POLITICS OF REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT POLICY: 
A CASE OF SARDAR SAROVAR PROJECT ON 
NARMADA RIVER IN GUJARAT

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By
HINAL D. PANDYA

Department of Political Science
Faculty of Arts
Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
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POSSING THE PROBLEM

The role of public policy is becoming increasingly important in most of the developing countries. An overall development of a society has come to rest on various public policies pursued by the state. In India, a number of policies for development and also for rural development, have been launched after the independence. Of these, the Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) policy is considered as of a vital significance. Its importance stems from its objective to help the oustees of such large scale projects as the Narmada Dam and Sardar Sarovar Project on the Narmada river in Gujarat, India. Millions of rupees have been spent on schemes embodying the objectives of the R&R policy. Therefore, the evaluation of the R&R policy and critical research calls for academic attention. This would help us to understand the nature and limitation of such instrument as R&R policy in relocating the
ousted people in such a way that their socio-economic development is taken into account.

The R&R policy has a very interesting and evolution. It is a case in maturing of democratic governance and citizen participation. It affords an unusually unique academic scope for testing various claims of a constitutionally guided liberal democratic governance and political system. It is also a great case of incomplete, hasty, half-hearted bureaucratic or executive initiative from the top and the efforts of the victims to oppose and protest against such deliberately or unintendly left deficiencies in the policy as a matter of their democratic rights. This policy has such wide-ranging ramifications that, it has pulled into play almost all political institutions of the state, government and of civil society. The outcome of the long, intense and often acrimonious interface among all concerned and involved in shaping R&R is considerably positive and benefiting to all concerned.

The present study seeks to examine not only the viability and impact of the scheme, but also the adequacy and suitability of the existing administrative structure that vehicles it to the affected and the needy. The scope of the study extends to the role of the bureaucracy, the NGOs and other participating states. The study intends to indicate how crucial is the role played by the bureaucracy in implementing the scheme, as it does for
constructing the dam. The research also seeks to work out a few recommendations and suggestions that may help strengthen the resettlement process.

In the present modern times, the policy assumes vital importance. Through a number of policies, the state seeks to intervene positively in the developmental process by stimulating production and ensuring distributive justice.

**DEFINING POLICY**

Policy is the foremost requirement that precedes to every activity of the political system. It is a pre-requisite to foster all administrative managements. The reason is that it, as its primary concern, seeks to depict a final judgement made on various issues concerning the society, the state and the nation on what should be done and what should not be done and where to do, when, why and how. Dimock views, "Policies are the consciously acknowledged rules and conduct that guide administrative decisions" (Tandau, 1996:43).

Public policy has emerged as a very vital field of governance. Its study in a democratic set up is found to be particularly interesting. We must
have attempt a brief explanation of what is policy. Let us consider a few definitions of policy. Reddy & Haragopal (1985:1) have attempted a comprehensive, workable and interesting formulation on public policy. They state that, “Public policy has come to assume vital importance in modern times. The state, through a number of public policies, seeks to intervene positively in the developmental process by stimulating production and ensuring distributive justice. The entire thrust appears to be on improving the quality of life of all the citizens. The policies are broadly of two types: one, the policies which might be called comprehensive and lead to structural transformation; and two, incremental policies which are of a reformative type. Policies like land reforms, ceilings on property and wealth belong to the former category as they touch the ownership of the means of production, and policies like reservations, public distribution system, subsidized anti poverty schemes fall in the latter category.”

It is aptly stated by Nicholas Jequier (1972:344) that, “policy might be viewed as a means of creating a new future and the absence of policy is an acceptance of the status quo.” According to a scientific perspective, “policy evaluation research is the objective, systematic, empirical examination of the effects, on-going policies and public programmes have on their target in terms of the goals they are meant to achieve” (Nichimias, 1979:4). In this sense, “policy evaluation research is goal oriented research focusing on
effectiveness rather than on the decision-making processes that lead to the adoption of policies” (Singh, Tarlok, 1979:2). It is observed that an analysis of policy failures is even beneficial as “more could be gained from it, going beyond the immediate measures through which government seeks relief, institutions of research and learned scholars associated with them could examine causes and manifestations with uncompromising objectivity, tear apart the myths and ignorance which often surround public policy, and seek more fundamental and long-range action for the future” (T.Singh, 1979:2).

Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz hold a view that policy can be a response to the environment without particular decision having been made. In other words, no government can be without a policy, even if government officials refuse or fail to make decision regarding a policy to be adopted (Bachrach & Baratz, 1963:632-42). “No policy” as such is also a policy. The study of public policy, therefore, cannot just rely on the manifest statement. It has to concern itself with the policy outcomes even as the most direct evidence of how environmental challenges are being resolved.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The State of Gujarat has adopted the policy of progress and prosperity through intensive industrialization. As a result, it has been able to develop a
broad agro-industrial base to ensure the economic welfare of, not only the vast population within the state, but also of the country taking a leap forward into the new millennium. In the course of the last 50 years of planned economic development in our country since the Independence, we have taken tremendous strides in the agriculture sector among other sectors of economy. Yet, there prevails widespread human distress in terms of poverty and unemployment. Water deficiency adversely affects agricultural and domestic uses. It, in turn, further aggravates the environmental degradation, ingress of salinity and lack of green cover (as it has been done in USA, Israel and elsewhere). In this condition, there is no option left but to transfer water as a basic necessity of life from surplus areas to deficit ones. Such a transfer can be made only if large dams and transmission system of canals are techno-economically feasible. The Narmada project has evolved as one such effort in direction of transfer of water from a huge reservoir to deficit areas in Gujarat.

If we accept that for a better and more purposeful human existence, environment and development must go hand in hand, then it is essential that each major human intervention in a natural process be assessed in terms of its environmental impacts. The Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) of constructing a large dam on river Narmada in Gujarat is one such project which has been studied in far greater details than any other developmental project in India of
similar dimension. All aspects of this large dam-project are researched and scrutinized in greater details during the last several years. A large number of national and international research agencies of repute are intensively engaged in the study.

The SSP has eventually become one of the most controversial projects, not only in the country, but globally. It is being opposed for its various claims of cost-benefits ratios. There is a fierce contest of claims and counterclaims raised by the conflicting groups. The conflict of interests has taken various sharply contested forms. The opponents of the Narmada project initially raised issues like damage to the environment in the dam-affected region and resettlement of those who are going to be displaced. Now, the latest campaign unleashed by the opponents of the project, such as NBA, is in the name of violation of human rights. The state claims that it has delivered the most ideal compensatory package to displaced and dispossessed tribal families. In fact, the state argues that it adequately protects the human rights of the masses in rural areas in Kuchchh, Saurashtra, North Gujarat and Bhal regions of the state which are from perennially to intermittently affected by water crisis. Availability of water is an issue crucial for the survival of human life as well as of forest and domestic animals. An official review affirms that the State Government is determined to protect human rights on two fronts, i.e. dam-affected people and dam-benefited people. The SSP aims at harnessing the vast water flow
of the Narmada river to benefits to the national economy as well as to support, promote and develop the economy of the four participating states.

Owing to the construction of the Sardar Sarovar Project, a multipurpose irrigation project, nineteen villages of Gujarat confronted a danger of submergence, like in case of any other multipurpose project and the oustees lost their original land, livelihood and homes. The government, however, grants them due compensation for their losses and makes efforts to rehabilitate and resettle them at some other places. But it must be admitted that it is an inevitable consequence of such large irrigation projects, that the oustees get uprooted from their socio-economic base and cultural milieu and face the problem of adjustment in a new settlement. The very process of rehabilitation gives rise to a feeling of economic insecurity among the oustees, dismantles their social network and creates psychological stresses and strains. No monetary compensation of any kind can completely alleviate these stresses and strains. Thus, it is not merely a problem of shifting a few households or villages from one place to another. It is a grave human problem causing immense anxieties to the uprooted oustees who are to be resettled in a new community environment in such a way that their socio-economic life may not be seriously disrupted. They must be resettled in as much a naturalized way as possible. This makes it necessary on the part of the administrators, who deal with rehabilitation, to understand social, economic and attitudinal aspects of the oustees and carve out a rehabilitation
programme in a manner that the costs of human socio-psychological impact are nullified, or at least minimized and rather help retain the spirit of living among them.

