Any involuntary dislocation, be it due to natural causes, political unrest or developmental projects, is bound to be painful. But while in the case of displacement due to natural calamities and political unrest there is a possibility of being able to return to the original place of domicile and to restore, to some extent, one's original way of life. In the case of project-related displacement, this possibility does not exist. Economically, culturally it creates a high risk of chronic impoverishment that typically occurs along with one or several of the dimensions like landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, morbidity and social disarticulation (Cerneaa, 1989).
Persons who are uprooted and rehabilitated in another place have to undergo the entire process of re-socialization/re-enculturation and adjustment in an unfamiliar environment. Traditional social relations and community networks break down because of displacement leading to physical and psychological stress. Inadequate and unplanned resettlement, with little or no share in the benefits from the project that has caused the displacement, further increases the misery of those affected.

A close look at the composition of the displaced population in India reveals that not surprisingly the majority belong to the poorer and backward sections of the society. In a more recent analysis, the working group on development and welfare of the Scheduled tribes during VIII Five Year Plan (1990-95), in its report on the rehabilitation of displaced tribal, says that out of the 16.94 lakh persons displaced by 110 projects studied by them, about 8.14 lakh belong to tribal. Although exact data is not available, fairly large proportions of those displaced also appear to belong to the Scheduled Castes (Fernades and Ganguly, 1989).

Even the government claims as a successful rehabilitation exercise, the Hirakud oustees found that their rehabilitation sites were a great distance away, badly connected and totally unprepared for resettlement. Even though opposition to large dams had become a worldwide phenomenon, it was with the Silent Valley, the controversial Narmada and Tehri projects that international attention was focused on India.

The trauma of displacement begins well before the evacuation actually takes place. As soon as the project is announced, all development work in the area comes to a halt. Nobody wants to invest in land that is to be submerged. Banks refuse to give loans, no new civic
amenities like schools and health centers are constructed. Even withdrawal of existing facilities is not unknown. Since the gestation period of the dams is much larger than that of the other projects, the suffering of the people is more intense. Similar situation is being observed in the case of Somasila Irrigation Project.

The psychological preparedness for displacement has to give more consideration. In case of Srisailam and Sriram Sagar project oustees, even though they had been informed about their impending displacement, they did not vacate their land. Finally, many had to be forcibly evacuated by the army. In the case of Rihand project, the oustees were not informed in advance. When the waters were released, they had literally to run. Similar instances also observed under Somasila Irrigation Project especially at the II phase evacuation, when the floods came to the river Pennar. In the case of Koyna dam too, people were completely unprepared. Relocation of the Pong dam oustees from the hills of Himachal Pradesh to the deserts of Rajasthan is an inappropriate resettlement. There are several such examples in India and abroad.

Rehabilitation Policy

There is no National Policy or Act for Rehabilitation. The resettlement of the displaced populations is governed by various policies and rules of the concerned State governments or those formulated for the project. Resettlement is therefore, mostly adhoc and piecemeal. Only two states, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, have laws governing the Rehabilitation of the project displaced persons (The Maharashtra Project Displaced Persons Act, 1976 and The Madhya Pradesh Paryojana Ke Karan Vishthapit Vyakthi (purasthapan) Adhmiyam, 1987). Other states and government departments have their own policies. An examination of rehabilitation effort indicates that they are more often than not adhoc.
and project-specific. What is needed is a national policy accounting to which rehabilitation efforts can be undertaken with a degree of uniformity, of course, there should be scope for variation to suit the cultural, social and geographical requirements of the local people.

It is found that the authority responsible for rehabilitating the oustees was invariably the same as that implementing the project. The argument against this model is that since the main interest of the project authorities is in the speedy and successful implementation of the project, they can not help but see the resettlement of the oustees as a secondary task and hence does not pay sufficient attention to it.

Landless labourers and artisans need extra attention as they lose their livelihood because of displacement. They need special assistance to enable them to take up their original occupations, or to be trained in new fields. With the rising population and pressure on land, we see a lot of people being forced to take other jobs, but they are handicapped in the urban areas due to their lack of education and training (Karve and Nimbakar, 1969). The women are responsible for collecting food, fuel, fodder and water in most of rural India. They were particularly anxious about these needs would be met after displacement. Experience shows that their fears are not ill founded.

It is noteworthy that the process of rehabilitation is itself leading to more displacement. The Gujarat government, in order to rehabilitate Sardar Sarovar Oustees, is buying private land from absentee landlord, willing to sell. Given that all projects cannot be halted and with the increasing pressure on land, proportionately more and more persons are likely to be displaced involuntarily, either by the projects or because of the inability of the scarce resources to sustain them any longer.
Though an Advisory Committee for Rehabilitation was also formed under the Chairmanship of the Additional Collector, in every project the process of rehabilitation is unsatisfactory.

In developmental displacement, total community will displace causing total distracting the networks These Populations can be rehabilitated properly if the implementing agencies study the earlier fabric of the community They can estimate the cost of rehabilitation of these populations and there is enough time for execution of the rehabilitation measures Thus, the displaced populations by the planned developmental programmes can be better rehabilitated than other forced displaced people.

Acquisition of private and public land is necessary for developmental programmes Construction of dams across rivers submerges more land under the proposed reservoir The people who are depending on such land should be properly compensated and rehabilitated India does not have a rehabilitation policy In its place, we have Government Resolutions (GRs) that fix rates of compensation for identified oustees of a project These GRs vary across states and within them across projects In India, private land acquired for public purposes compensated according to the Land Acquisition Act 1894 (LAA 1894), which was formulated in colonial rule Under this Act, though privately owned land (as maintained in legal records) and land-attached properties under submergence have to be compensated, no compensation is provided for the loss of Common Property Resources (CPRs)
India and International Experience

India has parallel experience with the International resettlement policy developments. Though India doesn't have National Policy on Displacement and Rehabilitation, several steps have been taken to provide better rehabilitation of the oustees evicted under various developmental programmes. The matter is treated as a State responsibility. In 1979, however, the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) determined, for the first time, that landed oustees were to receive land for land.

