CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION
(FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY)
The present work deals with the issue of Displacement of a large chunk of people and the programmes undertaken by the government for their rehabilitation and resettlement. It also tries to analyse the implementation pattern and the success achieved in this direction. The answer seems to be very clear. Along with affecting the environment the large dams have affected the lives of millions of people by uprooting them for their natural habitat. Studies show that largest number of displacement occurs due to large dams. The tragedy is that history shows that those who have been forced to sacrifice their lands and home at the alter of development are now share in the picture when it comes to the distribution of benefits generated from the development project.

Displacement has become a major human rights issue. There is a stake to the fundamental rights to life and livelihood of poorest and weakest section of our country. Displacement is considered to be the off shoot of present pattern of development. In my present work I have tried to examine the validity and appropriateness of the development model being followed in our country. It can be argued that large dams are not a separate phenomenon but a part of the prevalent development process.

The large-scale submergence of land resulting in uprooting a large number of people is a resultant of this process. Sometimes it is seen that the project authorities and government officials hold the illiteracy ignorance and non-acquaintance of the tribal populations with the modern-life style and
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process of development as the major factors responsible for their miserable condition after displacement. In my opinion it will be higher impractical to assume that the tribal who are affected by there projects be modern overnight and accept a new pattern of life altogether.

Displacement has attracted much attention in these days mainly because of the tremendous increase in the number of development refugees. As pointed out by Fernades and Thukral "The most noticeable point while speaking of displacement during last three decades is the enormity of the problem (Fernades and Ganguly Thukral (ed): 1989:3).

According to a very conservative estimate of Fernades, Das and Rao, the number of those who have been displaced and not rehabilitated is over 11.5 million which constitute approximately 1.45 percent of India's total population. Rehabilitation is now nominal and studies have indicated that fewer than 25 percent of those during last three decades have been rehabilitated properly. As has been pointed before tribals are mostly affected by the Construction of development projects (Ministry of Home Affairs: 1989:18-19). "While tribals only from 7% of the country's population in their proportion among those displaced by development project is as high as 40 percent". The 29th report of the commission of SCs and STs 1987-89 states that about 10-40 out of 100 tribals in our country have been already displaced for one reason or the other. If this process continues and the paradigm of development remain
unchanged then the pace of displacement will increase and the condition of tribals will further deteriorate.

Rehabilitation has become one of the most sensitive issues. The nature of compensation to be paid, the manner in which it is to be paid due to be examined. However it is in this context that both the lack of awareness of the situation and dismal state of rehabilitation strikes one. It is noteworthy that the situation has not changed substantially from the first major venture the Bhakra dam to the one that are being planned and executed today the gigantic Narmada Valley Project.

It is no more a question of just few people being displaced instead entire villages and communities are being forced to leave their ancestral homes and are obliged to roam around aimlessly in an unknown and strange world. It is regretted that this new aspect of development has not been considered with the seriousness which it deserves. Consequently the entire village and communities are facing disorganisation, being deprived of the very basic of their life and they have nowhere to go. In a socialistic welfare state like that of ours it is an irony that what happens to the majority of the people is no one’s concerns, and nobody bothers about them. The situation is not only unjust but also violates the constitutional safeguards provided for scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes. At the same time they hardly have any share in the benefits of the project.
In the initial euphoric years the oustees had given up all for the larger good of the nation. They took whatever was offered and moved out. The oustees of Pong in Himachal Pradesh were sent off to the faraway desert of Rajasthan, Gujarat procured the submerged area of Ukai from Maharashtra, as rehabilitated by local population also began to mount up. The land provided was of poor quality and there was no grazing land, no fuel, no fodder and worst was still to come in the form of multiple displacement.

Tribal oustees suffered most as their whole ethos was destroyed irrevocably. If land provided to be inadequate rehabilitation money compensation ran through their inexperienced hands in a trice.