Studies on rehabilitation and resettlement by social scientists the world over are but a few. Their number is still a fewer in India. There was no practice of studying consequences of displacement of population on account of setting up large projects. A healthy practice has begun with the SSP on the Narmada. The studies conducted in the past usually reveal the details of demographic, socio-economic and cultural aspects. Further, an absence of comprehensive national policy on displacement and resettlement is a sorry tale of a legislative neglect.

The case of the SSP is a process of resettlement and rehabilitation that is painful for everyone. As it is known, the submergence is spread over three states viz. M.P., Maharashtra and Gujarat. According to the Tribunal’s direction, Gujarat has to resettle all project affected persons (PAPs) that include even those from the neighbouring two states of M.P. and Maharashtra, that are willing to resettle them. The policy laid down by the tribunal has been further liberalized by the three states. The primary objective of the policy is that the economic condition of the PAPs must improve significantly after resettlement.
The resettlement of oustees however, causes to them a number of inter-related psychological, socio-cultural and economic problems. Therefore, the chief concerns of rehabilitation programme of the Government of Gujarat remain as follows:

i. the stress of the oustees should be reduced to what extent;

ii. how they should restore to their earlier status; and

iii. how to improve their conditions.

To sum up, the confusion prevails and the structures of governance at local, state and national level, including all three organs of the government, namely, legislative, executive and judiciary and in addition to them, non-government bodies like NGOs and Voluntary Agencies (VAs) as well are caught in a confusion about evolving a sound and subtle policy instrument that may cater to demands of multiple clash of interest, on the most contested issue of rehabilitation and resettlement raised by the rival activists. The issue of the violation of human right is raised by both the sides, viz. those in favour of Narmada Dam, who want its water to be carried to waterless arid areas of Kuchcha, Saurashtra, and North Gujarat, and those protesting against it on the ground of the allegations on the R&R policy of the government that it turns out to be faulty, inhumane, unjust, unfair, inadequate and anti-tribal.
HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

The study proposes to test the following hypotheses:

1. The Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) policy is framed by united efforts of institutions of state, market and civil society.

2. This has proved to be immensely conducive to the enrichment of the contents of the policy of R&R in SSP.

3. The issues of the R&R policy on the SSP is multi-dimensional. It brings out a unique relationship, not only between the centre and the state, but also between the state and its neighbouring states, as well as between the centre and more than one contentious states.

4. The assertion and participation of civil society, in the form of NGOs and social activists, in crucial issues, concerning the very survival of its most vulnerable sections affords a good scope to influence the course and content of the policy.

5. The extent and intensity of participation and involvement of people in various policy-making processes, initiated by the government depends on the substantiality, consequentiality and vitality of the issues at stake.

6. The issues of the R&R on the SSP are less local and more of national and global dimensions.
OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objective of this study is to focus on the issue of rehabilitation and resettlement in relation to the project affected persons. The policy package of rehabilitation and resettlement indeed has come to become a crucial component of the Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) Project. Hence, the policy remains the central focus of the study. Besides if, the study also intends to deal with the approach and status of environmental protective measures and some other policy components such as compensatory afforestation, treatment to catchments area, protecting wild life, command and development, etc.

The major objectives of the study are as follows:

a. to trace the genesis of the R&R policy, to compile and reconstruct the history of policy-making on the R&R on the issue of the SSP dam in Gujarat.

b. to delineate major points of conflict of interests and their resolution through policy-making processes.

c. to examine and analyze the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in formulating the policy on the R&R.

d. to study the implementation and the scheme of rehabilitation.
e. to examine the processes by which oustees get adjusted to their non-habitats.

f. to examine major criticism of implementation of the R&R policy raised by the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) and point out the deficiencies.

One of the general objectives of this study is to clarify the actual and factual position that the R&R on the SSP holds. Some environmentalist and protesters are agitating against the construction of the Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) dam beyond a certain height. In order to apprise the public at large about various contentious issues on debate, the study will make an attempt to elucidate them with factual details. It is hoped that this attempt would put the issues in true light and project them in proper perspective.