In February 1980, the World Bank published an Operational Manual on "Social Issues Associated with Involuntary Resettlement in Bank Financed Projects." (Operational Manual Statement No 2 23, February, 1980) Bank-assisted projects sometimes require that people living in the area be moved to another location, either permanently or for a long period. Such resettlement often causes hardship, disruption and constraint on further development unless appropriate preventive action is taken. The Bank's general policy is to help the borrower to ensure that, after a reasonable transition period, the displaced people regain at least their previous standard of living and that so far as possible, they be economically and socially integrated into the host communities. Planning and financing the resettlement should be an integral part of the project, and the measures to be taken in this regard should be clarified before, and agreed upon during loan negotiations. The Bank recognizes the human suffering and hardship caused by involuntary resettlement, and therefore tries to avoid or minimize such resettlement whenever feasible. The costs of the resettlement should be included in the project and taken into account in the rate of return (ROR) analysis.
In particular, (i) compensation procedures typically relate to fair market values, whereas in practice, the value of assets to their owners may well exceed such a valuation, (ii) certain types of intangible assets are excluded-ranging from proximity to clan and kinship groups and access to religious shrines and other places of cultural identification, to proximity to employment opportunities. The latter may be the most important of all to the poorest groups, whose asset base for legal compensation is typically meager, and (iii) the productive assets given up may be difficult to replace as in the case of land in densely populated areas. Finally, experience with the settlement of large populations tends to show that payment of cash compensation alone is often a very inadequate strategy for dealing with the displaced, in some instances, the entire compensation has been used for immediate consumption purposes, leaving the displaced with nothing to replace their lost income-generating assets and opportunities. When only few people are involved, cash compensation may be adequate, but even in that case, consideration should be given to the ability of displaced persons to find alternative homes and employment opportunities.

In June 1990, the World Bank issued an Operational Directive on involuntary resettlement. The directive gathered and restated the principles the Bank had adopted earlier.

Development projects that displace people involuntarily generally give rise to severe economic, social, and environmental problems. Production systems are dismantled, productive assets and income sources are lost, people are relocated to environments where their productive skills may be less applicable and the competition for resources greater, community structures and social networks are weakened, kin groups are dispersed, and cultural identity, traditional
authority, and the potential for mutual help are diminished. Involuntary resettlement may cause severe long term hardship, impoverishment and environmental damage unless appropriate measures are carefully planned and carried out.

India's past record of reservoir-related relocation did not meet World Bank standards. The reasons being absence of a National Policy and presence of an inappropriate legal instrument for property acquisition and compensation (the Land Acquisition Act, 1894), an inadequate institutional framework in the States—they lacked the means and skills to implement resettlement, bureaucratic insensitivity and apathy towards the social and communal aspects of displacement and relocation, and a rigid orientation towards compensation to individuals rather than resettlement of whole communities.

The absence of legal title to land by such groups should not be a bar to compensation. Resettlement plans should be built around a development strategy and package aimed at improving or at least restoring the economic base for those relocated. Experience indicates that cash compensation alone is normally inadequate. Voluntary settlement may form part of a resettlement plan, provided measures to address the special circumstances of involuntary resettlers are included. Preference should be given to land-based resettlement strategies for people dislocated from agricultural settings. If suitable land is unavailable, non land-based strategies for employment or self-employment may be used.

During the last three decades, many changes have taken place in the rehabilitation policy followed by Government of Andhra Pradesh. Under earlier projects like Nagarjunasagar and Pochampad, physical rehabilitation policy has been followed. In the case of Singoor and
Somasila Projects, no provision has been made for physical rehabilitation. Instead, cash compensation policy has been adopted. Project affected persons are paid compensation for lands and structures that have been submerged. However, a provision has been made to pay some rehabilitation grant on the basis of existing laws to the affected persons.

Many factors contribute to the failure of resettlement and rehabilitation. Relations between those responsible for implementation of policy and those who are at risk are often uneasy or remote. The oustees are typically isolated rural peasant or tribal populations, these are people who have the lowest status in their societies. Often projects evolve against a background of very limited national support. Development tends to take place in nations or regions without welfare systems. In addition, an enduring habit has been, for engineers responsibility to be given for all aspects of these projects, including the resettlement component. As a result of these kinds of factors, resettlement and rehabilitation have typically been done in an uninformed and ad hoc manner and, as time goes on, as a form of crisis management [Bradford Morse and Thomas R. Berger, 1992].

Somasila

Since the magnitude and nature of displacement differs from project to project and region to region depending on a host of prevailing physical, economic, social, and technological conditions, it is neither possible to assess the impacts of dislocation on a normative basis nor will it be wise to prescribe standard measures of rehabilitation for the affected communities. Though there is scope for generalization of policy measures, it is necessary that project specific analysis of the problem be made for better understanding of the issues.
Land acquired from private households was compensated by cash payments. It can be said that the compensation paid appeared to be low and this was evident in that a handful of oustees had filed their cases in courts. Furthermore, the compensation paid for other fixed properties such as dwellings, farmhouses, cattle sheds, trees and orchards were also very subjective and arbitrary and many of the affected people alleged that their properties were under evaluated. Many of the displaced persons got much less compensation for their evacuated houses rather than the prevailing market values. It has found that influential persons got more than what they were eligible while the poor got a raw deal.

There are different sets of population who are affected by Somasila Irrigation project:

1. Those who are directly displaced by the project due to the acquisition of their lands and landed properties. Among these are people from whom only a part of their property is acquired and who although faced with acquisition are not entitled to resettlement.

2. Those who are not faced with direct acquisition but are nonetheless affected due to changes in the land use pattern because of the project.

3. Those who have lost access to the natural resources on which they traditionally depended. Left with no alternative they are forced to move out of the area and are thereby displaced.