In the present scenario, thus it becomes relevant to ask as to why it is always the poor, tribals, the villagers who must suffer and sacrifice? Why do others gain at their expenses and why do not they get a share in the new riches? As Vasudha Dhugmwar says, “The government of India has given very little thought to rehabilitation. A detailed project report of a dam or a steel plant may run into several volumes but rarely will denote or many pages to displaced persons and their fate” (Dhagmwar: 1990: 102).

When people began to raise their voices the government also started promising land and other forms of compensation but it’s performance implementation level remained very disappointing. We are yet to have a common national rehabilitation policy on the ground that problem varies
because of inter-regional differences. There has been a strong accusation that beneficiaries of big dam are mainly the influential and well to do farmers and the affected ones are tribals and poor peasants. In this context, the question of distributive justice and equality comes to the forefront. There is lack of information about the projects for public knowledge and their participation is also not encouraged. Rather secrecy is maintained concerning vital planning decisions affecting the lives and wellbeing of millions of people. Projects are cleared to planning commission without informing the citizens about the cost and benefits of the mega projects that are being pushed through by a group of technocrats, bureaucrats, and politicians who have vested interests in getting the large project sanctioned. These have found an exclusive concern with engineering structure at the cost of the environment and human aspect. According to Ramaswamy Iyer, ----"One set of people undergoes the trauma of loss of familiar occupations and displacement from areas they have lived in for generation and others derive the benefits" (Iyer: 63).

Invesment of hundred of crores of rupees have been made but scanty attention given to the displaced persons. The emphasis on all sides is as resource utilisation. The biggest anomaly is that the basic rights of tribal to maintain their identification as a community and to adapt systems according to their own will is nowhere in sight. The lack of formal and written records to project the rights of tribals also poses a big dilemma because the legal rights today requires to be sustained by written records. At the same time to settle the
tribals away from their traditional life has ended in fractures. Even the forests have not been able to provide the displaced tribals with shelter because of the new rules and regulations.

Because of displacement disruption in the community life occurs with the disintegration of tribal culture and a harmonious synchronized life with the nature is turned into pieces. The government takes into account the physical aspect of development which is only one side of the complex problem at thus indulge in an incomplete rehabilitation programme. Breakage in traditional relations and community network leads to physical and psychological stress and insecurity. Inadequate and unplanned resettlement with little or no benefit from the project aggravates the traumatic condition losing out their previous form of occupation, land they fall in the trap of criminalisation alcoholism, gambling and prostitution. The trauma of displacement begins much before the process but no importance is given to preparing the people to face the new situation sometimes they are evacuated forcibly as: in case of Rihand project. Monetary compensation provided is both inadequate and inappropriate. As says Ganguly, “cash in the hands of the poor, especially the tribals who have little or no exposure to the outside world has very little meaning”. Neither they know the proper way of utilising it nor they are conscious of its value with the result that a number of years later a large number of the displaced are still without a roof over their head. In case of interstate projects the misery of the oustees are enormous. Each state wants
maximum benefit from the project but is not prepared to accept any responsibility for the welfare of the displaced persons. Sometimes because of lack of coordination between the states, they have to be displaced more than once. For example, in case of Pong the ousters were shuttled between the state of Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh looking for redressed in vain.

Since rehabilitation is undertaken project wise by independent authorities who have little or no coordination between them the same people find themselves to be displaced more than once, each time as a result of a different project. To force people to undergo this traumatic experience more than once shows the complete apathy of the government towards the problem of the people. Singrauli people have faced multiple displacement with each subsequent displacement leading to further degeneration of life and environment. It is noteworthy that this area was envisaged for Nehru as the Ruhr Valley of India. First people were displaced by Richard Law in 1960 and after that because of Mining Projects, Railway Lines, Thermal Power Plants and Industries.

Some of the refugees who are not relocated are not turned into migrant labour criminals or brew country liquor, fishing and thieving. Without resettlement unless they are rich and big landlords or politically powerful, they find themselves in a state of pauperism.
Because women in India are much less mobile than men, the breakdown of villages and social units affect them much more seriously.

