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 developmental projects to achieve the targeted growth. No doubt, these developmental projects have brought economic prosperity to the country but at the same time they have displaced millions of people, caused socio-cultural, economic and environmental disaster. Nevertheless many policy makers find it difficult to recognize the double impact of developmental projects. As a result the human sorrows and sufferings of the uprooted people have gone largely unnoticed.

The Upper Indravati Project exemplifies the similar story of human displacement and sufferings on which the present study was conducted. The prime focus of the study was to: (i) assess the socio-economic impacts of displacement on the oustees, (ii) study the resettlement and rehabilitation policy that has been undertaken to resettle the oustees and examine how far the policy has been able to support to reconstruct livelihood at the new site, and, (iii) make some suggestion to prevent the risks of displacement and plausible solutions to the problem.

An analysis of resettlement and rehabilitation policy reveals that no systematic attempt was made to formulate a need based policy for the oustees to restore their previous standards of living. Without proper data base, sufficient investigation about the impact of the project and inadequate financial resources, resettlement and rehabilitation policy was formulated and the guidelines were issued by Irrigation Department. The resettlement of people has been treated by
the government as salvage or mere relief operation rather than a comprehensive and holistic developmental objective.

The definition of the displaced people to be eligible for rehabilitation assistance is very limited. It includes only those oustees to get rehabilitation assistance who are directly affected by submergence. But people affected by construction of canal work, roads, office complexes, staff quarters, catchment area treatment, down stream dry areas are not treated as displaced people, hence, no rehabilitation assistance is provided to them.

Like the definition of displaced people, the definition of family is also narrow. Though the policymakers have identified adult son (18+) as separate family and eligible for rehabilitation assistance, the adult women are not treated as separate family hence not eligible for rehabilitation assistance. Thus, the R & R policy is gender biased and discriminatory. Though much is being said about improving the status of women, in actual practice they have no place in the government policies.

To reconstruct life at new site, the R & R policy speaks of land based resettlement. But this policy could not be implemented as the project authorities failed to provide government land to all displaced people. Even then, no effort was made to provide land by purchasing private lands as has been done by Gujarat government. To avoid responsibility, the authority chose an easy method of resettlement and cash in lieu of land was announced. Cash in lieu of land provided by the project authorities was much below the market price of the land. On the
other hand, the displaced households were forced to purchase private land by paying huge amount of money. Most of the oustees, who belong to tribal and scheduled caste families and whose interaction rest of the world was limited, needed government’s help most, for economic rehabilitation but they were all left to fend for themselves, just by providing them with monetary assistance.

The planners had not taken account of the needs of various occupational groups among the displaced as there is no provision for planned economic rehabilitation to ensure their economic development. The fate of the artisans, barbers, potters, blacksmiths, hunters, forest produce collectors, farm-labourers, cattle grazers, shifting cultivators is uncertain, as their livelihood has been destroyed by the project.

Furthermore, the planners have overlooked the needs of tribals and scheduled caste oustees who constitute 62 per cent of the total displaced people. These oustees are illiterate, ignorant and extremely poor. Most of them were depending on rivers, hills, forests for their livelihood. But in the policy no special provision has been made for economic rehabilitation of these backward class people considering their community specific needs.

It is found that no uniform rehabilitation and resettlement policy was followed by the project authorities to resettle the outsees, and several policy changes were made during the four phases of evacuation. As a result, the package of benefits for rehabilitation has under gone several changes. For example, those displaced in phase I and II were provided with only Rs. 29,575 while in the last
phase, the amount of rehabilitation assistance was fixed at Rs. 64,000. The benefits of the revised policy were not provided to oustees with retrospective effect as has been done by Gujarat government. Difference in rehabilitation assistance to oustees, thus is creating inevitable, dissatisfaction amongst the DPs. Though affected by the same project they were treated differently by policy makers.

The policy also speaks of providing various civic amenities to the newly settled clusters. During the field study, it is found that civic amenities provided by the project authorities are inadequate to meet the requirements of the oustees. Adequate number of tube wells have not been provided. Tube wells bored in some clusters contain higher percentage of iron. In some clusters tube wells are not properly installed therefore remain in disorder most of the time. Tanks provided in new clusters are not deep enough and dry up even before summer sets in.

Primary schools built by the project authorities are non-functional due to non-availability of teachers. The education department has failed to provide any teacher to these project made schools. Some schools are now in dilapidated conditions in absence of any care. Some schools are now being used as cowsheds. As a result there is total loss of education for the oustee’s children.