4. Those who are affected because the people on whom they depend for their livelihood are no longer there. For example, Madhavaram, a small town was served as an important market center. For the villages from the entire area is bound affected by the submergence of this town.
Before undertaking any project, therefore, it is extremely important to conduct an extensive viability study, taking into account the entire social, environmental and economic costs of the project. The project authorities have failed to evaluate the social and environmental cost.

Along with preparing the oustees for displacement, an equal effort need to be made to prepare the host population to protect the oustees from the hostility they usually face in their new environs. Many displaced people have had a bitter experience with their hosts. In the case of the Pong dam oustees resettled in Rajasthan, for instance, not only were they harassed, beaten up, and their lands were grabbed, many of them were even murdered. Consequently, many of the settlers returned to Himachal Pradesh. The host-oustees conflict is also reported from Hill Colony of Somasila.

During the last few years after it was known that the area would be submerged, no additional public investment has been made in this area on schools, road, health care, and postal services. Many of the risks associated with involuntary migration even after a decade of resettlement still exist. The foregoing analysis indicates towards a number of risks associated with involuntary migration and process of avoiding them (Sah D C, 1994).

1. Family fragmentation
2. Fragmentation of land
3. Differential access to market
4. Investment risk
5. Information risk
6. Technology stagnation
7. Yield risk
8. Access failure to food
The first two are associated with resettlement planning, and the next four with failure to recognize that a vulnerable group even in most advanced downstream locations could face access failure to market, information and technology. The last two risks are the consequences of the preceding risks.

The institutional set-up for input delivery especially water, credit and output marketing on the one hand, and institutions responsible for dissemination of production techniques on the other are geared to deal with a more receptive host community. Access to these institutions is not automatic for new settlers. Moreover, asking host farmers to share their resources without augmenting them result in depletion of resources and disruption of social harmony between oustees and host communities.

The second basic failure at the policy level is lack of organizational capabilities to respond to Rehabilitation problems. Their criticism has also been directed to (i) large area of submergence, (ii) destruction of forest and wildlife, (iii) interruptive approach to the natural flow of river and resultant sedimentation, (iv) problems of water logging and salinity, (v) seismic problems due to large reservoir, and (vi) risk of water borne diseases to downstream population.

Agriculture, cattle grazing and casual labour are the three important economic activities in the submerging villages. Despite the fact that animal husbandry has not developed on commercial lines in the study villages, availability of river water and fodder from forest makes this activity socio-economically important. The measure of affluence in these villages is number of bullocks, cows and goats possessed by the household. Cattle provide much needed draught power, milk and manure but also work as risk managing device at the time of marriage, religious functions and drought.
The need for benchmark and longitudinal studies of the displacement and impoverishment preventing process has been recognized in the National Rehabilitation Policy and again follows from the models implemented in the various successful projects. Similarly, the need is accepted of professional skills - not just relying on economic or technical approaches. However, there is much less to understand the incorporating of such skills at the pre-feasibility levels of the project preparation, particularly in the context of alternative considerations, as also in terms of ensuring participation of the displaced community in relocation policies (Alagh Y K, 1998).

The disintegration of the social support networks has far-reaching consequences. It compounds individual losses with a loss of social capital, dismantled patterns of social organization are hard to rebuild. Such loss is higher in projects that relocate people in a dispersed manner rather than in-groups and social units. Many studies observed loosening of intimate bonds, growing alienation, the weakening the control on the interpersonal behaviour and lower cohesion in family structures (Roli Asthana, 1996).

Few states made modifications to this Act. Till date, India does not have any rehabilitation policy. Though a few projects such as Sardar Sarovar have parallel guideline formulations with global concern over displacements, these guidelines are not uniform throughout the subcontinent.

Andhra Pradesh modified the LA Act of 1894 in 1983. The amended act does not favour any rehabilitation of the displaced. Only cash compensation to the oustees and discretionary powers of District Collector has been empowered. If any specific Government Orders (GOs)
issued pertaining to the specific project, no rehabilitation measure has been included in this act. 30 per cent of solatium instead of 15 per cent to market values has been proposed in this amended act. The hike caused by any house of court has been uniformly implemented to all the lands of similar quality covered or notified in a notification. Many proceedings are unable to go for court where their owners belong to small and marginal farmers. However, project specific resettlement and rehabilitation steps were taken to safeguard the interests of oustees. Government of A P issued a G O M S No 54 dated 14 3 1980, noting that there would not be any rehabilitation colony in future in any project (Andhra Pradesh Paryavarana Parasathithi, Prajanvedika, 1990). Government of A P issued a G O M S No 54 dated 14 3 1980, noting that there would not be any rehabilitation colony in future in any project (ibid).

Somasila project is not an exception for cash compensation. The lost land was estimated according to market valuation. Normally, the market value has been calculated according to the market value of similar type of land at adjacently located. The market values are normally announced by the Department of Registrations through local Registrar's Office to fix registration fee based on market value of the property. These would be quite difference that occurs between actual transaction rates and market values specified by the Department of Registrations. The market values declared by the Department of Registrations should not be lower and they will accept any higher market value. However, the farmers do not reveal the original value, even though it is higher. The Land Acquisition Committee that comprises District Collector/ Special Collector as Chairman (G O M S No 889 of 1992) takes the market value declared by the Department of Registrations as baseline and fixes the compensation value to the said property. In case of not
satisfaction of valuation of their property, the owner may appeal to the court of justice. The court should not value below the Collector's award. This clause is making more number of cases filed before the court of justice. This provided ample chances to few families or persons who are keen about various processes to engage as 'agents' dealing with court cases.

