CHAPTER IV

REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT POLICY OF UPPERKOLAB RIVER DAM PROJECT
A wider development motive resigns all river dam projects and other project of development nature in the sense that their installation is deemed to bring numerous villages and their people in the ambit of benefits. For each of these projects, vast tracts of land are required. The land is not only for the project but also for having its personnel and some sort of a semi town emerges even before the developmental projects comes up.

Often, for these projects, the areas chosen are beyond the already-existing towns but these are peopled by the so-called aboriginals. The first task is to set the area evacuated in other words, to displace the people from their physical moorings. Evacuation can be executed either forcibly or persuasively, but it has been invariably noticed that the element of law, combined with force, outweighs the persuasive techniques. Even when persuasion is relied upon, it may fall on deaf ears becomes the technocrats and other officials can fail to discharge the role of a social workers, who steadily convinces the people about the importance of the project.

Evacuation is logically tied to rehabilitation if people are to be displaced from the site required for developmental purposes, they be properly and adequately rehabilitated, with no harm done to their self-respect. Hence energy project is a can with two sides: developmental motives and rehabilitational programme.

One option is that evacuation and rehabilitation do not lead to any detrimental and disastrous consequences. People are improved from traditional space, but the places in which they are rehabilitated offer handsome
opportunities thus accelerating their economic life. The other option is that people do not want to leave their traditional villages; they do so under the fear of force, and improperly attended to, giving rise to an inferno of social problems.

The case is from Koraput, Orissa, where a multipurpose hydro-electric dam is being constructed on Kolab river, a tributary of Godavari River. Kolab Flows through the forest and mountainous ranges of Koraput district which is predominantly inherited by several tribal communities. Being will cultivators, hunters and food gatherers most of them are at subsistence level of economy. They rely on forest on land to a great extent and have been inhabiting this area since time immemorial.

We shall also try to assess its strength, weakness of policy level and implementation level. To make such an assessment, a comparison is made between government of Orissa policy on Hirakud River Dam Project and resettlement and rehabilitation policy of Upper Kolab River Dam Project.

**Resettlement & Rehabilitation Policy - Indian scenario:**

As mentioned earlier, after independence, several development projects including major dams, power plants, mining-operations etc. have been carried out to accelerate the tempo of economic development. As a result, millions of people have been displaced from their ancestral homes by these projects. Despite the magnitude of displacement and longevity of the multiple transverse
that most oustees faces, one of the most glaring example of successive central
governments shunning their constitutional responsibility has been the lack of a
national policy for those who have been forcibly displaced in the national
interest (Kothari & Rajiv Bharti : 907-920). In the last five years, only a Draft
of National Rehabilitation Policy is prepared by the Ministry of Rural
Development (MRD) and Water Resources Department (WRD) of Government
of India, which is get be made into a low (Fernades (ed): 1995-20).

In absence of such a National level policy for rehabilitation, it is left for
the project authorities to prepare the plans for rehabilitation and implement
them in accordance with various circulars issues by the concerned state
governments. But of late, few state Governments like the Karnataka, Gujarat,
Maharastra have prepared a detailed resettlement and rehabilitation policies to
resettle the displaced people.

Resettlement & Rehabilitation of Project Affected
Persons policies of Government of Orissa:

The Government of Orissa, Department of Water Resources has come
up with the most comprehensive policy on resettlement and rehabilitation of
project affected persons, formulated in 1994. Though this policy pertains to
projects of water resource development, its implications for other departments
like energy resources including hydro-electricity and thermal energy,
Department of Industry, Department of Mining and Department of Forests,
which creates and manages wild life sanctuaries, are significant, and opportunity irreversible. But the coordination of Government of Orissa policy for all these departments on the issues of resettlement and rehabilitation is yet to be seen (Mahapatra: 1995:319).

The policy in its present format has evolved from the Government of Orissa policy of mere compensation for acquired land in the 1948 Orissa act. Though the agitations of the Rengali Dam oustees over decades, the government policy on resettlement and rehabilitation took shape, which was comparable to the state policies of Maharastra, and Gujarat, to a large extent. Before the Rengali Dam agitation's the Hirakud Dam oustees in 1950's had carried on a long, often political, battle for at least two decades. It is to be noted as a significant social fact that most of the large scale water resource development projects are implemented in tribal areas, but the agitations of the non-tribal people carry weight with the government of Orissa. The resistance of the tribal people is not so well organized, or long standing and is not dragging the Government of Orissa to the courts. Any way, it is good to see a well-drafted policy on resettlement and rehabilitation of project affected persons in water resource project in 1994. Now that a National Policy on resettlement and rehabilitation of project affected persons from all sectors of development projects is on the anvil of the Government of India. The present Orissa state policy of 1994 should be judged more on its own merits, than in comparison with the integrated policy for all kinds of development induced displacement of people in the proposed National Policy for, the present Orissa policy is the culmination of the process of understanding, information gathering and
empathy within the state, albeit impelled by people’s agitations and political pressures. The models of Maharastra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh in the field of resettlement and rehabilitation have been studied and the insight and the light gained from this has been crucial in finalizing the present policy in Orissa. Before 1994, resettlement and rehabilitation activities were carried out to individual project authorities and were based on a broad set of guidelines issued by Government of Orissa. These Government guidelines have been also revised periodically. Even the criteria keep varying for identifying a person to be displaced for being eligible to receive the rehabilitation benefits.

Before 1994, the widows, divorcees, orphans, physically and mentally handicapped without independent means of livelihood, in addition to the landless and 'unobjectionable encroachers' on government land, were already recognized as displaced persons in the submergence zone. Cash in lieu of home stead land, house construction assistance, maintenance allowance for one year and rehabilitation assistance (2 acres of irrigated land or 4 acres of unirrigated land) or cash grant instilling will now be paid join try to husband and wife in the family concerned.