As against the policy, no Primary Health Centre, Animal Health Centre, Community Centre, Panchayat Ghar, temple or shrine has been provided with. Provision for free electricity, self-employment, agro-forestry as promised in the
policy are yet to be fulfilled. A package of benefit host to villages to avoid conflict between host and DPs has proved to be a hoax and non-starter.

Not only the policies on resettlement and rehabilitation are inadequate to support construction of life and community structures, but also the implementation of these policies are shoddy. No serious attempt was made to implement R & R policy is a holistic manner. Initially there was no separate organization to carry out the resettlement and rehabilitation work. The land acquisition department was carrying out the resettlement operation. It was in 1990, under tremendous pressure from the World Bank, the then funding agency, resettlement and rehabilitation unit was separated from land acquisition department. Though R & R Unit was separated it was not an autonomous body and was handicapped due to lack of coordination and cooperation between various departments. The functionaries of the RRU were lacking in specialised skills to understand the intricacies of rehabilitation and failed to carry out the rehabilitation work properly.

In all, resettlement operation was carried out in a hasty manner. Involvement of oustees, host population was not sought at any level. The project authorities were not serious about the provisions of the policy. Their plans and the cost estimated were inadequate. They lacked means and skills to implement resettlement policy and there was total apathy towards social and community aspects of displacement and rehabilitation. Even the World Bank, which was the funding agency earlier, withdrew from the project in 1994 due to poor rehabilitation and resettlement measures.
Analysis of economic conditions of the oustee's reveals that, there has been a downwards mobility as a result of displacement so far as land holding pattern is concerned. Households, who were large and medium farmers before displacement, have became small and marginal farmers in the post-displacement period. The average size of land holding has reduced substantially all social categories.

Due to change in the variety of land under cultivation there has been drastic change in the cropping pattern. The cropping pattern is almost becoming monocrop one with rice as the principal crop. Production of pulses, oilseeds, tobacco and vegetable is very minimal.

Not only the cropping pattern has been changed in the post-resettlement period, but also total yielding and annual income from different crops has also registered a sharp decline. The reduction in yielding and income from crops has a deep negative impact on the lives of the oustees. The shift in the cropping pattern to monocrop has severely affected the food habits of the oustees, particularly the tribals. The tribals have a different kind of food habit as they were taking ragi (mandia) as the staple food. The ragi production has drastically reduced in the post-displacement period, thus causing an immense problem to tribal oustees. Reduction in the production of cash crops such as oilseeds, tabacco also have an adverse impact on tribals. In the pre-displacement period tribals were selling the surplus cash crops in the local market and were purchasing various household articles. But due to decline in the yielding of cash crops their hardship has been increased further.
There is also decline in dependence on forest in the post-displacement period as most of the oustees have resettled in plain areas where there are no forest resources available to depend upon. The forest products, which they were collecting earlier from the Jungles, they are now purchasing those items from the open market. Due to lack of forest resources, their income from forest products has registered a sharp decline thus causing financial hardship to the oustees, particularly for the tribal oustees. Because, forest was providing a major source of income and sustenance. Forest food also constituted an important component of their diet. Similarly, there has been a decline in dependence on live stock and trees in the post-displacement period.

It was observed from the data, that the occupational pattern of the oustees has changed drastically over the period of time. Due to acquisition of agricultural land and later on reduction in land holding size, the agricultural activities have declined. It has not only affected the landowners but also sharecroppers and landless agricultural labourers. Because of shrinking land size and reduction of agricultural activities oustees have shifted to other sector of employment. It is found that more households have engaged as agricultural labourer and in non-agricultural activities. Not only there is a change of occupational pattern of the oustees but also there is a decline in average number of man-day’s engagement in primary and secondary occupation.

Due to loss of agricultural land, agricultural and allied activities have been reduced substantially. The loss of agricultural land has cost them dear in many
respects as loss of income from farming, livestock, etc. Besides, there has been reduction in income from trees and forest. Because of reduction of income from these sources the total annual income of displaced families has come down in the present period, irrespective of social groups.