**Survey and Preparation of Estimates**

The reservoir area for the capacity of 78 TMC has been classified into various stages. These are +271 00 to +285 00 contour level, +285 01 to +315 00 contour level, and +315 01 to +330 00 contour levels. Every village is divided into a number of reaches depending upon its size. A few villages have more number of reaches whereas few villages have only one reach. Every reach is classified according to the level. As various topographical features change, especially height—from mean sea level, varied reaches belong to different contour levels or similar contour level. After fixing the contour levels, those properties come under the specific contour level were earmarked to be submerged.

**Notification**

District Collector/ Special Collector notifies the various habitations that are facing submergence threat. Any village or habitation, public utilities such as roads, bridges etc., which are going to be submerged are also notified. Local revenue officials informed these habitations through 'Dandora' and announcements as specified by the District Collector. As notification delivered, most of the developmental works either by private or public investment decreases tremendously.
As in case of Somasila, the project has been enhanced thrice and the displacement process became too tedious and lengthy process, many representations and agitations made few habitations to continue to get even lower public investment in various infrastructure facilities. As notifying has been done, new encumberants and immigrants are avoided to count for any compensation or rehabilitation relief. But, many cases were reported that outsiders purchased land and other properties to get more compensation and other rehabilitation benefits.

**Gazette Notification**

The same notification, which was notifying the specified area consisting of habitations, forest, public infrastructure and utilities, has been notified in the district gazetteer. This is also called as 'Gazette Publication'. By this gazette publication there would not be literally any public development. Many calculations such as population, animal census would be made as on the date of gazette notification.

The Government of A P (G.O A P) has been setup the following (Chart No 1) project mechanism for various aspects of Project completion. Land Acquisition offices at Rajampet, Cuddapah, Atmakur have been setup to pursue the matters relating to land acquisition.

**Draft Notification**

Under section 4 of LA Act 1894, private property of each category such as lands, houses were individually notified in every habitation according to the reaches. This notification normally published in two local/regional language newspapers and the detailed property type, extent can be classified at the specific Land Acquisition (Collector) Office. This draft notification declares the owners according to their official
sources such as revenue records to the specific property if any allegations on ownership or/and enjoyment over property can be heard and that property compensation kept at bank or if the dispute referred to the court of Justice, then the said amount is deposited at court. This draft notification takes steps to modify any thing, if legally acceptable. This draft notification notifies to the concerned people to check whether the information furnished is correct and reliable, if nothing is heard within that specified time then the information can be declared. Three months time is specified for the Somasila Irrigation Project to raise any objections about the matters relating to draft notifications. After three months, it is permitted to publish the draft declaration.

**Draft Declaration**

If modifications have occurred then with the modified information the Draft Declaration has been published with owner, enjoyment, extent, type, location and reach of the specific property of that habitation. The Draft Declaration gives correct or exact property establishments to be compared according to the present market value of the various types of property. It provides period for final compensation award and payment. If the project officials failed by any reason, the total process has to be reinitiated. The time allowed for award after the draft declaration under Somasila Irrigation Project is 3 years. If the process has been reinitiated then the cost of the compensation to the property or new investments has to be reckoned. Thus, stressing the exchequer to invest more money.

Under Somasila Irrigation Project, lapse of Draft Declaration (D D) is not uncommon. It is leading to more corrupt practices either by oustees and the officials. Re-publication of D D does not increase any amount to the oustees of Bandarupalle, of which the first D D being
lapsed without award. Though the D D has been published, many oustees and oustees' relatives/friends are constructing houses in the case of lapse D D the new structures have to be reckoned and more compensation can be claimed. This led more credit level to the oustees.

To avoid such discrepancies, government has to release enough amounts for land acquisition and at the same time the capacity of the reservoir can be fully utilized. The project authorities have also taken keen interest to avoid such practices. If the D D is lapsed, a new survey of that reaches / habitation has to be done with new Draft Notification. To avoid such loss and time lag the D D should not be lapsed.

Erratum

An erratum is a process to make corrections in the D D after legally administrative procedure. In any case, the legal owner or enjoyer misrepresented then it provides ample chance to modify those misrepresentations. This will also include any modifications to D D either the owner, quality, extent, and type or in total pertaining to specific property. This empowers the LA office to rectify any misrepresentations by human error.

Preliminary Valuation (PV)

This stage refers to the preliminary estimations about the compensation amount required. It depends upon the Draft Declaration. As the specified rates for lands, houses and trees are calculated, the total compensation amount is calculated for the property acquired by D D. The rate for dry land ranges from Rs 1,200/- per acre in the first phase to Rs 4,800/- per acre in the later phase. As such to the wetland from Rs 6,800/- to Rs 24,000/- per acre in the later phases. The lands are
classified as 5 categories. The rates are fixed according to soil type, local sales value, and government fixed registration values. The project officials take which will be the lowest and provide 30 per cent solatium to the cost. As such to the dwellings also. The cost depends upon the material used for the construction of house and its life estimated and deducting the present age. The trees in the village site, common property resources are not paid. The trees in the patta lands, grown up in DKT land etcetera are paid according to the estimations made by either horticultural or forest department officials. The influential farmers cultivating horticultural for which they can get high compensation for fruit bearing trees such as pomegranate and jujube. Thus, the cost of dry land increased enormously from Rs 3,000/- to 30,000/- per acre. Corrupt officials also favoured this type of calculation. Lack of proper planning and action create several populations and the government exchequer. By all these estimations, the preliminary valuation of a habitation or reach is prepared according to the Draft Declaration.

