CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Recently, both in ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries, the strategies of development adopted by state agencies have been questioned, not only, by the intellectuals and social activists, but also, by the common people. ‘Development’ designed and sponsored by state agencies is no longer taken for granted. The basic premise that state has rational-legal authority to decide on the development of the people, administration of the civil society, and security of the nation-state seems to have been subject to critical scrutiny. These are considered by the people at grass roots as ‘interventionistic activities’ of state in contemporary period and, therefore, resisted.

There are two basic approaches to planning and policy making; first, the authoritarian in which change is imposed from above, regardless of cost in non-economic terms, though there are certain ‘rules of the game’; second, the democratic and participatory approach, in which change may be initiated from above, but acceptance and voluntary participation is sought from below. In this approach, the appropriate means to attain certain ends are carefully weighed, and assessment of social costs consequently receives attention while determining the policy (Daruvala, 1961). The ‘developing’ countries have mostly adopted the former approach.

After gaining independence from the colonial powers, the ‘developing’ countries, in order to come out of colonial debris, resorted to the path of rapid industrialisation and modernisation. This required massive
construction of infrastructures, because of deliberate negligence by the foreign
ruler, and this led the 'Third World' countries to go in for such projects in large
scale. All these plans and projects can be broadly divided into two categories on
the basis of their goals. The first category includes the projects which are aimed
at direct development, and the second category includes those state enterprises
which do not intend to generate development as direct consequences, but
development may result as spin off.

All these projects and enterprises may have long-term benefits for the
country as a whole, but they incur immediate heavy financial as well as human
costs. The selection of sites for projects is done primarily on the basis of
economic cost-benefit ratio. It is contingent upon the availability of resources,
transport facilities, availability of cheap labour, influence target and other
technological advantages (Vidyarthi, 1970; Sengupta, 1979; Muthayya, et al.,
1984).

These programmes call for the acquisition of large tracts of land,
sometimes covering a number of villages spread over more than one state. Such
acquisition of land has resulted in dislocation of well-settled habitats and
rehabilitation of displaced communities at new places. In other words, families
are uprooted from their traditional homesteads and agricultural lands, and they
are forced to settle down in alien areas. The problem of dislocation and
rehabilitation in India has turned to be so serious that it has attracted response
from intellectuals, social activists, voluntary organisations and common people
(Fernandes, et al., 1989; Economic and Political Weekly, 1989).
About the social consequences of such projects, it is assumed by the planners that where the projects are set up, the local backward societies will be automatically brought into the fold of development irrespective of their intended developmental or non-developmental goals. In the theories of regional growth one finds the theoretical support that investments, big or small, create conditions in terms of differential opportunities for the people of different regions (Sengupta, 1979). The developmental impact of a big and technologically advanced investment is felt in a number of ways, with varying degrees in different regions. It creates direct benefits in the form of employment generation and resource utilization. This endemic establishment paves the path for further development of economic activities and consequently increases the number of beneficiaries in the region (ibid). However, there are controversies about the transmission process, but it is generally agreed that the nearby regions benefit most, while the distant peripheral regions receive only marginal benefits and may even suffer from the ‘back wash effect’ (Sen, 1968; Sengupta, 1979).

Development through investment in setting up projects brings about manifold benefits for the country, in general, and for the regions, in particular (Gajarajan, 1970; Muthayya, et al., 1984). However, adverse consequences are also accompanied. First of all, tension is generated and resistance is built up because of authoritarian imposition of such projects from above (Daruvala, 1961; Prasad, 1961). It is argued by the economists that in order to bridge the great gap between ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries and to make the ‘developing’ countries self-sufficient, economic development is essential, and priority must be given to the creation of economic infrastructure and a certain level of tension is
permitted (ibid). A certain amount of dislocation, tension and resistance will have to be tolerated whenever any major economic and social change is planned and executed (ibid). But, at present, tension and resistance generated by these projects, have assumed such dimension that they have led to emergence of ‘conflict situation’ between the people and state. In other words, the clash of interests between the indigenous people and the state has been sharpened, and that is manifested in the struggle launched by the ‘affected’ indigenous people. This will be elaborated later in this chapter.

Before the issues of displacement and rehabilitation are taken up, it is necessary to briefly discuss the preoccupation of the sociologists in India and their contributions to the studies on social consequences of the projects set up by the state with a view to bring about development.