During the field study it was found that the oustees were not properly compensated for their agricultural lands, houses and for other properties which were acquired. They complained of irregularities, discrimination, bureaucratic huddles and lack of rational criteria in the payment of compensation money. They were not in a position to have the same kind and amount of assets in the new site, with the compensation money. Most of the people could not utilize the compensation money effectively in productive ways. Compensation money in cash, and that too to people who had never handled so much, led to a lot of misuses and more so, by the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people. People were cheated, looted and spent money on conspicuous consumption.

Besides the economic impact, we also tried to assess the socio-cultural impact of displacement. Analysis of the family structure of the oustees shows a trend towards nuclear family. In comparison to pre-displacement period three fourth of the families are found to be nuclear in post-displacement period. The number of joint and extended families has reduced substantially. Family ties have broken as oustees have resettled in a scattered manner in different blocks. Kinship groups have also scattered as well. Life sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help, mutual service arrangements are dismantled. There is a growing alienation
and anomie, weakening of control of inter personal behavior and lesser cohesion of family structure.

Even after several years of resettlement, still there is a lack of social adjustment. In the new villages, oustees are having the status of outsiders or ‘Budi Anchal Loka’ (people from submersible area) to the host community. Neither they are totally assimilated into the main stream of life of the resettled village nor can they recreate their lost community network for themselves.

The tribals who constitute the majority population among the oustees, are the worst hit under the adverse impact of displacement. In comparison to other social groups, tribals are inarticulate and docile by nature. They simply tolerate as mute spectators of whatever repercussion, the displacement causes to them.

The shrines, temples traditional institutions and community festivals have lost its significance at the new sites. The pattern of interdependence between caste and tribes and the exchange of services among them have become rare. The number of tribal God and Goddess are decreasing and seem to be loosing their importance. The traditional ‘dance-drama’, still popular in other parts of Koraput and Kalahandi district has lost its charm among oustees. The resettled people do not seem to be enthusiastic for any grand festival and entertainment. The organic connection between tribal groups and the forest that had existed prior to displacement got snapped. The meaning attached to the worship of trees, hills and rivers, no longer a part of their culture.
Politically, the oustees in the new settlement site have the status of non-citizen. The channel of communication and expression is very weak and poor. They, especially the tribals are much more inarticulative and live in a marginal condition in a multi-caste village. The members of the host community always play a dominant role and have an upper hand in every aspect of life.

The displaced people have been compelled to live with a much scarcer resources. The pressure of work on the women has doubled. Women have to spend more time to walk greater distances for collection fuel wood, minor forest produce which used to be a steady income supplement previously are also no easy to get. There is increased competition between the host community and the oustees for scarce natural resources. There is also an under current of conflict and confrontation between them for the access to Common Property Resources (CPR).

Thus, all their socio-cultural and economic setbacks create an existential crisis resulting in demoralization, frustration, and alienation. The psychological destabilization makes their adaptation process more difficult. The social, cultural, economic and psychological factor interact and influence each other in such an intricate manner that it is difficult to tackle them individually.

The types of development project that Upper Indravati exemplifies, is not unique in India, it is rather the part and parcel of India’s post-independence elite oriented developmental model where there is no place for displaced tribals, dalits and backwards. Mere focus on economic aspect of development as Upper Indravati Project testifies has pushed more people into poverty, backwardness,
marginalisation and alienation. These displaced people only share the pains of development and in matter of sharing the benefits they are no where in the picture. In a socialist welfare state like ours, it is an irony that the benefits of development are not shared equally by all. The way development has been carried out by the state over the years is making rich richer and poor displaced poorer. In this model there is an asymmetrical relation between rich and poor, powerful and powerless.

It seems that our economist and planners have been on a false trial. Instead of focusing on people and how to improve their lives they have sought to increase production and maximise GDP. They have tended to forget that the ultimate objective of development is not to produce so many million hectares of irrigated land or to produce so many thousands of megawatts of power. These things are not ends in themselves. They are useful in so far as they help in eliminating poverty and bringing equality and justice for the masses. And the existing model has conspicuously failed to do so. Its growth-oriented approach has proved to be economically iniquitous, socially conflict ridden and politically less democratic in its denial of the rights of equal citizenship (Jayal, 1999:4)

Therefore, it is essential to search for some alternatives. And solution to this problem lies in both. We have to search for an alternative model of development and alternative model of resettlement and rehabilitation policy. So far as alternative model of development is concerned, there is a need to provide a moral framework to economic development because economic growth per se can not solve all the problems of society. Development has a wider connotation than
purely economic growth. It specifically involves equity, social justice, and provision for basic human needs of the masses, creation of opportunities for productive employment for all and establishment of a self-sustaining or self-reliant economic structure. Economic growth, therefore must sub-serve these wider social objectives. The ultimate purpose of development should be providing everyone with increasing opportunities for a better life (Dreze and Sen: 1995). The quantitative and structural changes must go hand in hand.

