opposition from various political entities and intellectuals. However, such opposition was lacking in earlier cases of acquisition of fertile land ostensibly for industrial development of the state. Despite the lack of such support from civil society and the polity, the people affected still protest to ensure compensation.

Vidyarthi (1970) and Sachchidananda (1965) highlight that the major objectives of establishing project in backward areas is to bring effective changes. Development projects are considered to be agents of change in economy, promoters of existing skills and means to diversify the productive capacities of the local population. However, besides creating some positional changes they have also brought about an adverse impact on the living style of local people. Displacement of tribes and their resettlement in new areas caused disruption in their socio cultural life.

Singh (1966) discusses the impact of the Patratu thermal power project in Jharkhand in terms of disintegration of traditional culture, rehabilitation of uprooted villagers and new trends in the emergence of the industrial society. His study reveals that the communities at Patratu had shown a considerable degree of change in occupational structure and economic activity. Those who pay in the name of national development are indigenous people. The displacing agency is also the one who put in charge of their rehabilitation. Pressure on them is to complete the project in a short period and at low cost. They are judged according to the cost benefit analysis of the completion of the project and not the extent of rehabilitation of the displaced persons. As a result, they have little motivation in
rehabilitating the displaced persons.

Areeparampil (1989) discusses about the dispossession of the indigenous people. Whatever industry or other development project that comes into the area begins a much bigger process of dispossession, which continues through other modes. People are alienated from their land and other resources on which they had depended for centuries and around which they had built their culture, religion and social structure. Impoverishment and bondage are obvious consequences of their dispossession. Displacement does not bring economic illness alone but it also brings social and cultural maladies to the indigenous people. The physical dislocation of the people amounts to uprooting them from their socio-cultural base, which is no less painful than the dispossession of land. They lose their traditional social control over the nature and consequently social alienation increase among them. Many social problems such as alcoholism crime, suicide, delinquency etc. crop up.

Cernea (1985) mentions that the tribal and other weaker sections are not only dispossessed of the lands traditionally 'owned' or controlled but also are they almost always deprived of the benefits of the development process like irrigated lands, electricity or factory are not for them. Involuntary resettlement destroys productive assets and disorganises production system and creates a high risk of chronic impoverishment that typically occur along one or several of the other dimensions, these are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, morbidity and mortality, social disarticulation and loss to common property resources.

Veena Das (1996) delves deep into the differential response to displacement-rehabilitation continuum in comparative perspectives, both in synchronic and diachronic terms. A synchronic comparison helps one in finding out how the rehabilitation policies
should be shaped to address the variations in the outcome of several development projects. It also helps in focusing on the differential benefits accruing from the projects to different types of affected people. The diachronic perspective helps capture irreversible changes, while conceptualising rehabilitation policy and develop inter-temporal comparison between the groups. From the synchronic perspective, Das has compared the land-based rehabilitation schemes at the irrigation projects with the job-based rehabilitation schemes in some industries. She has compared the implications of the policy implemented by the public and private sectors as well as by the industrial, mining and irrigation projects on the oustees.

Kothari (1996) argues quite convincingly that huge projects have adverse impact also on the ecology of the area. The mass displacement caused by mega projects not only leads to the erosion of the cultural diversity, it also destroys of biological diversity. While ecological imbalance seriously threatens the survival of those dependent on it, the imposition of external technologies disrupt the natural genetic diversities that have taken years to evolve. The overall consequence of all this is degradation that is almost irreversible. As a result, the resource base of more and more people is shrinking. The ecological consequences will thus cause an imbalance in man-nature relationship.

Vyas (1995) has seen that the facilities as promised to the resettles could not be made available to them because of slow utilisation of resources and lack of coordination between the concerned departments. On the other hand Mahapatra (1980) observes that the various facilities provided in the resettlement colonies of Rourkela Steel Plant, such as water supply, roads, streetlights etc., have been deteriorated over a period of time because of poor maintenance, lack of finance, and above all lack of participation of the uprooted
population. He suggests an additional risk, namely, the loss of educational opportunities among the displaced children. As relocation often disrupts schooling and some children never return to their school, many children are pushed into the labour market.

Mathur (2000) tries to analyse the adversely implications of developmental projects despite their aims at fighting poverty and creating benefits for some sections of the society. In fact the gain from development in some instances is increasingly overhauled by a steady rise in the number of people who have to be involuntarily rehabilitated. He has tried to explore the rationale behind the idea of acquiring public land, where numbers of people are living, in the name of development. Indeed he took a contrary position to the planner’s view of projects as a means to eradicate poverty and argued that development at the expense of the livelihood of thousands of inhabitants does not make any sense which result in the emergence of numerous movements opposed to development projects. He is a protagonist of a "Risk Model" of development and viewed it as a warning model. He argued that it alerts those who are responsible for planning and management of resettlement operation to the kind of targeted actions that are essential to ward off risks. This risk can be minimised if not completely avoided. Mathur is of the opinion that a troublesome aspect of the development process is that projects assigned to alleviate poverty often end up contributing to its escalation. The fate of the people whom development projects force to give up their land and relocate is now rightly a cause of much concern. The Impoverishment risks from projects that entail resettlement are not unpredictable. They can be foreseen, and can therefore be prevented to a large extent. A change in the mindset of those responsible for resettlement management is clearly
required, if the number of poor is not to rise as ramifications of development intervention shining of dealing responsibly with the inevitable disruption.