Project Affected Persons:

In this policy the 'Displaced Person' alternatively called 'oustees' are 'Project Affected Persons'. But all project affected persons may not necessarily be displaced person if they are not physically displaced. The definition of
'affected persons' has been widened to include not only those lose land and for agriculture, house, homestead land and structures there on, but also those who may lose trade and occupation due to construction of the project within the affected zones. The village which gets isolated due to the construction of the project, and thereby become socio-economically unlivable, may be declared as affected villages as part of the affected zone. This elaboration of the concept of the affected zone, affected village, and affected persons is a great improvement on the pre-existing conceptual framework (Mahapatra: 1995:320). Section VIII on the payment of compensation is the weakest part of the policy document adopted by the Government of Orissa. There is no mention as to the proper manner in which the rights over trees and compensation to be paid for these rights are to be assessed for payment of compensation it is known widely in tribal areas that persons planting averaging trees, over one's own land, or anybody else's land or on the common property or on government land enjoy traditionally absolute ownership rights over these trees. The other serious lacuna in the compensation policy is to take as its basis depreciated value of house structures or equipment on landed property. Another innovative amenity has been promised to the displaced persons in the form of an identity card of the project affected person on a booklet on the resettlement and rehabilitation policy with clear mention of the benefits and amenities to be provided by the project.
**Resettlement & Rehabilitation Policy of Upper Kolab**

**River Dam Project:**

Detailed investigations were carried out by the Government of Orissa after 1961. The Present proposal was finalised after investigating several alternative dam sites on water conductor systems. The power project was approved by the planning commission during August, 1995 arrogating project in June 1976. The Upper Kolab reservoir would submerge on area of 114 square kilometers which includes forest land, cultivable waste land, hill tracts and 29,198 areas of agricultural land of 147 villages including house sites of forty four villages.

**Disturbance in other sectors:**

The Upper Kolab Reservoir not only caused displacement of human settlement, but also caused disturbance in other sectors. They are discussed as follows

➢ **Communication:**

8km of National High Way No 43, between the town ships of Sunabeda an Koraput was submerged by the reservoir. For construction of Jeypore min canal, the said N:H. had also to be pierced through at two different places. Besides, the reservoir submerged major district Road no. 52 at a number of places between 182 km and 186 km, 167.6km and 170.4km and major district
road no. 55 between 8.2 km and 9.2 km. The project authorities paid the cost of realignment of roads at these places.

➢ Public Health Department:

The intake works of Jawahar water works, Sunabeda and Koraput water works were affected by the reservoir necessitating their relocation at the cost of the project.

➢ Orissa State Electricity Board:

The high voltage transmission lives of the Board were submerged at several places. Hence the upper kolob project paid the cost of relocation of these lives.

➢ Central Cattle Breeding Farm:

The reservoir submerged the internal road of the farm. Hence relocation work was done at the project cost.

➢ Orissa Small Industries Corporation:

The carpentry workshop and staff quarters of the corporations at Sunabeda were submerged for which the project gave compensation.
> Schools and Hospitals:

One Kanyashram of high school standard H.No of L.P. Schools, 4 Nos of U.P. Schools one P.S.M.E. School and are livestock centre were affected by the reservoir; necessitating thereby their relocation.

Besides, one temple are panchayat ghar one grain gola and one V.L.W centre work effected by the reservoir.

Resettlement & Rehabilitation:

> Land:

Since "Land for Land" was the guiding principle R & R, as much as in 680 areas of land were set apart for allotment to the ouster for homestead purposes an well as for cultivation. Home stead land 0.5 acres and in irrigated agricultural land 6 acres or irrigable agricultural land 3 acre per family was to be given. It was calculated that for about 25% of the displaced families willing to go to the project sponsored colonies on land based rehabilitation, the land so set apart for them would be adequate to meet the requirement. But response from the oustees was poor and 528 families only opted for land based resettlement and rehabilitation.

In keeping with the then prevailing provisions in rehabilitation guidelines, forest materials for construction of houses by the oustees were provided by the state forest department at single royalty tenant's rate.
Common facilities e.g. village roads, schools, wells, tube wells and tanks were also provided at prescribed norm in these colonies at the project cost. Besides two high schools were also setup.

➢ Cash Payment:

As per the guidelines if adequate land is not available for allotment to the oustees, or the oustees opt to make their own rehabilitation arrangements they were fore to not to move to the project sponsored colonies. In that event they were entitled to get money in cash in lieu of land. This was in addition to the compensation money received by the oustees towards acquisition of their land and other property. It was also left to the oustees to receive part in land and part in cash. Each oustee family in Upper Kolab project who did not move to the project sponsored colony, received cash to the tune of Rs 14,040.00 in lieu of 0.5 acres of homestead land and 6 acres of unirrigated land or 3 acres of irrigated irrigable land. In all 2643 families received cash grant in lieu of land and made their own rehabilitation arrangements as they liked.

➢ Employment:

The rehabilitation guidelines outlined that 50% of the vacancies in unskilled posts in the project which displaces population shall be kept reserved for the people of the submergible area. But only 48 persons were employed in Upper Kolab project in class on other similar posts, of course, among other similar posts, of corner, among others considerable number of oustees were
engaged in construction activities as workmen; of which there is no clear account in the project.

**Administrative & Organizational set up:**

Although the chief engineer is the overall head of all project activities; for land acquisition and resettlement and rehabilitation of project affected people, one special land acquisition and resettlement and rehabilitation officer (SPI, L.A and R.R.O) was there. His two main works were to

(I) acquire land for the project activities in pursuance of the land acquisition act, 1894, pay compensation allocate the land for resettlement purposes and

(II) to ensure that resettlement colonies are duly set up, all infrastructure facilities are provided there and the oustees after due enumeration are evacuated well in time before submergence takes place. The state government constituted a rehabilitation advisory committee to co-ordinate the implementation of various schemes under the rehabilitation programmes. The main functions of the committee were:-

(a) to examine the rehabilitation schemes prepared for the project affected people,

(b) to inspect or examine the rehabilitation areas,
(c) to inspect and examine the details of areas to be submerged and to decide which of the villages to be fully rehabilitated and which others party

(d) to examine the details of landless and homeless families and approve the same,

(e) to decide and recommend regarding nature of common facilities to be provided to the oustees in different locations,

(f) to approve the rehabilitation programmes, coordinate the implementation of the same, review the progress and

(g) to recommend to Government the measures to overcome difficulties of any in the process of implementing of rehabilitation programmes.

This advisory committee was headed by the Revenue divisional commissioner of the area. Besides the collector of the district, the chief engineer soil conservation officer, members; the local people's representatives starting from panchayat samiti chairman to MPs were non-official members. The committee was required to meet at least once in three months.

Until the construction of upper Indravti Hydro Electric Project there was little involvement of NGOs in displacement related activities of river valley projects in Orissa. In case of Upper Kolab project also, which precedes the Upper Indravati project, no NGO involvement was there. Nor was there any activist groups to act as the spokesman of the oustees.
About 60% of the oustees belonged to S.T. and S.C. community. The remaining 40% oustees belonged to socially and economically backward action of the community. Here they did not have any say in the resettlement and rehabilitation matters. They accepted the programmes as were offered to them without any confrontation.