Thus, the economic growth manship should be accompanied with equity and social justice. The voice of the marginalized people should be given preference in formulation of developmental plans and carrying out developmental projects. In stead of going for mega irrigation projects, power plants, heavy industrialization which displace millions of people and cause socio-economic havoc, emphasis should be given on small-scale projects and encouragement of rural industrialisation that will provide employment and development to the backward areas without polluting the environment. Similarly, emphasis should be given to find out alternative water management. Construction of small hydroelectric projects has the potential to benefit the rural poor. Construction of minor irrigation project should be emphasized which will promote rural capital formation and small dams, which will displace few people. Along with this, emphasis should be given to utilization of ground water, lift irrigation and drip irrigation.
However, considering the economic and technical benefits of mega projects, construction of mega projects cannot be stopped altogether. Such projects are often of crucial importance for national or regional economics as well as are quite beneficial for the people who fall within frequent and prolonged drought prone areas. For example, in Gujarat the Narmada Valley Project has evoked mass welcome response in favour of the project from Kutch and Saurastra region. Narmada project has become virtually a 'life line' for them and their only hope of getting water rests on this project, in view of the failure of all other alternatives.

However, before undertaking such project to avoid human displacement all viable alternative project designs should be explored. Such alternatives are sometimes technically feasible. For instance by modifying the route of a planned highway or railway project to circumvent existing settlements, by changing the location of dam or by reducing the dam's height. Whenever, it is not possible to avoid displacement, a careful and systematic advance resettlement and rehabilitation plan should be formulated to protect the lives, welfare, culture and human rights of those displaced.

Development induced displacement is not a God-given tragedy rather it is a man-made phenomenon. And the risk of displacement can be prevented and the lives of the displaced persons could be reconstructed only through concerted multifaceted cooperation and action by all the social actors i.e. government, resettles and host community.
All the voluntary resettlement policy should be conceived and executed as a development programme by providing sufficient investment resources and opportunities to assist the resettlers in their effort to improve their former living standards, earning capacity, or at least restore them.

Suggestions to Improve the Resettlement and Rehabilitation Measures

New Approach

The currently predominant conventional response to the adverse impacts of displacement is methodologically inadequate. It has failed to prevent impoverishment. This approach is based on aggressive cost-benefit analysis (CBA). But this CBA is insufficient and ill equipped. Using CBA, economist and technical planners justify counter developmental impacts by claiming that the sum of the project 'benefits' out weight some of the project 'costs' and they exclude the adverse effects of displacement in these costs. This quantified justification is neither legitimate nor equitable.

The logically crude justification of individualized cost through aggressive cost-benefit accounting glosses over the real impoverishment risks and impacts. The devaluation of individuals losses become the promise for giving priority to civil works, while people are put last: neither detailed social planning nor allocation of sufficient financial resources is typically required; and misused implementation further allows many negative socio-economic effects to go on un-addressed. This kind of spurious rationality conflicts with social justice, vitiating the development philosophy and planning practice.
In contrast with conventional approach, the correct principle adequate resettlement is not simply to justify and 'compensate' property losses but to pursue the actual restoration and enhancement of income-generating capacity and livelihood of the displaced people, by adequately providing financial resources and providing an opportunity to share the benefits of the projects.

Thus, challenges to resettlement practice today, is to adopt a new concept of resettlement goals, a new approach and new methodologies. Inspite of 'minimalist', residuals or welfare approach, what is needed is a change in concept and methods predicted on treating resettlement operations as opportunities for development, as development project in their own right, benefiting the resettlers.

**General Principles for Resettlement**

The policy for involuntary resettlement operation rests on a number of basic principles relates to government responsibility, resettlers right and participation, protection of interests of host populations, and a clear definition of the objective of resettlement. These considerations and objectives must be embodied in resettlement action plans, adequately financed and intrinsically coordinated with the implementation of the project's infrastructural components, which cause resettlement.

1) **Government Responsibility**

The responsibility for evacuating and relocating the affected groups rests with the government. To minimise the human hardship, an appropriate course of
action should be followed by the government at the beginning of the project and after evacuation of the oustees.