**Final Check Memo (FCM)**

It is a statement showing final compensation of specific property to be payable to its owner in a habitation. It represents the present market values of various types of property in that habitation and reach. The market values are ever changing and the process of estimation is also changing. In the Somasila Irrigation Project, the project identifies 5 categories of land. These are

1. **Category I A - Wet- Registered Irrigated Facility Under Tanks**

2. **Category I B - ID - Registered Irrigated Dry Tanks**
2 Category II A -  ID - Irrigation Facility Under: Wells or Bore wells (Private)

II B - ID - Irrigation Facility under Dormant wells, Poramboku Wells etc,

3 Category III - Filter Points from Penna - Irrigation Facility from filter points in Penna

4 Category IV - Dry- Rainfed and without any irrigation facility

5 Category V- Uncultivable- Waste/ Uncultivable for last 3 to 5 years

Besides, '2C' patta\(^1\) land provided by government to the landless poor, are not commonly paid. In case of lands under Somasila Irrigation Project Until 1985 wet, dry and irrigated dry has been classified separately. The wells are also estimated according to the depth and extent of the well. The irrigating dry land has been treated as irrigated dry. The compensation amount for irrigated dry is paid instead of dry. Thus, there is no need for paying to the wells. Such clarifications and various estimations are carried out in the Final Check Memo (FCM).

The '2C' pattas provided to landless poor was not paid any compensation. However, any development activities undertaken in that land were paid. In the first phase i.e., between +273.00 to +285.00 contour levels the villagers, revenue and project officials were unaware about the corrupt practices and the practices and processes to be done. As the time period lagged and with more awareness and introduction of corruption at various levels they were made to practice for

\(^1\) 2C pattas - are the usufruct pattas providing to the landless or homeless to the lands so far belonging to government for the family without any right to sell or handover to others
misrepresentation. Thus in the second phase the concentration of the oustees has been shifted from lands to houses. The project identifies 9 types of houses. These are:

1. Thatched House
2. Bared Round House (B R H)
3. G I (Zinc) Sheet Slabed Roof (G I S R)
4. Asbestos Sheet Covered Slabed Roof (A C S R)
5. Mangalore Thled Lower Roof (M T L R)
6. Mud Roof
7. Roof With Cement Concrete (R C C)
8. Madras Terrace Roof (M T R)
9. Brick Jelly Concrete

The valuation is based 'Standard Scheduled Rates' (SSR) and the life of the house is calculated. Thus many oustees unable to get present valuation of the property. Many oustees, with the help of agents and elite, with the corrupt officials made some misrepresentations and able to fetch more money than anticipated. The quality of wood, brick, roofing and flooring material became basis for misrepresentations.

FCM provides path for announcement of Award to the acquired property. The FCM forwarded to the Superintendent Engineer/Chief Engineer, in the first stage has been sanctioned fully. With the various allegations and representations the higher officials are slashing some percentage in announcing award. Recently the slashing percentage rose to 20 per cent in total FCM valuation. It also leads to further hike in preparing FCM by lower officials especially those who have direct access to people.
Payment of Compensation

After getting sanction from the Chief Engineer or Superintendent Engineer, the PCM with modifications (if any) was published by the Land Acquisition Officer of the rank of Special Collector. This shows the actual compensation amount payable to the oustees for their property. This shows the actual compensation differently for lands and houses. It includes all the physical and permanent attachments to the land or houses, which are treated for compensation. The amount of compensation of oustees deposited in court of justice is also specified in the award. This award is kept for check by the habitats at the concern office and it is distributed for reference to the oustees. The award also specifies in how many installments is project going to pay total compensation. The award also checks the genuineness of specified either for higher or lower compensation for any discussed in PCM. The Special Collector is empowered to pay according to the award and acquire physically the specified property in the award.

However, with the High court of Andhra Pradesh orders without paying Rehabilitation Allowance the project officials are not evicting the oustees. By paying rehabilitation allowance the project officials are empowered to evacuate. This is due to crisis in the second phase at the time of eviction of Madhavaram in Phase II in 1987–89.

Opinion on the Compensation Received

All the oustees expressed their dissatisfaction over the compensation received and the amount paid for their properties. Nearly two thirds of the oustees in both command and non-command areas felt that they had got lower compensation for their properties. Low valuation
for land and trees was expressed in command area whereas low valuation for lands and houses was opined in non-command area. It was due to the people’s perception and comparison with fellow oustees.

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The delay and payment of compensation in installments caused hardships in reinvesting the compensation on productive assets. The hardship was more among the oustees who resettled in non-command area. Though they were paid part of compensation, the government has not forced them to evacuate the villages and their lands for a few years due to court’s stay regarding payment of total compensation and lack of budget allocation by the government. This caused hardships to the small
and marginal farmers in selecting their resettlement area. Whereas, the landlords and other high-income groups enjoyed their properties till the payment of total compensation. Only 801 per cent of the oustees resettled in command area expressed their dissatisfaction on the process of estimation, as it was not properly done in accordance with the guidelines. The elite, including leaders and middlemen were aware the role of officials in preparation of estimations and payment of compensation. They exploited the illiterate and ignorant oustees through demanding commissions and bribes. It was particularly more among the displaced who had resettled in the second phase.

Post Award payment

The empowered officials have made the payment to the oustees made according to the installments specified in the award. The payments normally paid through crossed cheques issued on the names specified in the awards. Many persons who had not received enough compensation was also paid through bank's cheques to avoid illegal cash transactions between oustees and specified officials. But, all the informants revealed that they paid bribes according to the amount of compensation received. It was less in the first phase compared to the second phase. After the payment of total compensation, the oustees were moved to their selected destination.

The compensation can be received with protest or without protest under section 18 of LA Act. Persons holding DKT land, village sites are not permitted to approach the court of Justice. After 1987, those persons who are interested to appeal for court of Justice have to take permission from Special Collector. As on 1998, the Special Collector, Land Acquisition, Nellore, received out of 511 applications for permission to
appeal in the court of Justice, only 108 cases were permitted. This is not applicable to those oustees prior to 1987. As per provision under Section 25 of Draft National Policy for Rehabilitation, the amount awarded by the District Collector under section 11 (B.K. Sinha, 1996).

Rehabilitation Allowances

The Sornasila Project considers all married males as separate family and provides rehabilitation allowance to them. The first phase evictees did not have any rehabilitation allowance except Rs 250/- and 12 kgs rice per family with free transport to their selected destination through lorries/trucks. This was to the selected destination within the reach and it should not be far away i.e., below 200 kms. In the second phase, Rs 5000/- has been paid to undivided Hindu family or married male, treated as a separate family before eviction.