Preparation for R & R:

The F.R.L. of the Upper Kolab reservoir is 858.00 metres. It is also the M.W.L. It was therefore decided to acquire and structures etc and remove habitation up to E.L. 858. Identification of F. R. L in the village map after carrying levels in the field, commenced in October 1975 and it was completed in January 1978. Thus after detailed survey, the extent of submergence by the proposed reservoir was assessed.

Land Acquisition and Payment of Compensation:

The project was administratively approved in 1976. As such as Forest (conservation) Act. 1980 has not been made applicable to the project. Consequently, forest land required for the project was alienated in favour of then irrigation and power department. However, for raising compensatory afforestation, money was deposited with the state forest department. Private land was acquire in accordance with the provision of land acquisition act, 1894 after arriving at a value based actual sale deed in the locality within three years prior to notification U/S4 (l) of the aforesaid act, and taking additional market
value 12% per year for three years into consideration. Further 30% extra towards solatium charges were added. As statistics reveal, the highest rate paid was Rs. 8000/- per acre for paddy 1 class land and the lowest rate paid was Rs. 340/- per acre for dry land. Compensation for houses, wells, tanks and other structures and trees standing on the land acquired, was also paid. In total about Rs. 6.31 crores was paid towards compensation money to the families who were affected by the Upper Kolab dam project.

**Enumeration of Displaced Persons:**

Initially it was estimated that about 6400 families in 147 villages would be affected by the Upper Kolab reservoir. Family in relation to a displaced person as per the rehabilitation guidelines then in force was, such person and his/her spouse, minor sons, unmarried daughters, minor brothers and sisters, father, mother and other members residing with him and dependent on him for their livelihood. The reference date for enumeration of family was 11th June 1975 i.e. the data on which the foundation stone for the project was laid.

**Identification of Land for Resettlement of Oustees:**

About 80% of the people in Orissa are dependent on agriculture. Keeping this factor in view, "land for land" has been the guiding principle for resettling and rehabilitating the displaced persons of upper kolab project. It was the primary responsibility of the project authorities to locate adequate extent of land both for homestead purposes and agricultural purposes and to keep them in order by the time physical displacement took place. About 20,000 hectares
of land would have been required for this purpose. But it was assumed that all the displaced persons would not move to the land so identified for them. Hence requirement was kept in lower side at 12,680 acres in two tahsils areas of Kotpad and Boriguma. In the first phase, land identified in Kotpad tahsil (9432 acres) was reclaimed at project cost. The land in Boriguma tahasil (3248 acres) was not reclaimed as the oustees did not opt for settling there.

➢ Displacement:

As per the construction programme chalked out for the project, the Upper Kolab reservoir was to be impounded in three phases upto elevation 835M, 850M and 858M by monsoons of 1984, 1985 and 1986 respectively. Hence by 1986 the shifting process of all the oustees should have been completed. But although the process started as per schedule, it was not completed in 1991.

➢ Resettlement Colonies:

As has been stated earlier, 9432 acres of land in Kotpad tahsil was reclaimed for the resettlement and rehabilitation of oustees. The entire area divided into seven Colonies containing 2948 acres of irrigable land, 2996 acres of non irrigable land, 1012 acres of homestead land and 2476 acres of other communal land. The plan was to accommodate 2072 oustees families in these colonies. To see that the new settlers are not deprived of basic minimum facilities, number of open wells, 8 number of tubewells, 7 number of tanks, 6 number of school buildings and 74.05 km of roads were constructed. But only
528 number of families shifted to these colonies and the rest made their own rehabilitation arrangements as they liked offer receipt of rehabilitation cash money of about to 3.87 crores in lieu of land.

**Poor Response for Colony life:**

It is unfortunate that no pre-project socio-economic baseline survey was done in Upper Kolab project. The researcher collected data in respect of 424 resettled families from out of 528 in all, which reveal that most of them were agricultural labourers with meagre income. A small group of oustees were small and marginal farmers who used to cultivate their own land. During off season some of them used to work as labourers away from their homes on daily wage. Those who could not get any job collected forest produce and sold them at nearby urban area. The study undertaken by the researcher further reveal that about 28% of the total oustees families, belonged to the landless community; and about 10% has a maximum of about one acres of land (dry) holding. In all fairness all the families belonging to these two categories (28% + 10% = 38% ) should have moved to the project sponsored Colonies where a better economic life could be in store for them. But hardly 17% of the oustees moved to the Colonies. They moved to only 4 out of 7 colonies where infrastructure facilities had already been provided vide drawing no:4 a sum of Rs 1.25 crores was spent on development of site, providing infrastructure facilities etc. in these colonies.

There was no voluntary organisation to champion the cause of the oustees. The project affected persons were not only below the poverty line, but
were hardly literate. As such there was no resistance from the PAPs to the R and R activities programmed for them in the project sponsored colonies. The resettlement programme should have been a great success. But contrary to all expectation, the response from the oustees to move to project sponsored colonies was extremely poor.

The main reason can be analysed as under:

(1) The R and R plan prepared by the project did not seem viable and there was no real promise of improving the socio-economic condition of the poor oustees.

(2) The oustees who belonged to a higher altitude, did want to shift to a plain area to a far off place from the area of displacement. They felt that a shift from forest environment to the plains may be difficult and full of risks. They apprehended that this would be a farewell to the simple life in close communication with nature to alien environment.

(3) The economy of most of the oustees was dependent on "tree culture". Tree was everything to them. With gradual denudation of forest growth, many of them pushed themselves further into deep and higher areas.

(4) Economic condition of most of the oustees was very poor. They were not confident of making out a better living in the colonies
where lands were not fertile and needed considerable investment which they could not afford.

(5) Most of the tribal oustees belonged either to 'Paraja' or 'Gadaba' community where as the host population in and around that settlement Colonies mostly belonged to 'Bhatada' and "Amantya" community. While the former maintain their culture in isolation, the latter being mainly agricultural in profession were free to move about. The oustees therefore found it difficult to merge into the new social order.

(6) But perhaps the most important reason which prompted the displaced persons not to move to the project sponsored colonies is the option left with them to receive rehabilitation cash money in lieu of land. First of all they were carried away by the prospects of possessing heavy cash in preference to land. Secondly, the Govt. machinery in charged of resettlement and rehabilitation found it easy to make cash payment and be relieved of the worries of rehabilitation arrangements.