It has been the prerogative of the state to formulate policies and plans, and to design any project aimed at the development, directly or indirectly, of the people and is thought to be legitimate by every quarter. The cost-benefit ratio, in economic terms, plays a major role in the above activity. The economic dimension is given primacy, whereas social, political and cultural dimensions of development are considered peripheral (Sharma, 1986). These dimensions, as the subject matter of study, belatedly attracted attention of the sociologists. They remained occupied in the studies of caste, family, kinship, races, cultures, religious beliefs and village communities (Dhanagare, 1985; Singh, 1986). During the 1970’s, the trend in Indian sociology shifted in response to planning for social and economic development focusing upon the deprived and exploited sections of society and their processes of emotional, attitudinal, social and symbolic
reconstruction (Singh, 1986), and a sociology of economic development was advocated to provide a sociological understanding to the processes of social change, resulting from various inputs such as planning, industrialisation, technology, etc. (Dhanagare, 1985).

After independence, India following the centralised planning system, launched massive programmes for development and lodged many giant projects to strengthen the infrastructure of agricultural and industrial sectors, so also administration and defence. This consequently generated the problem of displacement of large number of people and their resettlement.

A conservative estimate of the total number of persons displaced by the major projects during the last four decades put the figure at 155 lakhs and 75 per cent of them were yet to be rehabilitated (see Table I-1) (Fernandes, et al., 1989).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Type of Project</th>
<th>Number of displaced</th>
<th>Number of rehabilitated</th>
<th>Backlog</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Coal and other Mines</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Dams and Canals</td>
<td>11000</td>
<td>2750</td>
<td>8250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Industries</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sanctuaries and Parks</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>15500</td>
<td>3950</td>
<td>11550</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* By backlog the authors did not mean that these persons were waiting to be rehabilitated by official agencies. Many of them have found their own coping mechanism, mostly of a destructive nature both to themselves and to the environment.
A large number of these displaced persons belong to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. While tribals form only seven percent of the country’s population, their proportion among these displaced by development projects is as high as 40 percent. Similarly, though the Scheduled Castes form only 15 percent of the country’s population, their proportion among the displaced is much higher (Fernandes and Thukral, 1989). The number of total oustees, because of the construction of huge projects, is as important as the number of those transferred in the holocaust that followed the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 (Mankodi, 1989).

It is in this context, the consequences of displacement have to be pointed out and highlighted. While such projects, on positive side, generate employment, increase income, improve transportation network and unleash the process of modernisation, at the same time, these also lead to the loss of habitat and means of livelihood. Such human displacement further disrupts traditional way of life, psychological state, culture and social structure, thereby, causing maladjustment in the society (Vidyarthi, 1970; Sengupta, 1979; Reddy, et al., 1983; Muthayya, et al., 1984; Economic and Political Weekly, 1985 and 1987). Displacement causes marginalisation of poor, and also many socio-psychological problems, simply by creating a wide gap between expected and achieved gains (Sengupta, 1979). The following discussion highlights certain important consequences of displacement.

**Loss of Land and Occupation**

The most glaring consequence the indigenous people, first of all, experience is their dispossession of lands, both agricultural and homestead, so also, their
occupation. The people have a special relationship with land they possess, especially in an agrarian society. To them, land is not simply a means of livelihood, but a source of spirituality as well. The traditional land holds important symbolic and emotional meanings for them as the repository of ancestral remains, clan origin sites and other sacred features important to their religio-cultural system (Areeparampil, 1989). Hence, the loss of land and property is a blow to the oustees who are unable to secure an alternative source of livelihood mostly because of lack of education and skills (Thukral, 1989). Being deprived of the benefits of the projects, the displaced persons are turned into destitutes in their own land. They are forced into wage labour and also indebtedness (Sengupta, 1979). For instance, a sizable section of the persons uprooted by the Hatia Industrial Complex (Vidyarthi, 1970), the Bokaro Steel Plant (Sengupta, 1979), the Ukai-Kakrapur project on river Tapti in Gujrat (Mankodi, 1989), the mines of Chhotnagpur Plateau (Areeparampil, 1989), and the Pong dam (Thukral, 1989) have lost their land without adequate compensation and have, now, been forced to become landless labourers and even bonded labourers.