At the beginning of the project the affected people should be informed suitably by the government about the construction of the project and its impact on the people. It should be ‘predictive-cum warning’ to enable the affected people and their organization, to develop coping and resource-mobilization strategies with lead-time. For this the PAPs must be informed transparently. This is nothing but the process of ‘telling to resettlers’ to enable them to explore alternatives, to adequately prepared displacement, before it occurs.

After displacement, to resettle the oustees a comprehensive plan for developmental resettlement should be formulated and the development plan must cover two vital aspects.

a) An assessment of the total adverse impact upon the project affected persons.

b) Preparation and provision of the plan.

a) Assessment of the total adverse impact upon the PAPs

Before formulation of the rehabilitation policy an assessment study should be undertaken to know who are the PAPs and what are the nature of adverse impact.

The definition of PAPs must include i) all the people affected by the project i.e. directly or indirectly partly or fully, landowners or landless wage labourers, encroachers, grazers, nomads, forest produce gathers, ii) It should include all those
people whose means of livelihood will be affected as a direct result of their submergence of land, loss of resource base or displacement of community.

For the purpose of assessing the total impact, the study should include information about i) human resource base of each family, ii) economic status of each family, iii) ownership of property movable and immovable, iv) deprivation of property including lands, structures, trees, housing, v) deprivation of means of livelihood due to stagnation of developmental activities soon after the project; loss of property, loss of access of clientele, loss of jobs due to physical relocation, vi) Deprivation of community life, properties, resource base, community amenities and services; socio-cultural relationships, vii) psychological and physiological stress and strain.

b). After thorough assessment about the PAPs and nature of adverse impact, a comprehensive development resettlement plan should be formulated by the government to settle the oustees. The plan should cover:

i) The total impacts of the project and provides compensation for all the three units i.e. individual, family and community.

ii) The plan should have common element for the affected people of all sections, with special provision for tribals and other disadvantaged groups.

iii) The plan should not merely aim at restitution for losses, but resettlement, generation fair standards of civil life.

iv) The resettlement plan should ensure that the affected people share the benefits of as equal partners, and
v) The resettlement plan should contain provision for resettling people according to their occupation.

2) Resettler's Participation

i) Since resettlement planning implies critical decision regarding the future of the displaced people, these people should be consulted directly or indirectly through formal and informal leaders with respect to the social and economic aspects of the various alternatives being carried out. This will improve the understanding of their needs, resources and preferences to prevent costly mistakes, help reduce the stress associated with the dislocation.

ii) Involving the local leaders and the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is another basic requirement under lying the recommendation for resettlement operations. NGOs have effectively contributed in various resettlement operations, they are opt to articulate resettler's needs and defend their entitlements.

iii) Since the traditional local organizations and ethnic and religious leaders are usually respected by the people, planners and administrators should seek their involvement in the planning process, in order to facilitate communication, mobilisation of group resources and cooperation.
3) The Host Population

Besides (a) the government agencies and (b) the resettlers themselves, the other major actor in resettlement process is (c) the host community living in the receiving areas.

i) The resettlement agency should anticipate that feeling of jealousy would like to be aroused among the hosts if superior services and housing are provided to the resettlers. If possible education, water, health and other services should be made available for both groups, and a suitable social climate generated for their interaction.

ii) To promote this climate, any payment due to the hosts for land or other assets provided to resettlers should be promptly rendered. Equitable treatment should be accorded as far as possible to both hosts and settlers.

Stages of Implementation of the plans for Resettlement

For the purpose of implementation of total plan for resettlement can be divided into two components: (i) the plan for displacement, and (ii) plan for resettlement. Once the over-all plan for resettlement is ready and approved by government and people, a detailed plan and time schedule be worked out. The plan should include:

1) A plan of action for acquisition of lands and properties of the PAPs.

2) A plan of action for identification of alternative site for resettlement; identification and acquisition of lands and other assets needed to provide an adequate alternative resource – base for the oustees.
3) A plan of action to built up and develops the natural resource base in the new settlement. Plan of action to build community infrastructure.

4) A plan of action for actual displacement of families.

5) A plan for action for the transition period, and

6) A plan of action for developmental resettlement.

**The Development-Oriented approach to Resettlement**

Involuntary Resettlement of people has been treated in the past as a salvage and welfare operation, rather than one pursuing development objective. But it should be approached as a multisided opportunity for the reconstruction of systems and production and human settlement that would represent a development in the standard of life of those displaced, as well as the regional economy of which they are a past.