Transport Allowance

Free lorry or truck transport, Rs 250/- and 12 kgs rice have been provided at the first phase and the oustees were left to their choice of already existing villages in command area, free transport facilities i.e., providing transport to their cattle, fodder, various housing material and furniture to the destination. Free food has also been provided to evictees at the time of transportation.

As in case of the second phase eviction, because of heavy rains and mis-calculation of contour levels, it made people literally run in the night. It has occurred in Madhavaram and Boyanapalli. After the District Collector was keen in the rehabilitation, various sites with probable extent to accommodate large number of people were selected and transportation was provided to the oustees with free food on the way.
Resettlement

Under Somasila Irrigation Project, the displaced have quite different socio-economic background of various levels. The first phase submerged villages have fully agrarian whereas the second phase submergible villages are dominated by weavers. Agriculture dependent population aimed to resettle at the places with confirmed irrigation facilities. Weaving dependent villages accepted easily accessible with road and rail. As long established socio-economic networks played an important role in selecting destination, agrarian families in the second phase also moved with weaver community.

The oustees in the first phase could not move in large numbers except at hill colony by Mutharasai. All other ethnic groups moved based on their kinship, friendship lines and along with their co-kin or and friends. Thus, they were forced to resettle with the host villages sharing various resources. No governmental effort to resettle or rehabilitate these people has been implemented. However, hill colony families were able to get '2C' pattas for their housing and face various conflicts with host communities. These conflicts include face-to-face, person-to-person, and family-to-family besides political and impersonal. Because of mono ethnic group, being large in number if helped them succeed in the conflicts. They were able to get school, aganwadi, drinking water scheme and loans for various purposes. They were not sanctioned in general course of development and not as a rehabilitation measure. 'R' card has been issued to the oustee families identified through ration card or voter's list as on the date of Draft Notification. Similar procedure has been adopted in the case of second phase oustees. At the selected area, the households were given pattas with the initiatives of District Collector, local MLA and other elite people. Roads, schools, post offices, banks were the initiatives made at the behest of the then District Collector and the then local MLA in a phased manner.

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Factionism, large size of oustees belonging to mono occupation and mono ethnic composition, awareness, prolonged schedule payment, lack of proper guidelines, vested interests of political and elite leaders made the oustees of the second phase fetch more developmental or rehabilitation facilities.

As the development of oustees is left to the regular development agencies at Mandal level, no rehabilitation package has been established by the project. These oustees were forced to share general development programmes. As the officials are unaware about the rehabilitation programmes and reconstruct various socio-cultural networks, they failed to reconstruct them. They showed little interest on physical infrastructure such as roads, electricity, drinking water and schools in the second phase eviction. They never thought how to reconstruct their income generations, human resources and rebuild the socio-cultural institutions. Thus, many ‘Master-Weavers’ at Madhavaram and Boyanapalle were resettled at various places tearing major social fabric. Their dependents were left to their fate. As a result, the old Madhavaram and Boyanapalle, which were famous for Dhotis and saris, were left with only saris. Those people with enough expertise could only sustain in weaving these saris.

At ‘Bhavanrusi’ temple, which plays an important role in dispute resolution and regulation over Padmasah community, the project officials have not taken any action to reestablish. But, with the initiative of the people, they themselves have reconstructed the temple.

However, factionism has become weakened its chains after displacement. Madhavaram was bisected due to factionalism and political groupings during resettlement. As the distance and face to face
contacts, sharing of resources, day to day interaction were going less pressure to find livelihood, sparse relocation of various groups caused the factionalism to lessen its strength. Though it has not disappeared, a few families of each factional grouping are making cordial relationships. Separate relocation, lesser physical resources, dynamics in livelihood option, torn social networks and newly born elite are important factors to reckon in weakening the factionalism.

Table-5 2

Factors Considered in the Selection of Area for Resettlement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Factors</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Availability of land</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Availability of House sites</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Availability of Water resources</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Relatives/friends</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Better livelihood options</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Relationship with host community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Govt Service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Factional group</td>
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<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various factors have influenced the selection of area for resettlement. At the time of resettlement, many oustees preferred command areas for resettlement as it provided better sources of agriculture. Among the resettled 48.00 per cent of the families preferred Somasila as they have been assured sources of income like construction labour, business and fishing opportunities, civil contracts. The sources like transportation, business opportunities, potential for diversified occupations, weaving, and other infrastructural facilities attracted 40.00
20 percent of the families to resettle in non-command area. Because of factional affiliations, 20.00 percent of the families resettled in non-command area. Only 9.30 percent of the families preferred areas for resettlement because of house sites provided by the government. Earlier relationship with the host populations influenced in the case of 9.40 percent of the families. It has been proved that source of better livelihood was the major factor in decision making in the selection of area for resettlement.

The human capital gains, the increase in physical assets and the acquisition of bargaining strength in the form of collective organization set the PAP community on a take-off path. In this connection, it is important to note that even small investments (borne of course by the project authorities) at the stage of displacement have large returns. Chris Roche (1994) defines this as the 'butterfly effect', which has been observed in the sub-Saharan African context where small investments at times brought forth large returns.

It is generally felt that the compensation received for houses and other structures was more or less adequate, whereas the compensation for lands was inadequate. Here lies the crux of the problem. As the compensation received for the productive asset (e.g., land) is less, the displaced population would find it extremely difficult to purchase the lands again. Further, many project-affected families have felt that it was not possible to buy any land even after receiving compensation as it was not paid in one installment.

It may be observed that with the exception of small farmers, there is a positive relationship between the size of the land holdings and the percentage of compensation invested. This goes to show that the people
at the lower strata have been most affected by the displacement as most of the compensation received by them has been spent on compensation and little is left towards investment.