Different sections of the people are affected by displacement in different manner. So while formulating the plan, the planners have to take into account all the minute details. In order to be just and fair to the people which is hardly being done. It has to be understood in a much wider context than only physical dislocation.

In the initial years the process of displacement did not assume such a serious shape because everything was done in the interest of the nation and the spirit of national good and national development carried the people. Besides land was not scarce and therefore, relocation was not difficult. Environmental casts were brushed aside. As Vasudha Dhagmwar says “no one was in a need to listen. From Aswan to Egypt to DVC in India no one paid heed to caution” (Dhagmawar :op.cit).

With the increasing population and also the scarcity of land many people including experts, engineers, social administrators and anthropologists concerned are now coming to the conclusion that proper rehabilitation of such a large number is just not possible and these kinds of projects need to be stopped. It is obvious that these kinds of projects are planned and executed for people who have never been displaced in their lives and who have seen the
process of displacement and rehabilitation from the safety of their own air conditioned office and red tape bound files.

There has been several studies done on the displacement process and rehabilitation programme. Questions about the lack of a rational rehabilitation policy, ignorance of life and style of displaced people by the planners, the question of multiple displacement, dealing the programme from only physical (dislocations), angles etc. has been raised by various authors. They have also talked about the overlooking of several group of people who are indirectly affected by displacement like food gatherers, fishermen, village artisans in the process. The symbiotic relationship between the people and nature is broken. Their long established traditional and customary way of dealing with nature which ensures the sustainability of natural resources is also impeded. It is replaced by inhuman, unthoughtful and merciless depletion of nature leading to massive destruction. In order to counter the problem, different view points have been advanced by various authors. While some argue that construction of big projects should be stopped immediately others emphasize on the importance of the projects for national welfare and argues that proper rehabilitation policy should be formulated and implemented to deal with the situation. There are problems found among both the view points. It is very clear that given the growing need at the society, not all projects can be brought to a halt. At the same time, because of several problems as discussed earlier, a just and fair rehabilitation policy is very difficult to formulate. It is also a very complicated
affair to establish same kind of a cultural and community life for the oustees at a different place. Monetary compensation, how much ever ample, solves the problem only partially. Given the conditions of the tribals, their lack of exposure to the outside world and ignorance about modern market economy, it will be highly impractical to talk about success of rehabilitation programme in terms of monetary compensation. The cost-benefit analysis done in these projects is also oriented mainly towards economies than cultural and human aspects. The subjective aspects involved are very difficult to evaluate. For example one's emotional attachment towards his own land have on community. The analysis has been totally economical with a blind eye turned to these aspects. Everybody is talking about increase in food grain production, GNP, in power and energy generation, irrigation and drinking water supply etc., ultimately, leading to national development. But nation does not consist of only a privileged few who have been benefited by various developmental projects. This study seeks to explore the root cause of this kind of a situation. It aims to examine the above problem in the context of the developmental paradigm being followed in our country. These considerations are made in the context of a development strategy which typically remains divorced from the need of the people. As Jasveer Jairath says "It is the lack of people's involvement in the total process of conceptualization, formulation and implementation and utilization on constitute the essence of critique of large dams, as of entire development inputs from beyond the social units it proposes to benefit. Thus
this estrangement from understanding problems from people's point of view, creates the disjunction between gain and achievement of projects.

However, some of the ardent supporters of present model of development strategy argue that there is absolutely nothing wrong with the present model of development rather the difficulties arise out of the type of societies in which it is applied. All the failures or negative consequences are accounted for by citing the rigidners of the people, their adherence to old customs and traditions and an ascriptive society. Thus while talking about the plight of the tribals it can be said that because of their lack of openness to modern and progressive ideas of development and ignorance of what is happening in the outside world they become the victims of development. They cannot avail the opportunities provided to them through development because of the lack of understanding of the whole process. In the eyes of these people, corruption among officials, role of the interest-vested middlemen who are always ready to gain at the cost of people, populist form of politics where high sounding promises are made but implementation is a non-issue or a growth oriented, technocratic form of development model is not responsible for the negative consequences. For them simplicity of the people, their trust in their leader and an age old lover for their tradition which many ways had helped them to survive is the root of all evil.