The backbone of the resettlement plan should be a ‘development package’. In other words the set of provision aims at reconstructing the production base of those displaced and provision of social infrastructure and access to employment opportunities. The development package must offer sufficient opportunities and resources for their economic and social re-establishment as self-sustaining or wage earners.

Two basic strategies should be pursued in the resettlement plan for economically and socially re-establishing those displaced a) land based strategies and b) non-land based strategies.
a) Land Based Strategies

In land based strategies, compensation for lost property is important, but providing economic opportunities to re-establish the displaced populations as agricultural producers, rural artisans, etc. is the crux of any viable resettlement. Such economic opportunities arise from building into the agricultural development package specific project-funded activities such as land-reclamation, irrigation schemes, agricultural intensification, tree crops development, fisheries, dairy development, commercial or social forestry, vocational training and other kind of lasting income generating activities.

Land is a crucial factor in re-establishment strategies, since the vast majority of those displaced tend to be farmers or agricultural labourers. The reconstruction of their productive potential essentially depends on the availability of land. The experience of land for land in number of projects, however, is not very encouraging, since the project – authorities are reluctant to take all steps necessary for making land available to those dispossessed of their land. Sometimes, land availability in a real and serious constraint as land is limited and highly contested resource in India. However, these problems could be address through various measures as follows:

i) The problem of non-availability of land could be addressed through various kinds of land reform measures. In case of large dams, the displaced households should be given land in the command area by acquiring land
through redistribution and consolidation of land holding and by enacting land-ceiling law.

ii) To address the problem, land purchase committee or land identification committee should be constituted to identify government land and purchase private land from persons in close proximity of the affected villages.

iii) Project authorities across the country have also acquired land that is far in excess of their requirement on the plea that it is required for future expansion plans. Significant lands would be released if the land held in excess, which has not been used despite expansion, can be distributed among oustees.

iv) Land should be provided to the actual tillers and those depend on land for their livelihood.

v) Absentee and non-cultivating owners instead of providing the opportunity of land based settlement, should be given monetary compensation.

vi) Land based resettlement should be accompanied with agricultural redevelopment package specific project-funded activities such as land reclamation, irrigation development, and provision for providing modern agricultural equipment.

b) Non-Land Based Strategies

When land is not available and in situations of extreme land scarcity, other opportunities should be opened up for those displaced to re-establish themselves in the industrial or service sectors of the local or regional economy. Job creation
through new investments may necessary, because vocational training alone, displaced in their newly acquired skills, will not restore income.

**Housing**

i) Since housing is one of the basic necessities that people need, all the displaced families should have house in new site and the house in the new site should not be in any way inferior in quality than the existing housing structure.

ii) Before construction of houses at new site, the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the displaced people should taken into account.

iii) Housing at new site should be provided with better quality of housing materials, more footage per capita, drinking water system, electricity facility, safer sanitation facilities and space for house garden.

**Social organization of Resettlers**

Attention to the social organizations of the human settlement is indispensable for development oriented resettlement.

i) Because displacement dismantles previous social traditional organizations, effort should be made to resettle the oustees in-groups as cultural and social units.

ii) The tribal oustees must be resettled in a community wise not individually. Their kinship relationship must be given preference.
iii) To foster community feelings, all the community infrastructure like community centre, temple, shrines, grazing ground, burial ground and civic amenities should be provided with.

Civic Amenities

Besides economic reconstruction, to strengthen community life and for a decent living each resettlement site should be provided with adequate community facilities as under:


Compensation

The concept of displacement goes beyond mere physical deprivation or property losses, to virtually the total decimation of the fabric of the affected societies. The word 'compensation' for the loss of property as in Land Acquisition Act 1894 (Amended in 1984), is therefore, totally inadequate and out of context with the reality of the loss suffered by people. Thus, Land Acquisition Act should be suitably amended to provide need-based rehabilitation to displaced people.