**What happened to the settlers:**

The following are the findings about their conditions:
No Improvement in economic standard

A close scrutiny of the case of 424 families out of total 528 families who moved to the colonies revealed that only 5 families received full quota of land 6 acres. Others received part land and part cash in lieu of land. It was partly unirrigated and partly irrigable. A sample study in respect of 96 families resettled in colony no. 7 further revealed that there was considerable reduction in number of domestic animals and birds in the colony from the number of oustees had in their original settlements before shifting. The primary reason for this is lack of grazing ground nearby and change in environment from hills to plains. The resettlers instead of replenishing the loss become more preoccupied with acquiring other consumable, fashionable articles, clearing of debts, and investing on house construction etc. The rehabilitation cash money and compensation money payable to the oustees were not deposited in different types of deposit schemes remained passive on lookers, pleading helplessness. Consequently the settlers went on with drawing money under some pretext or other.

Indiscriminate allotment of land:

There was indiscriminate allotment of land to the resettlers without ascertaining their capacity to till it. The landless oustees did not get any compensation money. Although they were given land in the colony, the money that they got towards rehabilitation assistance in lieu of agricultural land was not adequate to support farming activities. There was also lack of linkage
between them and the credit agencies consequently the resettlers did not develop their land. Due to various factors, 'Patta' was also not given for long period towards the land allotted to the settlers against which credit facilities could be arranged.

➢ **Poor Quality of Land :**

Government spent a lot of money on reclaiming the land identified for the resettlers. But reclamation was not done properly. Land selected was laterite soil of low fertility. Yield was not encouraging. The majority of the resettlers who were surviving by slash and burn cultivation were not very confident that the land allotted to them will enable them to carry on; especially when irrigation although programmed, came either came very late and is yet to arrive in some areas.

➢ **Lack of Employment Opportunities :**

These was no efforts from the Government side especially to provide employment. The rehabilitation guidelines state that 50% of the vacancies in unskilled posts in the project, shall be kept reserved for the people of submerged area. But this decision of Government. has not been implemented faithfully in Upper Kolab project; and for that matter in any irrigation project. Only 25 displaced persons were employed in the project in class IV posts and the number of N.M.R. employees from among the oustees were only 23. Ironically the host population pre empted resettlers and grabbed work in the
canal construction activities because of their firm footing in the soil and better maneuvering ability etc.

➤ **Lack of Skill Development Programmes:**

Since most of the activities in Upper Kolab project area were skill oriented, an earnest endeavour should have been made to upgrade the skills among the oustees as well as other people for better participation in the development activities. But instead, the project authorities depended on skills transferred from outside.

➤ **Treatment of the STs and SCs:**

The S.T. and S.C. people who constitute about 80% of the oustees, required certain amount of extra care in the matter of their resettlement and rehabilitation. No doubt, there was no such provision exclusively for the displaced persons belonging to this category in the R and R guide lines; but a lot could have been done had the R and R activities been taken up in conjunction with the programmes under I.T.D.A (integrated Tribal Development Agency). In other words, these was total lack of coordination between the line departments.

➤ **Poor civic amenities:**

Although civic amenities were provided in settlement colonies to meet the basic minimum requirement of drinking water, road communication,
education etc. They were executed in a most slip shod manner. Consequently, the wells and tanks dried up during hot summer, resulting in scarcity of portable water. Water in the tube wells contain iron. The erstwhile dwellers of hills and Jungles are in search of roots and shrubs to keep their kitchen light burning. The energy generated from UpperKolab project is yet to reach the settlers. There is no programme for rural electrification. Public distribution system is not within their reach.

➢ **Fate of oustees who moved on their own:**

If this is the state of affairs in the Colonies set up by Government what could be the situation in areas where the oustees shifted on their own? A sample study undertaken by the scholar in respect of few oustees family indicated that after displacement the economic standard of these people went down. Compensation money and rehabilitation money reviewed by them was frittered away on they reverted to daily wage earning. As a matter of fact no systematic approach has been made so far to identify them so as to merge them in the normal social economic and development activities undertaken by the line departments of the state govt. Things may improve with irrigation water available from the UpperKolab project. High influx of oustees in the upper catchment of UpperKolab reservoir is also a great threat to forest conservation.

There are a third category of people who were not displaced but were affected adversely due to formation of Upper Kolab reservoir. Their agricultural land was partly submerged and the road link to the villages was cut off and making them thereby marooned.
and Sub-Divisional Officer (SDO) of Koraput, forest conservation and divisional forest officers, soil conservation officer and land acquisition and resettlement officer of Upper Kolab project as its official members. The local Members of Parliament (MPs), Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs) and the panchayat samiti chairmen are the non-official members of the committee. The Land acquisition and Resettlement officer, who is from Orissa Administrative Service, is the member secretary of the committee. This committee met for the first time in July 1978. Since then it has met ten times over a decade. The committee functioned as an apex coordinating body supervising and reviewing the progress in rehabilitation work.

**Enumeration and Identification of the Beneficiary Agency:**

Enumeration of the displaced families was the first task of the officials in the process of displacement and rehabilitation. The details about the population of Scheduled Castes (SCS), Scheduled Tribes (STs), their private land to be submerged and the number of landless population was to be ascertained. However, there were no clear cut guidelines or policy for enumeration. The criteria have been changing over the years causing great setback to progress in enumeration work. The authorities also faced many problems in defining the family during the enumeration process.

In the control board meeting presided over try the chief minister of Orissa, it was decided that families as mentioned in the record-of-rights should
be taken as units for enumeration and rehabilitation benefits. Major and married sons and grand-sons of the families, even if separated on the date of notification of land acquisition, need not be taken as separate units (Agnihotri: 1994:19).

Later in 1980 the authorities found that entries in the record-of-rights were quite old. As land records has not been up dated in many cases entries were found in the names of persons already dead and the families had been divided since long. It would have caused great glamour and discontent among the local tribals of only the head of the family as recorded in the record-of-rights would have been taken as the unit for rehabilitation benefits. Therefore, the earlier definition of family was changed and the following emerged:

Family in relation to displaced person means such person, and his or her spouse, scan, unmarried daughters, minor brother, minor sons or sisters, father and mother, and other members residing with him and dependent on him for their livelihood.

The definition of family has been adopted from the resolution of the irrigation and power department of the government in 1977, and has been taken as the unit for enumeration and rehabilitation purposes.

Thus the enumeration work done upto 1980 become redundant and it was decided in September, 1980 to conduct a fresh enumeration.