The study also proposes to present factual details and data relating to the project. It seeks to also highlight its multi-dimensional contribution to welfare of the people, of the participating states like M.P., Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan, and also to the national economy. The study aims at highlighting the most crucial and controversial issues in the irrigation planning and its implementation through due analysis of the policy of R&R in the case of the Sardar Sarovar project.
METHOD OF THE STUDY

In order to meet the objectives of the study and examine the hypotheses, the study has to adopt the method as detailed below:

The methodology employed in the context of the study is basically qualitative in nature. In order to study the issue of the R&R in relation to the SSP, a review and analysis of existing primary data is undertaken. The secondary data are reviewed as supplementary and complementary to the analysis. These data are obtained from the sources like the libraries of universities, research institutions and government offices. About 70 random and unstructured but open-ended interviews of concerned officials of the GOG, NGO-personnel, social activists, researchers, and political leaders were taken to reconstruct the case of SSP on river Narmada in Gujarat.

SOURCES OF DATA

A great deal of relevant material will be collected from the concerned departments of the Government of Gujarat such as the Narmada Nigam, the Narmada Planning Group, etc. Documented material will also be obtained from the NBA and other voluntary organizations. The researcher also intends to collect the empirical data on the R&R through interviews and
discussions with a cross sections of the affected people, concerned local officials, political leaders, government officials, journalists, activist leaders of NGOs etc.

Many studies are conducted on the Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) project and published in the Gujarati language. They will be exhaustively used for the purpose of analysis. Local gazetteers, official documents and some social science reports will also be referred to as sources on the secondary data. In short, the study proposes to employ a methodological mix of empirical, normative and policy oriented approaches.

**CHAPTER-PLAN**

The argument and composition of the study is presented in five chapters which are further sub-divided into smaller sections, each dealing with special aspects. The chapterization is done as follows:

**The first chapter** is introductory. It contains the rationale and significance of the study. It describes the methods used for data collection, data sources, hypotheses and the plan of analysis. This chapter has attempted a conceptual discussion on the processes of policy-making and policy-implementing in a participative democratic governance.
The second chapter deals with review of literature on the rehabilitation policy in general and the Narmada project in particular. It also attempts to review the major research works published and unpublished.

The third chapter explores the genesis and the history of the rehabilitation and resettlement policy. It relates it to the context of the history of the SSP dam and its construction in the socio-political context of the state. It also deals with the historical perspective of the R&R policy on the SSP and the related issues.

The fourth chapter outlines the main conflicting and controversial issues related to conflicts of interest between the two positions. It states positions of pro and anti-dam sides on the issue and indicates the overall resultant shifts in the R&R policy to enrich it more and more. The chapter also focuses on the progressive enrichment of the policy as a result of constant contentious interaction and discourses between pro and the conflicting stand points on modes of socio-economic development drawing the global attention.

The fifth chapter enlists the findings and sums up discussion and drawing important conclusions on a progressively beneficial discourse on as important an issue as the R&R policy in the context of the SSP. It will also
seek to review the shift that occurs in the relationship between the state, the market and the civic society in the larger public interest. Further, with a view to rendering the study into a meaningful exercise it attempts to work out a few suggestions based on the observations that may be of some use when the R&R policy needs to be reviewed and revised.

**FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION**

The displacement of people resulting from a major river valley project is a phenomenon in both developed and developing countries. In the past, no definite policy for R&R was attempted. There were certain project specific programmes, however, for implementation of decisions on a temporary basis. For instance, in case of land acquired, due compensation was given under the Provisions of Land Acquisition Act (PLAA), 1894 to project affected families. This payment, usually in cash did not result in satisfactory improvements in terms of R&R of displaced families.

The construction of Sardar Sarovar multipurpose irrigation project has caused submergence of many villages of Gujarat and of adjoining states. Like any other multi-purpose irrigation project, the oustees of the Narmada project lost their lands, employment and places of residence. They, however,
are granted due compensation for their losses and the government makes efforts to rehabilitate them at better sites.

Recent years witness the emergence of anti-dam movement the world wide. It is currently epitomized by an extra-ordinarily intensive campaign launched against the SSP. Controversies over large dams relate to a variety of issues: displacement, safety, and environmental damage are chief among others. The benefits are more often than not glossed over. But the decision-makers, engineers and administrators responsible have also come to be seen as evil, as anti-people. The dispute has been getting so emotionally charged that it makes it difficult, and sometimes even impossible to render reasoned and rational thinking over the issues of high sensitivity.

Any activity requiring land acquisition in settled areas entails displacement of populations. This is a genuine hardship that needs to be more than recompensed in material and emotional or psychological terms. The SSP represents and remains an early experience of learning.