If we accept this for a moment, then it becomes the duty of the planners to look into these sides before formulating the plans and integrating these into
the planning process and implementation. Even in the present context of economic liberalisation process in our country a lot of live and cry has been made from different spheres to give the process of human face. It must be remembered that projects are undertaken for the benefit of the masses and they are not ends in themselves.

In India, after independence, the strategy that has been adapted for development was the mixed economic path. The goals were to attain a welfare socialistic state and the development took place in a capitalist line. In the aspiration for a better tomorrow, everybody took it for granted that western model was the only model available to them. Like most other newly independent countries it was taken for granted that growth of GNP was the real criteria for development and emphasis was placed as heavy capitalist development and sophisticated technology. India saw its future in the past of the developed countries. But the contextual and temporal dimensions were totally forgotten. It was dismissed that technology itself develops under a specific set of circumstances, which the Third World required was not a capital intensive but a labour intensive economy that will guard the economic interest of the weaker section.

Relationship between the cultural and economic forces which induces social development was ignored. Thus, there was a gradual gap visible between the people's version of development of an improved world and the
economist's orientation towards the expansion of economy with a great amount of emphasis on GNP, power generation, large scale industrialisation etc.

Plans were strongly influenced by international aid, commercial banking agencies that provide capital, technology and know how for the long term development programmes. It started operating according to the political priorities and donor's view of the problem. Social implications associated with the introduction of modern technology in a society were overlooked.

The conditionalities in which industrialisation emerged in the developed countries and was sustained were totally different from that of the Third World countries. Industrialisation in Western Europe and other industrialised countries have been accompanied by educational expansion, urbanization and development of a sovereign national state. Has there been a similar situation in the Third World countries. In some ways, it seems to be a pretence.

According to Weber, basic explanations for successful development along capitalist lives lies in the cultural process peculiar to the western society namely, rationalisation. They are less guided by traditions and customs. Both Dhrkheim and Weber saw the coming era as the social birth of individual as a relatively free agent not bound by rigid and unquestioning conformity to the past tradition.
Thus lack of development in the Third World countries is due to their peculiar socio-economic system that raise obstacles to the modernisation and encourage little ambition or creative among individuals or to show a positive attitude to the various development programmes undertaken. They hardly show any interest in rationally planned long term enterprise being content to satisfy their immediate demands. Thus they are least interested in bringing about social change for a better society.

The preceding discussion indicates that people want to meet development in their own terms without having to abandon their own community. They want a style of development related to their own goals and values that will retain the high-level of commitment to the community and its way of life. Displacement is considered to be a consequence of the present pattern of development, where a systematic erosion of community life, long established customs, traditions is taking place. The analysis on large dams also raises the broader issue of science and technology based inputs in the development process. The issue is not being anti or pro-science or development, but a strong case for questioning the rationality of modern science. There can be an analysis done on the ground of historical experiences with the both the integration of modern science in the developmental strategy on the other hand and pre-modern modes of appropriating nature by communities on the other hand. As Jasveer Jairath says, "Neither can be a model for future alternative that needs to be explored-the historical clock
cannot be pushed backwards” (Jairath: op. Lit. 94-95). But it is imperative to study pre-modern system of science out of respect for their viability born out of generations of experiences in it.

The destructive pattern of development, miserable condition of displaced people, failure of governmental plans and programmes to implement the rehabilitation plans induces us to focus on different loopholes found in developmental planning which is the main concern of the present study. It seems that our economists and planners have been as a false trial. Instead of focussing on people and how to improve their lives, they have sought to increase production and maximise GNP. They have tended to forget that ultimate objective of planning 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 only in so far as they help in eliminating poverty of vast masses of people. Thus the existing model of development has conspicuously failed to do. Its growth oriented approach has not given sufficient attention to human welfare.