A good number of the evacuees of Rihand dam, particularly the tribals, have fallen into the vicious circle of increasing debt bondage, coupled with increasing destitutions and intermittent employment as contract labourers in coal mines and elsewhere (Lokayan and Environmental Defence Fund, 1987).

Dispossession of land due to setting up of various projects ruptures the relationship of the indigenous man with land, thereby, throwing the agrarian social and economic structure into disarray. This, not only, deprives the peasants
of their source of livelihood, but also, renders the artisans jobless. The traditional occupational structure also gets destroyed. All these deprivations marginalise the indigenous people and make them vulnerable to exploitation (Vidyarthi, 1970; Sengupta, 1979; Joshi, 1982).

Tension between ‘resettled oustees’ and ‘original’ inhabitants of the area emerges as a result of increasing competition in the local labour markets. There is a greater pressure on grazing land, drinking water facilities, and other resources. At places, lands procured for oustees deprive the share-croppers of their source of livelihood and create tension (Deshpande, 1989).

Social and Cultural Consequences

Dispossession of the indigenous people takes place, not only, in economic, but also, in social and cultural spheres. The communities, which become the victim of displacement, do have their own social network and cultural systems which have developed over a long period of time. So, physical dislocation of the people amounts to uprooting from their socio-cultural base which is no less pathetic than the dispossession of land. They lose their traditional social control system, and consequently social tension increases among them. Many social problems such as alcoholism, crime, suicide, prostitution, and delinquency crop up (Vidyarthi, 1970; Sengupta, 1979; Fernandes and Thukral, 1989).

The oustees also become more and more vulnerable to disease and emotional disorders. Further, these people, confronted with ‘alien development’ and modernisation, do experience a loss of self-esteem. This creates a feeling of deprivation of their sense of personal growth and devaluation of their social identity. This feeling is further aggravated by the negative attitude and the
approach of the 'dominant society' towards their culture. As a result of this continual and systematic process of dispossession of land, occupation, social network, and culture, the indigenous people get reduced to sub-human level of existence (Sengupta, 1979; Areeparampil, 1989; Thukral, 1989).

The rich exploiters, not only, rob the oustees of their wealth, but also, treat them with contempt. They do not show any regard for the language and culture of the indigenous people. Rather, they try to create communal hatred between tribal oustees and non-tribals of the area. Towns like Jamshedpur, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Chaibasa and Bokaro have become areas of such communal tensions (Areeparampil, 1989).

Ecological Consequences

Besides the above consequences, the huge projects also have adverse impact on the ecology of the area. These projects causing mass displacement, not only, lead to erosion of cultural diversity, but also, cause the destruction of biological diversity. While ecological imbalance seriously threatens the survival of those dependent on it, the imposition of external technologies on this disrupts the natural genetic diversities that have taken years to evolve. The overall consequence of all this, is a degradation that is almost irreversible. Because of all these, the resource base of more and more people is shrinking. The ecological consequences will cause an imbalance between man and nature relationship (Kothari, 1985).

Apart from these broader problems, setting up of projects also causes deterioration in the local environment, which results in the spread of peculiar diseases. Various studies have shown that development of large water bodies has
caused the spread of waterborne diseases, malaria being the commonest (Thukral, 1989). A crippling bone disease (known as knock knees) appeared in the area after the construction of the Nagarjuna Sagar Dam. A similar bone disease has been reported in the area of Ganganagar, through which the Rajasthan Canal flows and where many of the Pong dam oustees have been resettled (ibid).

The above discussion, broadly and clearly, brings out the important consequences of the phenomenon of displacement. A comprehensive enlisting of the consequences was neither required nor attempted. It is because, the basic purpose is to acquaint one with the conditions of the people after their uprooting from their traditional habitats.

Since, construction of huge projects is considered as essential pre-requisite for the development of the country, adverse consequences, concomitant of these projects, are over looked by the politicians, planners, policy makers as well as administrators. However, at present, 'the other side' of such establishments has started drawing attention from various sections. Even the common people who sacrifice their land for these projects, have also began to view them critically.

**Rehabilitation**

To minimize the adverse consequences of displacement, rehabilitation policies are devised as the chief mechanism. Resettlement of the oustees with some amount of compensation in the form of cash or kind is thought to be the panacea of the problems caused by dislocation. In order to see the effectiveness of rehabilitation policies in tackling the adverse consequences of displacement, it is
imperative to critically analyse the policy aspect as well as the implementation aspect. In the following discussion, an attempt has been made to throw some light on rehabilitation policies, their formulation and implementation in different parts of the country.