The latter showed that most families could not say decisively whether they would like to receive in cash compensation or the rehabilitation benefits. In
March 1982 the authorities felt that since most of them were tribals they were not able to make their mind, and the enumerating officers should therefore assist them in arriving at a decision. The beneficiaries to be rehabilitated in the first phase (June 1984) were to be contacted first as part of the extension programme to illuminate them about the nature of benefits they would receive from the Government. Though this decision was taken in March 1982 by the RAC, no action was taken to persuade the tribals to avail the advantage of the rehabilitation benefits till 1987. It was only after the failure of the first two phases of displacement programme that the Government decided to persuade the tribals by constituting a sub-committee which moved in the affected area to explain the advantage of rehabilitation benefits. The progress in enumeration work was also very slow. Even though it was known that the first phase of submersion of five villages would take place in June 1984, the preliminary enumeration work was completed in December 1983, just six months before the submersion. Lack of adequate staff and absence of clear cut policy of enumeration were responsible by such irregularity and delay in enumeration.

Reclamation & Planning of Resettlement

Colonies:-

Seven resettlement Colonies were built in Kotpad and Boriguma Tahsils. Identification of area for the colonies was done by the SDO Jeypore and the engineering department of the development division of the project. The survey
of hundred plots was done by the resettlement survey staff of Land Acquisition organisation, field staffs of Engineering organisation and revenue staff.

Prior of displacement of families from submersible villages, the Upper Kolab project authorities had revived 9, 425 areas of forest and government land in Kotpod Tehsil. This land in even rehabilitation camps has been reclaimed and handed over to the Land Acquisition and Resettlement Officer, Upper Kolab hydro-electric project for allotment to be displaced families. The areas and classification of reclaimed land in the rehabilitation camps in shown in Table 3.15 (Chapter III)

**Compensation and Rehabilitation Benefits:**

In 1977 the state had formulated a uniform rehabilitation policy for all major and medium projects. The policy spelt out rehabilitation assistance to the displaced families in the following manner:

i) Each displaced family (including landless will be allotted three acres of reclaimed irrigated land or six acres of reclaimed unirrigated land or both in the ratio of 1:2. The land will be allotted free of salami but fifty percent of the reclamation cost will be recovered from the allottee subject to a maximum of Rs. 300 per acre.

ii) Each displaced family will be allotted 0.50 acre of land for house site.
iii) Free transport of household belongings from the submersible village to the resettlement sites will be provided. Besides house building material will be supplied to them at concessional rate.

iv) In the resettlement Colonies essential public amenities like roads, wells, ponds and schools will be provided.

v) Due to restriction on the use of forest land the Government decided in 1983 that wherever land is not available for settlement of the displaced families, rehabilitation grants shall be paid of the rate of Rs. 2,160 per acre of unirrigated land. Besides, where partial land allotment is made, the rehabilitation grant shall be payable to the extent of land not allotted against the prescribed area.

vi) No submergence would be allowed till the rehabilitation facilities are provided.

vii) Displaced families receiving compensation of Rs. 50,000 and above will however be required to pay the full cost of reclamation at the time of payment.

viii) No reclamation cost will be realized from displaced families which are landless.

The Government has laid down certain criteria for paying rehabilitation benefits. Landless and houseless families of fully and partially submerged villages are also entitled to this benefit.
According to existing Government orders, only those who would lose their home stead land would be entitled to rehabilitation benefits.

**Process of Evacuation and Persuasive Techniques:**

For evacuating the displaced families from the forty four villages, a successive phase wise programme was chalked out corresponding to the construction work of the reservoir.

- **1st Phase – 1984:**
  
  In the first phase wise, 699 families from five villages were displaced by June 1984.

- **Second Phase – 1985:**
  
  In the second phase, 1,410 families from twenty one villages were displaced by June 1985.

- **Third Phase – 1997:**
  
  In the third phase, 811 families from the remaining eighteen villages were displaced by June 1987.

  In spite of all the good intentions of the government to give adequate facilities and for rehabilitation the plan has been a failure as the people rejected the offer to move to the rehabilitation camps. Out of 2,920 displaced families,
only 333 families went to stay in the rehabilitation colony and that too offer great persuasion (see table 3-27 in Chapter III)

In the first phase, only twenty four out of 699 families went to rehabilitation campus fifteen families received full compensation money as they could show the proof of buying land elsewhere on their own. Rest of families received Rs. 100 each as preliminary rehabilitation grant and were forcibly removed from their houses.

They were not ready to go to the rehabilitation camps because there was neither any water source nor forest environment near the colonies. As they could not show the proof of buying land elsewhere, they were not given the full compensation money.

During the second phase of evacuation the displaced persons protested against the Government decision to rehabilitate them at Kotpad keeping the past experience and the present situation in view, the RAC recommended to the Government to grant full compensation money for self-rehabilitation to those unwilling to so to resettlement colonies. It was further realised that if they were given cash payment they might not use it properly. Therefore payment was given in the form of National Savings Certificates or fixed deposits or savings Banks deposits and nominal cash payment. If the displaced persons planned to buy houses or land on their own, the collector could allow them to draw the money.

Before the third phase of evacuation a vigorous campaign was launched by the officers of the Rehabilitation organisation to motivate the
displaced families to so to resettlement camps for rehabilitation on land for land basis. Besides, a sub-committee was constituted with the membership of M.P.S. and M.L.As, Chairman of Municipalities and N.A.Cs (Notified Area Council) Sarpanches, SDOs, BDOs and Tehsildars as per the recommendation of the Ninth Rehabilitation Advisory Committee. The sub-committee traveled from village to village explaining to the people the benefit that would accrue to them in the resettlement camps vis-à-vis the option for cash grant. The operation succeeded in persuading 283 families out of 911 (34.9 %) to go to the resettlement camps. Other were paid cash grants as they opted for self-rehabilitation.

The reason for reluctance of displaced families to go to the resettlement colonies were many. According to the Government sources, most of the displaced people belong to Gadaba or Paraja tribes, whereas the tribes living in the villages adjacent to the resettlement camps are Bhatadas and Amantyas, as with whom the displaced people, as they say cannot have any social and matrimonial alliances. Besides, the lack of Forest around the camp area was also a factor responsible for their reluctance to go to resettlement colonies. However, there were many other factors which did not figure in official reports. For example, the reclaimed land on which resettlement colonies wer built was barren. The project authorities dug a pond, but it remained waterless. There was no other source of water in the vicinity and the people were constrained to walk nearly four kilometers to fetch it from another village. Besides these the most important factor was that they were not ready to go to a place which was
completely alien to them in terms of ecology, forest, economy and social environment.