The intensive agriculture requires intensive human organization (Cernea, 1998) The intensity of relationship between the households was clearly observed in selection of resettlement village As the project officials failed to show resettlement sites to the PAPs of the first phase individuals or heads of the families had to choose their destination In this connection, the cohesive bond between agrarian families was very important in selecting the resettlement area Out of 75 families, 21 (28%) families moved along with their intimate families These factors work in intra and inter caste groups Reddy, Mutharasi families moved with their co-caste families Most Scheduled Caste families moved along with after the assurance by the intimate Reddy families As these families before their displacement practised intensive agriculture, S C families served as tenants, agricultural wage labourers, share-croppers to most of the Reddy families

How a Village Disintegrated

With the niggard compensation and evacuation by the project officials, many households were dispersely resettled in various locations On what criteria these people selected their destinations is quite interesting An old village, Juvalalapalle has been studied to patterns of forced migration The key informants like the then VAO and a middle man have provided a lot of information in this regard

There were 48 families belonging to Reddy in Juvalalapalle These families with different socio-economic status were engaged in agriculture
The kin relations and availability of land played a vital role in selecting places of their resettlement. The minimum and maximum distance between the old village i.e., Juvalapalle and the places of their resettlement ranges from 12 kms to 150 kms. A maximum number of families constituting 79.16% cent of Juvalapallalu selected the village, Somasila in command area as their destination because of kin network personal contacts, availability of land and irrigation and cooperation from the host community. Out of 18 families who belong to Baliya caste of Venkataradddy Palle, 10 families were resettled as contractors, labourers, pretty business and in agriculture at Somasila. All the ten families who belong to Mutharas caste were resettled at Somasila. Majority of these 10 families has taken up fishing in the reservoir as their livelihood. Out of ten families who belong to Vaddera caste of Zuvvalapalle, 9 families were resettled at Somasila because of availability of labour works of the dam. Out of 9 Yadava families of Zuvvalapallalu, one family was resettled at Somasila for agriculture.

Out of 30 Scheduled Caste (SC) families, 25 were resettled at Padamati Kambam Padu (PK Padu) because of kin network and availability of labour works in agriculture and other SC families from various submerged villages were already resettled at Somasila. The majority of the host population at PK Padu have lands and depend on agriculture. Two washermen families were resettled at Somasila with the help and guidance of Village Administrative Officer (VAO) and practicing their traditional occupation. Two Yanadi families from were rejoined with their old relatives at Somasila.

Various ethnic groups with agriculture as their primary occupation were resettled at Somasila in command area in the I-phase i.e., prior to
1985 The study area i.e., Somasila village has attracted many families from different old villages on the following reasons

i) availability of agricultural lands belonging to 'Someswara Swamy Temple trustee' which are under the Department of Endowments, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh and the trustee offered its lands on lease or tenancy rights to the resettled population,

ii) availability of irrigation under command area and water for irrigation would not be a constraint

iii) availability of labour, contract and supervisory works in construction of dam, canals, drains and other civil works,

iv) expected co-operation and help from the host population,

v) the village lies adjacent to river and Padamati Kambampadu tank, availability of fertile lands and suitability to cultivate varied types of crops

vi) PAPs who received compensation intended to start business because of new establishments and consequential development of small township,

vii) a few people who used to sell their vegetables and other agricultural produce thought that the command area was well known and they could sustain there,

viii) availability of non-cultivable government lands and felt easy to make them to cultivate,

ix) availability of fishing opportunities in the newly built reservoir favours the Mutharasi community who have sufficient knowledge in fishing,

x) establishment of Fishing Training cum Production Centre by the government assured some of the PAPs to have fishing as their livelihood,
vi) a few families belonging to service castes and Scheduled castes were resettled near their respective patrons and the dominant caste households thought that they could help in getting their livelihood.

vii) a few PAPs who received high compensation thought that they could invest it in civil contracts for better livelihood.

The displaced populations who resettled in the second phase were unable to resettle in command area because of

i) increased cost of land for agriculture and housing as the host communities expected that the PAPs have received huge compensation and the PAPs had to buy land compulsorily.

ii) as the size of the land holdings decreased tremendously, every family thinks that they have small amount of land and it could not be sold.

iii) carrying capacity of the area crossed i.e., the abnormal rise of the cost of the agricultural and house plots, limited area for sharing the common properties, more density per sq km etc.,

iv) profits and other labour works relating to dam, small contracts and petty business were not much profitable and hence it attracted less attention.

Resettlement in Non Command Area

Selection of sites

Various sites in the non command area, were examined by the oustees for their resettlement Government officials such as District Collector, Mandal Revenue Officer, People’s representatives such as Legislative Member of Assembly and local leaders belonging to different parties and factions were interested and tried to resettle the massive
populations belonging to various categories. With the earlier oustees resettlement in command area it was not possible to choose a place in command area.

Boyanapalle

This site was selected after examining another site near by Mrukunda Ashramam, 6 km away from this site. All were suddenly displaced in the second Phase, i.e., in the years 1987 and 1989. This site preferred for the reasons below.

i) Drinking water and water for general purpose may not be a problem because of near by villages and poultry farm has enough underground water potential.

ii) Adjacent to highway whereas the other site has to be walked around 200 meters from the highway.

iii) As majority of the families depend on weaving, there may not be enough pressure on agricultural land and nearby village Tallapaka may provide a few acres for tenants either for share cropping or lease, which is not expected in the other site.

iv) The oustees families already temporarily resettled in near by poultry farm and it lessens the burden of transporting.

v) The oustees can renovate the land as it belongs to government.

vi) Legally no problems to get pattas from the government.

vii) Near by urban centre i.e., Rajampet for servicing.

viii) Government is planning to construct an Engineering College in nearby which may provide livelihood for a few people.

ix) Their leader tried to stay in the area.