As far as the policy is concerned, a number of studies and reports on Indian administration reveal that the administration in India is in a state of flux and that the responsiveness and sensitivity of administrative agencies and officials to the needs and expectations of citizens is found to be on the
decline. It is said that a policy made in India is not bad, yet it is unable to render due results. The reason remains ineffective policy implementation. Policy implementation is one of the most critical parts of the overall public policy process. Human rights of every individual and community remains supremely important, yet the right to life of oustees cannot be ignored.

Current controversies over environment (number of large projects of water resources developments in particular are put to a jolt) have tended to question the nation's present development path. Development has to be sustainable. But whether the sustainability with rapidly growing numbers living on the margin of subsistence is possible without adequate development is a moot point. This poses a real challenge to a public endeavour.

The Sardar Sarovar Punarvasvat Agency (SSPA) has adopted a strategic policy very recently. The primary objective is to speed up the rehabilitation work of the PAFs affected by the SSP. It also aims at strengthening the operational efficiency of the SSPA. According to it, the SSPA has been reorganized in three separate divisions namely, planning resettlement and rehabilitation. Each division is headed by a senior level officer of the rank of additional or joint commissioner. He is vested with full power to deal with matters arising in the respective division. The
Government of Gujarat (GOG) has appointed three senior IAS officers to head the above-mentioned divisions. They are functioning as a part of the SSPA. The strength of the staff at the SSPA has been considerably augmented by an addition of ten deputy commissioners, eight assistant commissioners, eleven Mamlatdars and forty three extension officers appointed at the three divisions.

These efforts are culminated into positive results. The most obvious result is that it has brought the Government machineries and PAFs much closer. Since accountability is no more attached the implementation of the rehabilitation measures the procedure to deal with grievances of the PAFs are simplified. Consequently, more and more grievances of the PAFs are given due consideration. Not only that, majority of them have been resolved. A fulfledged computer cell is functioning at the SSPA to facilitate records of their grievances lodged by PAFs and the grievances redressal etc. They are stored in different computer files. This helps to bring transparency in the working. The rehabilitation work is made open to scrutiny and the progress of rehabilitation can be monitored periodically.
In a broader sense, the resettlement involves physical work, while the rehabilitation moves are on economic and social axes. It is a huge process taken up by the SSPA. It involved several NGOs and voluntary agencies to undertake the task on expected grounds. Their efforts have showing positive results. Almost all new sites are adopted by NGOs to carry for various developmental programmes. In view of these programmes, the observations may be drawn as follows:

**Resettlement Sites and Infrastructure**

1. According to the investigator’s report on her visits to various new sites in different villages of Dabhoi Taluka, such as Vadaj-1, Vadaj-2, Golagamdi, Shinor Road-1, Shinor Road-2, Dharmpuri, Mangrol, Karnet and Kukad, Nada Road and Sathod, primary school, children park, kindergartens are already constructed in host villages and resettlement sites are located near them.

Each state in India needs development. Hence, resettlement is the main issue of high significance for them. Each state has adopted piecemeal approach to R&R policy in lieu of a national resettlement
policy. Hence, there is an urgent need to form a national policy with which the R&R efforts put in by different states would acquire a degree of uniformality. There may be a variation depending upon the culture, socio-economic conditions or geographic situation. However, uniformality has to be stipulated to some minimum possible level.

2. There is very little land available for cattle to graze. Every person told about this and complained.

3. In some village, such things has missed like trees, water bodies, street network and climate.

**Drinking Water**

It is observed that drinking water facilities are provided at new habitats by laying pipelines and installing hand pumps. In new resettled villages, the drinking water situation is satisfactory. According to the official information, drinking water, wells or hand pumps are provided in the following resettlement areas in Dabhoi Taluka, like Vadaj-1, Vadaj-2, Golagamdi, Shinor Road-1, Shinor Road-2, Dharmpuri, Mangrol, Karnet and Kukad, Nada Road and Sathod.


Land for Agriculture

It is found that during the R&R process, oustees are allowed to cultivate land at both old and new places. It was a transitional phase in which one would find a husband at a new place and a wife at an old place, or the father at a new place and a son at an old place. The SSP understood the problem. It took a sympathetic stand. The agency helped the people to visit the sites alternatively. It has been successful to involve the people in a vital decision of selecting a land for residence and also for cultivation. It is good that every family is getting land for agriculture at a new habitate. However, it is also a fact that every one can not do agriculture especially those who engaged in other trade. Because agriculture managerial skill, knowledge and finance to operate.