After fifty years of independence, with nine successive five year plans as many other annual plans to achieve development, the result is very disappointing. Our per capita income lies in the bottom of the list of world’s nations. The conditions of poor and vulnerable section have further deteriorated. In the present socio-political set up grave injustice towards the poorest and weakest section of our people is an intrinsic feature of all
development projects involving scale displacement of people. A development plan which has the objective of finding decent and sustainable life for the entire population should take into account the various human problems arising out of development.

The nature of the problem has to be recognised because of different social contexts the way of dealing with problems rooted in various societies should also be different. The way of handling the problems in the developed countries may not be effective in case of the third world development countries. In this context a radically different approach to deal with the problems of the third world countries has been proposed that is, the basic need approach. At the heart of this approach lies a desire for social justice and welfare based on a concern that material resources of a society should be distributed more evenly throughout the population. It also proposes more participation of people at the grass root level. Interest has been growing in pursuing an alternative development path that do not seek only industrial and capital expansion that is environmentally damaging and socially disruptive.

The present work seeks to link various problems found in the rehabilitation programme due to building of multipurpose dams to that of the developmental paradigm presently being followed in our country. It propounds that large scale of displacement is mainly occurring due to the present pattern of development and various limitations of developmental planning are responsible for an improper rehabilitating programme. The present study was
undertaken at Upper Kolab River Dam Project, situated in the Koraput district of Orissa.

This is basically an empirical study and the prime aim of the study is to:

- Understand the issue of development related displacement, the nature and process of displacement, socio-economic impact of displacement at Upperkolab Project.
- Assess the rehabilitation package provided by the project authorities to resettle the oustees.
- Make some concrete suggestions to prevent the risk of impoverishment and improve the rehabilitation and resettlement measures.

**Methods of Study:**

Data for present work was obtained from two sources viz; primary and secondary. Primary source of information was collected through interview schedule, especially designed for this purpose. These include information about socio economic conditions of DPs before and after displacement, utilisation of compensation money, perception about rehabilitation measures etc. Most of the questions of the schedule were structured and random sampling method was used for collection of primary data from the DPs.
For the secondary source of information, the study is largely relied upon various published Governmental and Non-Governmental Reports, Census reports, Newspaper Clippings, Journals, Books. Apart from this, necessary secondary information was collected from Project Document, Register, Brochures and Annual Reports of the project.

Besides, the interview method, information also gathered through observation and open ended conversation with informed people of the region, project authorities social activists, and educationalist having sufficient knowledge about the entire process of displacement and rehabilitation work of the project.

Chapterisation:

The First Chapter deals with various developmental concepts and paradigms prevalent in various writings. It examines the short comings associated with the concepts and paradigms and explore the validity of their applicability in the context of the third world countries.

The Second Chapter gives a picture of the development, displacement and rehabilitation schemes programmes, their implementation in the case of the major dams of India like Tehri Dam, Hirakud Dam, Nagarjuna Sagar, Sardar Sarovara Dam etc. The common problems found among these projects with respect to rehabilitation policy and implementation and problems of the oustees.
have been pointed out. The problems of not having a common rational policy for rehabilitation programme is also discussed.

The Third Chapter describes on the socio-economic profile of Orissa and focuses to the large scale forced displacement by various developmental projects since independence. In this chapter there is also a description of an Upper Kolab River Dam Project of Orissa. It contains the history of the project and the basic outlines of the project area has also been discussed.

The Fourth Chapter discusses various problems found in case of rehabilitation programmes i.e. the policy formulation and implementation level has been examined in the light of current development paradigms. Discussions have been done to prepare an alternative course of action. In this context Gandhian thought of development has also been highlighted. However, it is doubtful wether this idealistic version of development can be suggested as the ultimate solution. It is also discussed as to if the present model is endorsed then what sort of modifications are suggested.

The Fifth Chapter discusses the perception of the people before displacement and after displacement.

In the Concluding part of the work, findings of the study, valid suggestions to prevent the risk of displacement and to improve rehabilitation and resettlement policy has been examined.