x) Near by major railway station.
Madhavaram 1

This site was preferred for the following reasons. Factional disputes and groupism divided earlier Madhavaram 1 into two major destinations.

i) As this site is in nearby/adjacent to national highway

ii) Enough water facility may be hoped

iii) Bigger tank near by Vontimitta can provide drinking water from pennar/Cheyyeru

iv) Near by mandal head quarters, district headquarters

v) One place can't accommodate all families

vi) Enough common/vacant land to graze their cattle

vii) Vast extent uninhabited earlier and availability of lands for cultivation

viii) Enough business and serving activities can be practiced because of highway

ix) Government is ready to provide pattas and housing loans to them

x) Being on the highway new vistas of business can be opened

xi) Majority of families depend on weaving, labourer families may get employment either in neighbouring villages or urban centres

xii) Though rocky, lands can be reclaimed with more human and economic investment, besides a few tracks are available for ready cultivation

xiii) The other site which was located few metres away was omitted because of Vasthu and for the present place preference was given in comparison with other

xiv) The another site which was chosen may have further displacement effect in future as that site was proposed for thermal electricity generation plant
Madhavaram II

1) The site is located on the highway and train facility at very nearby Bhakarapet and Cuddapah attracted more weaving and labourer families

2) The nearby panchyat has enough land for the landless for sharecropping and for purchase

3) The transporting and marketing facility for the cash crops which are growing in the area are plenty

4) Enough underground water can be expected as there is nearby tank

5) Nearby district headquarter which can provide education, marketing and health care services to the people

6) The other factional group selected a site on highway and nearby railway station

7) Nearby site to their earlier place

All these sites were selected on the common features, after proper enquiry in command and non-command areas. They found these sites only suitable for the following reasons in common

1) In all the villages, most of the families depend directly or indirectly on weaving, which needs business centres instead land for agriculture

2) Few percentage of agricultural families may find small tracts of agricultural land in these new villages, though of the tracts are rocky/uncultivable waste

3) Highway, nearby railway station and adjacent to railway track open new vistas in employment

4) Small and marginal farmers diverted to other servicing sectors

5) Psychological attachments they are near by to their earlier villages
vi) Enough land for housing etc., to accommodate large number of households in a short span of time

vii) Near by district headquarters, urban centres will provide and market to their needs and products

viii) Local MLA, District Collector, factional leaders interested on their part to show house sites and speedy transport facilities

ix) District officials announced to provide basic infrastructure such as roads, schools, drinking water borewells, electricity, PDS shop with in the village

x) Factional leaders contcts with these areas elite and able to provide enough facilities in ‘transition’ period and to provide equal opportunities to all in expressing their views, problems and dispute resolutions

xi) Most of the villagers opinie that if they got resettled elsewhere, there will not be any support to them in finding house, livelihood, dispute resolution mechanism, mate selection, inter dependency and day to day activities

xii) High cost of the lands in command area, less interest in exclusive agriculture led them to resettle in non command areas

xiii) Cropping pattern in command area is mono cropping which does not encourage cash crops

xiv) The cropping pattern in these areas encourgaes cash crops such as papaya, banana, chilies, beetelnut leaves and turmeric besides horticultural crops

xv) The experiments of earlier resettlers in command area due to recently developed for water logging and salinity are causing further displacement without any compensation

xvi) Few tracts in command area are newly waterlogged and hence are afraid to invest their compensation money
Many families practiced agriculture in the old villages even after their resettlement, which in turn forced them to resettle in nearby villages.

They were mentally prepared and new networks were established in the new areas. Thus, the oustees selected the new places of resettlement and tried to get better livelihood in the new areas of living.

**Opinion About the Project**

Data were collected on the opinion of the people about the project before and after their displacement. Among the resettled population, 26.67% and 12.00% of the oustees favoured the construction of dam in their location. They felt happy as it was being constructed in that area.

**Table-5 3**

**Opinion about the Project Before Displacement**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Felt Happy</td>
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<td>26.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Provides better life status</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Provides Irrigation</td>
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<td>2.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gets more Compensation</td>
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<td>More civic amenities</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Provides land for land</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Provides Free Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
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<td>24.00</td>
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</table>

Total 75 100.00 75 100.00
About one fourth of the population in the first phase of evacuation did not respond to the project and its impending displacement only 14.67 per cent and 16.00 per cent of the oustees expressed that they would lead a better future due to construction of dam as it created employment generation. The oustees of Phase-II had hopes of getting more compensation and non-command area. 12.00 per cent of the resettlers felt that it would not affect them for a long time as they were hearing about the project for a very long time. Only a few families expected that the government might provide land for land at resettlement area.

Table-5 4

Opinion about the Project After Displacement

<table>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Uprooted from Agriculture</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Less yields</td>
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<td>2.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Less social respect</td>
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<td>Tedious Process of resettlement</td>
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<td>Improved bad habits</td>
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However, 9.33 per cent and 18.66 per cent of the resettlers in the first and second phases felt that the dam was an unfortunate event in their lives. It was due to more impoverishment risk, low livelihood options available in command area, non-remunerative agriculture and cropping pattern. Among the displaced, 13.34 per cent lost everything in life due to construction of dam and evacuation. As the oustees joined with the host communities in command area, they faced less social respect than the community resettled in non-command area. The non-command area resettlers found new occupations, which helped them achieve better economic status.

As India does not possess any rehabilitation policy, various lacunae have emerged. Lack of proper planning and timely budget allocations, negligence of legal implications, lack of proper monitoring, recruitment of right persons in implementation and commitment among the concerned officials made delay in the process of displacement and resettlement. It resulted in the trauma of the displaced populations. The burden of rehabilitation was kept on the officials who were not aware of rehabilitation and they were not properly trained. It appears that the major concern in rehabilitation was the provision of infrastructure in resettlement but not the sources of livelihood. Due to lack of proper policy, wrong estimations and legal consequences, both time and financial budgets have escalated and made a financial burden to both people and the government.