Self-Employment and Developmental Programmes

It is observed that handful of the oustees are unhappy with the employment situations. Particularly those who are incapable to do agriculture on a piece of land given to them, find it difficult to manage their livelihood. As a result, there grows restlessness among such people. Recently NGOs are closely associated with introducing a few programmes
oustees. Training course for security guard, driving truck or car was introduced in Dabhoi Taluka. It aroused good response in the sense that most of the trainees were absorbed in jobs. In this manner, number of NGOs are actively participating in day to day implementation of R&R programme at various sites.

Apart from this developmental programmes, NGOs are involved in giving them employment. They organize various training courses in manufacturing fruit jam, jelly, tomato catch-up, pickles etc. and also in tailoring and handicraft work. Especially women are trained in such vocations. Such efforts create good opportunities for self-employment. In addition to training programmes, NGOs also extend support to trainees to arrange finance through loans and to avail subsidies offered through government schemes. If such steps by the government ensure that adequate water facilities for oustees in Dabhoi Taluka villages like Vadaj-1, Vadaj-2, Golagamdi, Shinor Road-1, Shinor Road-2, Dharmpuri, Mangrol, Karnet and Kukad, Nada Road and Sathod.

All these programmes are designed to help people to develop and make them self-reliant in economic matters. The NGOs have been putting their best efforts to make it successful.
**Relations With Government Officers**

Most of the people did not find any change in the attitude of government servants towards them. Government officers involved in developmental administration are reported to be negligent and in attentive to oustees. They are supposed to behave with them as friends and guides. According to the Tribal Development policy of the Government of India, administrators in tribal areas need to identify with people. There has to have due understanding in a relationship between the oustees and government officers. But most oustees reportedly have worse experiences from them. Many of them complained that government officers hardly ever visited them. This situation needs to be changed. It is observed that, there is lack of mutual understanding between the oustees and government officers, because of the lack of education of the oustees. So education is much important for them and the awareness of education is necessary for them.

**SUGGESTIONS**

Based on the observations drawn from their study and listed as above, a few suggestions for policy consumption have been worked out to help improve and enhance the effectiveness of the R&R policy and its implementations:
1. First of all, proper climatic considerations must be given to priority while preparing the site plan. The considerations include (a) wind directions (b) it is good to have sunlight in the morning but afternoon is too hot and (c) it would be good if the southwest side is blank and the like they should be worked under the guidance of an expert architect.

2. Most important things is to understand the life style of people. It is observed that whenever rural people build house, they self help for themselves. They set their environment better than core houses. Because historically they understand their needs better. They design their houses with a particular concept of utility, space and behaviour.

3. Most of the tribals prefer outdoor living, may it be sleeping, cooking, cleaning grains etc. In several houses, people have shifted the kitchen outside at the back. It is due to the smoke generated by the fireplace, and the shortage of proper place inside. They need to be helped in their planning and adjustment to the new site.

To sum up, the policy implementation process is action-oriented. It lays stress on issuing sound, clear, consistent and properly planned policy directives, developing the existing organizational structures and also creating new units, whenever required, to cope with quantum of task, training of the
staff and equipping them with required knowledge and delegating to them adequate authority for proper administration of the policies.

In the present time, the SSP has thus, become one of the most controversial projects, not only in the country but globally. It is being opposed for its various claims and cost-benefit ratios. There is a fierce contest of claims and counter-claims by conflicting groups in its favour and against. The conflict of interest have taken various highly contested forms. The opponents of the SSP raised initially the issues like damage to environment of the region under the dam and resettlement of the probable displaced people. Now, the latest campaign is unleashed in the name of violation of human rights.

An official review is that the State Government, is determined to protect human rights on two fronts i.e. those of dam-affected people and of the beneficiaries.

There is a need to study and document the problems of newly settled people. A post occupancy evaluation of the newly settled people will be utmost appropriate. The social scientists, architects, planners and administrators have done very little work so far to evaluate the R&R schemes. Hence, their active involvement and participation should be called for to update the schemes to render better benefits to the needy. Now when the SSP is being implemented, lessons and experiences of the resettlement planning will be of great value in the future.
REFERENCES