Fernandes (2008) highlights India’s needs for strong policy on Rehabilitation and Resettlement. He suggests that the project management should educate and impart technical knowledge through training for the displaced and facilitate them in getting semi-skilled jobs in the project. The fruits of the project can be shared with the displaced people like irrigation and hydropower project can provide free irrigation and electricity facility for affected villagers. He criticises government stand for acquiring land for the profit of private company and pointed out that the private sector ‘project for profit’ should undertake the full obligation to restore and improve the productive basis and the livelihood of the population whose lands they took.

Seymour (2008) explains displacement in the context of efforts to conserve terrestrial biodiversity in developing countries like Uganda, Dominican Republic, Thailand, Tanzania and Brazil. His study begins by exploring the costs imposed on affected communities by resettlement, and the assumptions underlying displacement as a strategy to achieve conservation benefits. The most pervasive impact of involuntary displacement appears to be negative attitude towards conservation and conservation authorities on the part of those displaced. The author criticises the implicit assumptions behind decisions to displace forest based groups surviving in the forest at poverty levels, without offering them a suitable base for sustainable livelihood.

Tamondond (2008) underscores improved resettlement reduces poverty. She argues that the resettlement as a consequences of displacement can be positive - that is, be transformed into an opportunity for development, if it is treated as such from the outset. It
is positive when deliberately seen and planned as an opportunity to improve the livelihood of those displaced by investing in their development, and not only by compensating their losses. Thus, developing countries have to design pro-poor policies and poverty reducing programmes, which can check the adversarial impacts of displacement to a better future for the resettled poor.

1.9 Focus of Study

The studies on displacement and rehabilitation have implicitly or explicitly revealed that the problem of population displacement in inextricably related to the broad range of problems like social changes, cultural alienation, and breakdown of life style including social life, impoverishment risk, change in occupation, health risk, domestic violence, prostitution, disruption of education and so on. In the process the local inhabitants on the one hand lose their command over the natural resources over a period of time, on the other they are dragged into a pattern of new social structure with which they are not acquainted.

The focus of the current study is land acquisition, displacement and rehabilitation of tribal and other poor people in the Jadugura region by the Uranium Corporation of India Limited (UCIL) mining and processing unit, a government of India undertaking under the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE), in Jharkhand. In this study an attempt is made to understand the social change and the hitherto social structure of the displaced people of the region. The exploration of Uranium mines and the construction of tailing ponds in subsequent phases displaced the people of the Jadugura region systematically over a period of time. Involuntary displacement had created problems of landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalisation, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and so on. Marginalisation occurs when family loose economic
power and slide on a ‘downward mobility’ path. Life sustaining informal social network of mutual help among people, local voluntary association, self-organised service arrangements are dispersed and render inactive. This unravelling represents a massive loss of social capital incurred by the uprooted people. Keeping in view the aforementioned situation, the researcher would like to examine the dynamic of social life of the displaced people in the light of UCIL mining and processing unit. The central and related questions of this study are:

- What has been the experience of displaced people of Jadugura with the mining project and to what extent does it make difference to their life?
- What kind of social change the project has brought into the lives of the tribal women of Jadugura? Could it be able to deliver the expected results?
- Is the current process of ‘development’ sustainable to the displaced people?
- Do the displaced people prefer to revert back to their pre-mining life?
- Whether there is any alternative to the current process of development?
- What are the impoverishment risk face by the displace people?
- What happens to the people when they lose their home and native place with which they have emotional attachment as well as traditional bonds?
- What happens to the women in the new production and consumption patterns?
- How family system is disintegrating, marriage system is changing due to mining, industrialisation and urbanisation?
- What kind of impact the affected persons are receiving due to project inception and industrialisation?
• How far displaced people are able to organise protest movement against land acquisition?

• What are the institutional responses to the displaced people demands?

In view of the above objectives, the present research seeks to delve deep into the whole process of displacement and rehabilitation. We need to see whether the Jadugura uranium mining project, which was taken up as a vehicle of development, has by now become a counterproductive for the oustees. This project has displaced many indigenous and poor people from their natural setting and forced them to settle in new environment. Given our gloomy experiences of displacement in the country in the past, this study has attempted to conduct an in-depth analysis of the socio-economic condition of the displaced people before and after land acquisition. Data collected from different secondary and primary sources were arranged and classified under fourth chapter. After the introductory chapter, I have tried to resolve methodological questions of this research in the second chapter. The third chapter focuses on Jadugura uranium mining project and profile of the study area. In the fifth chapter an effort has been made to know the socio-cultural, economic and political life of the oustees in the post displacement period. The sixth chapter precisely attempts to highlight the problems of the displaced women. The emphatic point of the seventh chapter is an analysis about the people’s movement against displacement and its ramification. Later, a detail account is given regarding the responses of the institutions. Finally, in the concluding chapter, I have tried to arrive at certain generalisations on the basis of Jadugura experience and suggest remedies to resolve the impending issue of development induced displacement in a developing country like India.
REFERENCES


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