Resettlement and Rehabilitation of Tribals

i) Tribal communities can not be able to settle in regions too different in socio-cultural pattern, resource-base and social institutions from their
original habitat. They cannot also be ordinarily settled in far away places among alien people. Hence whenever a project displaces such communities, special care should be taken for them and they should be preferably be resettled in a zone adjacent to the affected area, comparable with the previous socio-cultural, linguistic and economic characteristics of the community.

ii) They should be resettled in groups not individually and the settlement site should be chosen according to their choice.

iii) Large dam projects require extra special attention. Reluctant to move far from their hamlets or resource base, most tribals prefer to migrate upwards to hill slopes falling within the catchment area. This inevitably leads to environmental degradation. This is undesirable and is clearly avoidable if the logical step of 'nursing' pre-identified resettlement sites is taken at the planning stages of project. Such action could be taken simultaneously with catchment treatment.

iv) Those displaced should be resettled in catchment areas only in such a number and as to prevent excessive pressure on the eco-system. The sole aim, of such resettlement should be to involve such communities in protecting catchment, enhance the vegetative cover, and help regenerate the natural eco-system. In the catchment area land allotment and investment should be made to plant fruit, fuel and fodder trees which will serve to
reduce community’s dependence on natural forestry, even as they help sustain the community itself.

v) The displaced tribal families should be assisted through specially designed schemes and all the privileges enjoyed by ST and SC beneficiaries under various developments and poverty alleviation schemes should be extended to them.

**Operational procedures**

To ensure that the policy provisions are translated into substantive project realities in every stage of the project, some operational procedures should be followed. These operational procedures supplement to the general operational norms.

**a) Implementation organization**

Adequate resettlement depends upon on the quality of implementation. An adequate policy, even good planning and project design, are not sufficient, and can be frustrated by unsatisfactory and inconsistent implementation.

i) Therefore an independent and autonomous implementing organisation should be created at every project level to carry out the resettlement operations.

ii) Implementing organization should be provided with adequate financial resources, staffing for implementing relocation and socio-economic reestablishment.
iii) Involvement of line-agencies like Agriculture, Fisheries, Dairy, should be sought.

iv) The implementation organisation and staffs should be technically competent to carry out resettlement work.

b) Project Supervision and Monitoring

Good results are achieved when arrangement for supervision and monitoring are incorporated in the very design of the project and entail administrative and funding provisions conducive to the needed independence of judgement.

i) Project management should monitor the timely progress and completion of resettlement activities, and the general and economic conditions of the resettled people.

ii) Supervision and monitoring should provide both a warning system for project managers and a channel for the resettlers to make know their needs and their reactions to resettlement execution.

Process of Resettlement

i) After the plan is approved by the government, detailed phased programme of displacement, transfer and resettlement should be prepared and widely publicized in the affected areas. This should also be made in consultation with the affected population and their representatives.
ii) The affected people should be psychologically prepared for displacement by using various methods including community based meetings, dissemination of information in oral or written forms etc.

iii) The period between the first notification under the Land Acquisition Act and actual shifting should not be more than 3 years.

iv) Evacuation should be commenced at least one year before impounding of the reservoir in question and other construction activities commenced.

v) Evacuation should be done in the period from January to May, after the harvesting season is completed.

vi) No physical dislocation from agricultural land or house should begin unless and until the alternative land with related infrastructure and other provisions is made ready. This includes land development, irrigation, house construction, and basic community amenities.

vii) The displaced are entitled to guaranteed employment and transitional allowance, ensuring minimum wages for a period of one year.

viii) The project authorities must provide adequate compensation to take care of the costs of demolition and creation of house.

ix) The resettled families should be assisted through specially designed schemes and be given priority among the beneficiaries of various existing schemes.
x) No recovery of any amount due from the PAPs will be made either directly or indirectly through legal proceeding by Government or semi-Government agencies.

Creation of Appropriate structure of Authorities

i) In view of the number of development projects and huge number of people routinely displaced and otherwise affected, it is imperative that there should be an adequate and competent structure of authorities to deal with the situation satisfactorily.

ii) There should be an independent department at the centre and in all states to look after the interests of the project affected people. The department should have the primary responsibility to see that the oustees are satisfactorily resettled as partners in development.

iii) In addition, there is an urgent need for an authority at the state and central level to act as a watchdog and to adjudicate disputes. This authority should have sufficient powers, funds and personnel with it to initiate investigation and judicial inquiries of its own. The nature of the authority will be as follows:

a. At the centre there should be a commission with full time members. The national commission should be specifically charged in responsibility to oversee the interests of the displaced people in all the inter-state as well as central projects. It should also periodically review state and central acts, resolutions and administrative measures, rules and programmes. It should also be charged
with the responsibility of submitting biennial-annual reports on the state of
displaced and project affected people, on the lines of report published by the
Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, to the Union Parliament. The
commission should have judicial powers to adjudicate in developmental
resettlement disputes concerning inter-state and central projects.
b. At the state level, there should be a commissioner or Lokayukta with powers
and functions similar to the commission at the centre.