**Rehabilitation & Resettlement Pattern in case of**

**Hirakud Dam and Upper Kolab Project in Orissa : A Comparative Study:**

Two projects from Orissa have been compared. One is the multipurpose Hirakud Dam on the River Mahanadi which has been taken on the year 1946. The project is one of the few big project to be undertaken after independence in India. Several studies have been conducted on it and even to day, there are issues being raided about the rehabilitation programme of the project.

The other project in Orissa that's going to be discussed here is the Upper Kolab Project situated in the districts of Koraput. The foundation of the project was laid in August 1975 and the project work with full assistance started in full saving only in 1984.

We intend to draw a comparison between the two projects with respect to their rehabilitation and resettlement programme.

**Hirakud Dam Project:**

The Hirakud Dam, the largest multi purpose river valley project in Orissa is built on river Mahanadi. Originating in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh, the
Mahanadi flows south-east. Though the district of Sambalpur, Dhenkanal, Cuttak before reaching the Bay of Bengal.

The main river has a length of 90km but along with its tributaries it has a total length of 853 kms. With an average rainfall of 53.17 inches in the catchment area, the annual discharge of the river was estimated to be about one 1 lakh cusecs. Between 1911 and 1937, floods were a regular feature of this region as little water was available for cultivation.

Therefore, it was agreed to construct a multipurpose river valley on Mahanadi at Hirakud. The renowned Indian Engineer M.Viswaswaraya suggested the construction of the reservoir as a flood control measure and insisted on investigating the feasibility of such a measure over there.

But the flood enquiry commission 1940, differed with this in view of the high cost of the constructing dam and suggestions were made to make embankments.

However, after investigations were done on 1945 by the central water on power commission under the chairmanship of A.N. Khosla, a decision was taken to construct a multipurpose dam Balgovind Baboo states that "...... interestingly the Khosla report containing the original schemes and estimates relating to the project were out only in June 1947 but the work was already in progress in the meantime" (Baboo: 1992: 25).

Thus it can be seen as to how much importance is attached to any technical survey report on the basis of which the dam should be constructed.
There seemed to be no coordination between various departments of the government.

There were three main purposes behind building the dam

- **Irrigation**
- **Food Control**
- **Power Generation**

However, says Philip Viegas, "... The performance of the dam has been far from satisfaction" (Viegas: 1992: 31).

For example, out of the envisaged 8 lakhs acres only 3,80,907 acres have been brought under irrigation. Thus the dam operates effectively at 18 percent of its originally envisaged capacity.

Similarly, Viegas says that "as regards power generation too, one observes a wide gulf between its installed capacity and actual performance (Baboo: 31-32). Though the actual capacity of hydro-electric plants is 270 Mw the actual generation is restricted to 120 Mw which is 44.4 percent of the actual capacity. Grave concern too has been expressed with respect to storage capacity life expectancy due to high rate of sitation.

Large scale deforestation and evaluation has taken place due to vast level of submergence. According to Baboo, "the vast artificial reservoir of about 743 km submerged as much as 1,23,303 acres of cultivable land. It has affected 249 villages, 22,144 families, 18,432 houses and 112,038.59 acres of..."
cultivable land which were submerged in Hirakud Reservoir" (Baboo : O.P. Cit: 33). Of the totally affected families i.e., 22,144 families (Govt. of Orissa report 1968:13) 1636 families or (11.4 % families) were tribals on 838 families or 5.84 percent were scheduled castes. Among 4,646 families rehabilitated displaced were included. Out of them 3,098 families were yet to receive compensation in full as of 29.9, 1956. By that time the total amount of compensation was finalised for payment including the sum already paid by 29.9.56 was about Rs. 4.68 crores. Even as late as in 1988. Compensation amounting to about Rs 15.5 crores was to be paid to the claimants in 9,993 cases of acquisition of land.

Cash compensation was paid for land but in an arbitrary manner. This raises questions about the basis of land assessment. For example "in Luabaga Village one person received Rs. 25,000 or 32 acres whereas the owner of a 26 acre plot got only Rs. 7,000. Another owner of a 16 acre plot in the same village received only RS. 18,000" (Vie gas: OP. Cit. 38).

No explanations were offered by the authorities for these variations. The situation indicates that apart from informing the people that their land would be submerged, that they would have to evacuate and they would be paid compensation. The government took no pains to explain to the villagers the method they adopted in assessing land values.

Baboo in his study states that "the oustees in all the localities unanimously stated that they were not properly compensated for their agricultural land, houses and trees. They complained of irregularities,
discriminations and bureaucratic hurdles, legal complications and lack of rational criteria in the payment of compensation" (Baboo: 147).

Only those farmers who had legal documents to prove possession of lands were entitled to legal compensation. Those cultivators who had been cultivating for several generations but had no legal documents to uphold their claims were categorised as land less. "...... A large number of cultivators were thus rendered land-less destitutes as they received on by a pittance as compensation for their houses" (Viegas:30).

Compensation given for houses were also inadequate. Several unhealthy practices were reported during the distribution of compensation. Money was siphoned off in different ways and the recipients were deceived. Though the Government promised to provide the oustees with free transportation, it was not done. The disbursement was extremely slow. Even today as mentioned before, many oustees complain of not having received the compensation.

The village leaders or the 'Mukhiyas' betrayed their people. As regards the selection of locality for rehabilitation, it was gathered that people usually wanted to go back to a particular locality if cultivable land was available. Usually the poor people came to settle down in the rehabilitation colonies set up by the government because the price of land in the forest area cleared by it was within their reach. They depended entirely on the Government for basic amenities.
Baboo indicates that wet villages have received more oustees than dry villages. It was observed that oustees have not rehabilitated properly and they keep shifting from one locality to another.

For those who were displaced from the village, adoption had to adjust themselves to a new socio-economic order and a new life style. They had to take up occupations which were prescribed for their caste groups. But for certain activities like petty trading in rice, beedimaking and collection of forest produce, most of them find it difficult to survive.

The effect of displacement has been felt differently by different groups. Those inhabitants who had exposure to the outside world and were educated migrated to the nearby town of Sambalpur and settled down there. Some of them also filed cases in the court against the authorities for inadequate compensation.

Save of the castes "the kullas" who were cultivators by occupation were in a position to buy some land and revive their past economic status.

However, "the scheduled castes and schedule tribes have not been in a position to do so primarily because they lacked resources and because they had frittered away their compensation amount".

People suffered maximum in the resettlement colonies because they were completely uprooted and had to live in an alien set up. Overall, there was a general economic decline. People were cheated as were lured into spending money as conspicuous consumption, on litigation, medicines and pilgrimages.
The oustees underwent tremendous psychological set back as they had to work very hard for their very survival and many of the oustees did not survive for very long.