Need for National Legislation

The Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, has drafted the
National Rehabilitation Policy in 1993 due to heavy pressure from the World Bank
and large extend the campaign around the Narmada Project. The drafts policy have
not been made formally available to concerned groups for their comments and
they have instead labeled 'secret'. However, the drafts policy have appeared in
some journals. There are important aspects of the draft, which should be
welcomed. The draft policy has recognized that displacement constitutes a
violation of people's most fundamental rights under constitution and under several
international human rights covenants. The Draft National Policy for Rehabilitation
(DNRP) also addresses itself primarily to the needs of disadvantaged communities
and proceeds from a basic assumption that displacement involves a trauma which
can be mitigated to a large extent in physical and economic terms. Among other
things, the policy involves a commitment to ensure that displaced persons are
better off after, than before displacement. However, it suffers from a number of deficiencies.

One of the most controversial portion of the DNRP is a section on acquisition of land. This so because the DNRP confers the sole right to the state to fix the price of land. It empowers the state to fix category wise price of land in respect of tribal land based on capitalized value of productive of previous ten years. Once this mode of acquisition is accepted, subjectivity in price fixing becomes inevitable. Tribal groups often residing in remote areas maintain themselves under a low yield equilibrium. The low yields are compensated by cultivating larger area through encroachment of forest land. So with low yield and small size of owned land, the NDRP procedure of compensating by quality based pricing of land would bring not only subjectivity but also meagre compensation to the PAPs. Instead of this procedure, 'land for land' may be accepted as a norm for compensating for the loss of land. This would reduce the ambiguities creeping in because of issue of quality of land and its alternative use. In order to accommodate non-agriculturist households, who do not want land based compensation, the R & R policy should be broad based. Provision should be made in the policy document to accommodate other modes of compensation and formation of institutions for carrying out evaluation for non-land based compensation.

Use of the term land for 'public purposes' is also not justifiable for it makes mandatory for displaced people to abide the state decree even if such acquisition
are being made on behalf of industry or private parties. Hence, the term ‘public purpose’ should be defined clearly before using it in the draft.

In the prevailing paradigm of development, market plays an important role. Resettlers who are mainly tribals are unfamiliar with market forces, remain alienated from these processes because they are not able to obey its working rules. Consequently they end up bearing costs without benefiting from it. This increases economic inequality. This provision necessary for such economic integration is also missing from the present DNRP.

Experiences have shown that well intended policy statements remain unimplemented owing to failure in identifying instruments for their execution. The DNRP also lacks necessary linkage that makes such policy implementable.

Development has been so isolated from displacement in the present DNRP that these issues are not even recognized. What is therefore needed is a National Rehabilitation Policy where displacement and resettlement become parts of the policy framework.

Thus, there is an urgent need for a National legislation on displacement and resettlement policy in order to avoid piecemeal approach. It is only through such a legislation that basic human rights of the project affected people can be given clear recognition, enforcement, accountability, of each authority can be secured. Such a national legislation will do away with the different approaches of different state governments and will bring into operation a central policy for the project affected in the future. Such legislation must satisfy the following:
i) The national law must clearly recognize the objective of developmental resettlement so as to enable the PAPs to become partners in development;

ii) The law must lay down clear principles for displacement and resettlement and a procedure for the execution so as to safeguard the rights of the displaced people.

iii) The law must establish a clear authority structure at different levels to carry out the design, planning and execution of project, as well as the resettlement of those affected people.

iv) The law must lay down monitoring and evaluation machinery.

v) The law must recognise the right of the PAPs, their right to participation and involvement of NGOs, and social organizations at various levels.

vi) The law must recognise that the complete plan for displacement and development resettlement, satisfying the conditions laid down above, must be regarded as a pre-condition to secure sanctions of the project from all departments-concerned.

Even carefully applied policies, involuntary resettlement is and will remain a traumatic process in the life of the affected groups. Since such social disruptions will continue to accompany future technical and economic change, further improvement in resettlement and rehabilitation policies, in legal frameworks, in implementation and in the study of resettlement will remain imperative.