People were unhappy because the Government did not fulfill its promises in terms of rehabilitation measures or people in the command area prospered at their cost. The oustees were not politically influential or their agitations and peaceful demonstration were quelled by the ruling party both through force and persuasion.

Many of the oustees did not accept government's scheme for rehabilitation and preferred to find their own alternatives. The rehabilitation plan was completely unsatisfactory because planners and policy makers had very little interaction with the affected people and they seemed to have little knowledge about rural life. On the other hand, major decisions were imposed on people as they were never taken into confidence nor were they involved in the process of displacement and rehabilitation.

The village community life was completely shattered and the oustees were not able to reconstruct their social space. Proper socio-economic survey was not conducted and rehabilitation schemes were totally confined to the physical aspects. They did not pay any heed to the social cost.

Baboo is of the view that the tragic experience of the Hirakud oustees should not be repeated in the case of other such irrigation projects.
Table 4.1: Difference in the Estimates of Hirakud Dam Project: (1947 to 1952)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Project cost in crore</th>
<th>Gross command area in acres</th>
<th>Cultivable command area in acres</th>
<th>Irrigated areas in acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>47.81</td>
<td>1.3 lakh</td>
<td>8.6 lakh</td>
<td>7.1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>89.09</td>
<td>643.000</td>
<td>452.000</td>
<td>791.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Sovand and Ralli (1960-89).

Table 4.2 No of villages submerged in the Hirakud Reservoir. A comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police station</th>
<th>Fully</th>
<th>Partly</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Fully</th>
<th>Partly</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rampella</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mura</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohadev pali</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attabira</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambabuana</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sambalpur sadar</td>
<td>Kutarbaga</td>
<td>Jharsuguda</td>
<td>Sasan</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For Sambalpur District)  
|          | N.A.            | N.A.      | N.A.      | 0     | 18    | 18    |
| Puasar   | N.A.            | N.A.      | N.A.      | 3     | 15    | 18    |
| Saria    | N.A.            | N.A.      | N.A.      | 111   | 174   | 285   |

Grand total  
|          | 111            | 174       | 285       |


Both Hirakud and Upper Kolab are multipurpose dams undertaken in Orissa. However, Upper Kolab seems to be better financed because of the World Bank assistance.

Displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement policy in case of Hirakund dam reflects a lack of experience and familiarity with the problem which proved to be disastrous for the oustees. There was no proper monitoring systems and
implementation of the programme and the oustees found themselves to be in a chaotic situation.

Hirakud is the only dam which had displaced the least number of tribals i.e. 18.34% where as the number of tribal families in the case of Upper Kolab about 43% of the total number of oustees. This factor lands to the fact that there was almost no strong agitation against the Upper Kolab project.

In case of Hirakud project people who were educated and acquainted with the outside world filed cases for just compensation. But the case was not the same for everybody. People had to change their occupations. Country and cultural life of the village was completely destroyed. The tribals and others who lacked exposure to the outside world lost their money in buying pretty things and not in wise future long term investment. They were exploited by the middle men, village leaders etc. The basic thrust was on the physical aspect of rehabilitation and not on other aspects.

There are several difference to be marked in case of Upper Kolab project because of the differences in spatial and temporal dimensions.

Between the period of construction of Hirakud to that of Upper Kolab project there has been a continuous generation of awareness among the educated mass, special activities and environmentalists regarding the harmful effects of multipurpose dams. At the international level, the various aid agencies and the world bank have emphasised on the problem of displacement and passed instructions to the authorities to deal with problem effectively when they give aid to any project.
In case of Upper Kolab project which received assistance, there have been several improvements to be found in case of rehabilitation and resettlement policy. The rehabilitation has been done in four phases which reflect that the government has taken into account the price variation of land, homestead and other things over time. However the basic emphasis was still on the physical aspect of rehabilitation. Without much attention given to the cultural and community life of the oustees destructions of forest cover has taken place without much attention being given to afforestation programme and integrating it with the rehabilitation policy itself.

Land for Land compensation too has not proved to be successful and many people have tuned into virtually landless agricultural labourers.

Thus the condition of landlessness and changing of original occupations have been found in both the cases. The government in order to avoid such inhuman consequences should have taken steps to equip people with skills to take up better jobs either at the dam site or else where. This can be done with the assistance of the non-government organisations and locally conscious people.

Though Hirakud dam was constructed much before than the Upper Kolab project, the oustees showed a state of greater awareness then, the latter because of the structural composition of the population. The oustees problem was fresh and people had to fight for themselves. Much awareness was not generated at the higher level.
In the case of Upper Kolab project, whatever have been achieved regarding the resettlement benefits is due to the lobby, movement of various voluntary organisation involved like Agragami, Sobha than due to the villagers.

It seems to be a fact in both the cases that our welfare government does not want to part with its resources which are meant for the people, without people asking or demanding for it. For example, in case of the Sardar Sarovar Project the oustees have been able to set a better rehabilitation packages with a lot of protest and agitation.

It can be said that people's consciousness, educational background and awareness about the external world is a very important factor in their having a better future. Population increase has a negative impact on the lives of these people, with a negative man land ratio because of their ignorance and illiteracy. They fall on easy prey to the exploitation of middleness and leaders.

So it becomes necessary to build an effective infrastructure for proper implementation of the programmes. It is essential to have a group of trained personnel to achieve success in the programme of rehabilitation. Awareness should be generated among the common mass through education. This is a responsibility that should be shared by the voluntary organisations and the social activists along with the government. They should make people acquainted with various development programmes, birth control measures, changing society and economy in order to integrate them into the main stream economy.
There is a need to train the officials to participate and seek cooperation from the people of the concerned area while implementing the programme.

The role played by Agragami and Sobha, Voluntary organisation, in the case of Upper Kolab project oustees, gives a new hope in achieving an effective rehabilitation and resettlement pattern with the help of voluntary organisations and non-governmental organisations in future.

**Resettlement colony and sharing the benefits of the project (Policy Outlined):**

The ultimate objectives of the rehabilitation policy should be to ensure the displaced people ways and means by which they may attain a higher quality of life than they were having at the site of displacement. Hence the resettlement colony should ensure them not only all the amenities to which they had been used but also more in line with the future requirement of a higher quality of life. Therefore, at the resettlement colony, there should be homestead plots not only for the displaced house holds but also for their future progeny, at least for the next generation. It is good that the policy outline for this resettlement colony has provided for additional space for keeping poultry dairy animals, kitchen, garden, fruit and flowering trees etc. There is also provision in this policy outline for sufficient open space to grow wood, lots for firewood, and raw materials for handicrafts and processing activities, fodder plots or grazing grounds for domestic animals and space for other non-form activities and community uses. The land for community uses should include
land for burial or cremation, temple/mosque/church, play ground, community centre, community and for cattle both and other purposes.

It is also heartening to note into policy outline (Guidelines for R and R action plan) that "planning for R and R should begin simultaneously with the socio-economic base line survey," which is usually reflected and forgotten is to associate the oustees in selecting the site for resettlement colony. This association has been assured in the policy guidelines. The environmental issues which may be devil the new resettlements site, and which may affect health and hygiene of the people to be resettled, have been kept in view while selecting alternative resettlements sites.

The land earmarked for the displaced people for their agricultural activities has to be reclaimed at the cost of the project. But the provision of irrigation facilities for the agricultural land provided has not been specifically and explicitly mentioned. This is a serious lacuna as almost every where the agricultural lands provided to the displaced people are either drought affected with unsuitable soils, or not amenable to cultivation without irrigation facilities.

But the best solution for the displaced persons should be to make them the Project Benefited Persons (PBPs) and not merely Project Affected Persons (PAPs). Two measures are absolutely necessary for transforming the PAPs into PBPs. Firstly, there should be a freezing of land ownership. In the 'benefited zone' or the command area one year before notification under section IX of the land acquisition act, served on the PAPs. This is in line with the provision under the same policy outline to restrict the number of the
displaced persons to the residents in the submergence zone residing there at least one year prior to the date of publication of the notification for land acquisition.

Secondly, these should be freezing of land prices in the command area prior to one year before notification for land acquisition several on the PAPs. This will ensure purchase of land by the PAPs with the compensation money at a rate which they can afford.

When adequate agricultural land is not available or when the project affected persons are interested in self-employment opportunities or in supplementary income generation activities provision in the policy guidelines for R and R action plan for the following avocations has also been made.

(1) Live stock development.

(2) Reservoir fisheries.

(3) Sericulture development

(4) House hold and cottage Industries

(5) Transport

(6) Tree Plantation and horticulture

(7) Processing of agricultural and forest prudence

(8) Small trades and business and
(9) New trades or skills like electrical / mechanical works auto repairs etc.

This is designed to ensure sustainable development for the displaced people. For the first time it has been expressing conceded that the R and R action plan is "an integral part of the project estimate (Mahapatra : 1995 : 324). It is therefore, necessary that estimates for R and R activities and action plan are prepared well in time and integrated with the project report "for clearance of the project and for plan investment" (Mahapatra ; 1995 :326).

**Evaluation of the Policy Implementation:**

The policy rightly emphasises that evaluation by an independent agency should be undertaken at least twice in the minimum: once in the mid-stream of the R & R activities before evacuation and the second, on completion of R and R activities. This will have to assess the sustainability of R and R inputs. This independent agency should be one "not associated with the project in any manner". This is very appropriate.

The study of evaluation should highlight the hitherto unforeseen consequences of the displacement phenomenon and the emerging problems in the resettlement colonies or resettlement clusters, also in relation to the host communities. Yet approaches exist that can help correct an unfair distribution of gains and pains, and better protect the people subjected to the risks of forced displacement and relocation. In other words, a situation is created in which some share the gains, while others share the pains. In elaborating his
model for evaluation, Cernea has observed that "in poorly handled displacements, serves impoverishment and social disintegration affect large numbers of people and heavy costs extend way beyond the immediately affected population" (Cernea : 1991:3). Conversely, socially and economically responsible resettlement can prevent impoverishment and can extend benefits to the regional economy and host population.

From the above discussion it is clear that the public purpose for which land was acquired way of paramount importance to the government and therefore the interests of uprooted families remained unattended to in the efforts of rehabilitation. The social and cultural factors were relegated to the background in the whole process. In addition, there was a wide gap between the official policy of rehabilitation and its actual implementation, which had severe irregularity, irresponsibility and insincerity on the part of government officials in charge of rehabilitation process.

During the field work of the researcher, it was found that the families displaced in the first phase (June 1984) were neither informed in advance about the evacuation nor were they given sufficient time to prepare to leave. Even though the authorities knew that most of the displaced tribals were reluctant to go to the resettlement camps. They never tried to persuade the people. Moreover, the authorities never paid the compensation even in cash, to the persons displaced during the first phase. Economically in June 1984, the project authorities with the help of district police force, forcibly evicted the people from their houses. The thatched roofs of the houses were removed and the mud walls were demolished. People protested, but in vain in the rainy
season, the poor tribals were rendered homeless and landless. They stayed for a few days on the near by hill tops under the trees with the hope that they would be allowed to return to their native villages. After a few days, they migrated to different parts of Jeypore and Koraput town where they worked as wage labourers (Brochure in UpperKolab : 1983 :10).

Thus, the rehabilitation programme has been a great failure, as it never took into account the emic view and felt needs of the people. Most of the tribals opted for self-rehabilitation, took the compensation money and spend it in immediate necessities, viz., domestic consumption, clearing of long standing debts etc. though the official record showed that 333 families were sent to the rehabilitation camps, many of them in fact staged outside the colony and worked as wage labourers in the nearby towns. They did so just to avail the rehabilitation facilities given to them by the Government in terms of land, house site etc. (Behura: 1-22).

Finally, it can be said that the interests of the displaced people were totally ignored. Neither were they given adequate compensation in terms of land, house sites, house building material, financial assistance, preservation of cultural identity and social and psychological security - nor were they benefited by the dam project. It needs to be mentioned here that the habitation of a people is the manifestation of their total way of life and adaptation to the environment achieved over generations. It is, therefore, impossible to compensate the people even if they are being provided with similar facilities elsewhere. However in the present case the situation of the displaced people is of total loss both in physical and social psychological terms.
Equal importance was not given to their effective resettlement and rehabilitation. There was no systematic monitoring/evaluation of the implementation part of the work of resettlement and rehabilitation. The rehabilitation advising committee played a very passive role as it was a mere recommending body.

If brief, the resettlement and rehabilitation programme in Upper Kolab project has not achieved the desired objective. While resettlement arrangements were the responsibility of the project authorities, the rehabilitation arrangements seem to have been left in the core of the displaced persons themselves. The end result was resettlement without rehabilitation. The less we talk about the benefits accrued to the displaced persons from this project is better.