The Government of India has evolved suitable policies for rehabilitation of displaced persons from Pakistan and the repatriates from the neighbouring countries, but there does not exist any coherent and comprehensive policy for resettling the displaced families in the context of industrialisation and establishment of various non-traditional projects in the country (Muthayya, et al., 1984; Sarangi and Billory, 1988). The National Working Group on Displacement (1989) notes, "In the face of such serious human impact the efforts made for the resettlement of displaced persons are utterly disappointing, hardly touching the fringe of the problems. The approach has been adhoc, provisional and unprincipled. It varies from state to state, from project to project, and from authority to authority. No single, uniform, comprehensive common national policy has been adopted."

Under all the rehabilitation policies, what at present provided are rules and guidelines to the various authorities and agencies of the state governments dealing with resettlement of displaced families under the land acquisition procedures. The framework and principles of the only national law of acquisition of property namely the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, under which all lands and other properties are acquired for all the projects, are totally unsuitable to resolve the problems of community displacement, compensation for the lost resource-base, loss of livelihood, and of resettlement (ibid). The 'public purpose',

for which land is acquired, is of paramount importance to the government and, therefore, individual interests of uprooted families do not figure. Even if it is taken note of, it is of peripheral nature. Some states have policies for rehabilitating tribals but these lack an integrated approach (Srivastava, et al., 1988). It is generally assumed by the planners that displaced families would take steps on their own to buy lands and other assets for themselves, build houses, and in course of time, they would be settled in already existing settlements nearby or even move out to distant places where they may find land and suitable avocations (Muthayya, et al., 1984).

The existing policies do not have socio-psychological orientation and also do not take into cognisance its unequal impact on different groups of displaced persons. The blanket rehabilitation policy is assumed to take care of varied interests of various groups.

It is also assumed that cultural resettlement of the evacuees will be taken care of by the compensation paid to them and other rehabilitation activities. What is worse, even where some provisions of resettlement exist, they are either not implemented or halfheartedly executed. The history of rehabilitation has been a dismal one. With no participation in the planning or a share in the benefits of the projects, in most of the cases, the oustees have moved from a state of poverty to pauperisation (Thukral, 1989).

Another dismal aspect of the policy formulation is that no proper socio-economic survey for assessing the extent of displacement is done prior to the setting up of the project. As a result, the number of displaced persons or of those eligible for compensation is often underestimated.
For instance, while the Government of Orissa estimated that an area of 1,67,376.83 acres would be submerged by Hirakud dam on the river Mahanadi, affecting a population of about 1.1 lakhs, another source put the land submerged at 1,82,592 acres and 1.6 lakh of people affected (Pattnaik, Das and Mishra, 1987). Similarly, in the case of Tehri dam, the project authorities reported that about twenty to thirty thousand people would be affected, whereas local sources put the number at about seventy thousand (Dogra, 1982).

Apart from the lack of socio-economic survey, lack of coordination between various departments and states is also evident if the project involves more than one department and state. In such case, formation of an uniform policy becomes difficult and, even if, it is accomplished, disputes with regard to the distribution of benefits and costs of rehabilitation of the uprooted population begin (Thukral, 1989). In case of Pong dam, Rajasthan being the prime beneficiary was entrusted with the responsibilities of resettling the oustees from Himachal Pradesh. But according to the Colonisation Rules of the Government of Rajasthan, only 3,756 families were resettled out of the 30,330 families. And most of the oustees were allotted no land at all, and some other were allotted lands that were already occupied (ibid). Such controversies have also been reported in case of Sardar Sarovar Project, between Maharastra and Madhya Pradesh Government (Deshpande, 1989). In case of Narmada Sagar Project, the absence of any single planning body has led to the absence of a single comprehensive plan for the entire project. The same is the situation with implementation which has been entrusted with various departments among
whom there is hardly any coordination and cooperation (Kothari and Bhartari, 1984).

The above discussion broadly pointed out the lacuna in the policy for rehabilitation of the oustees. Besides the policy aspect, what is equally important is implementation and execution of the policy. Some rehabilitation programmes are so idealistic in nature that they are simply unimplementable. Baba Amte (1990), the arch leader of the People’s movement against Narmada Sarovar Project, describes the rehabilitation policy, meant for the oustees of the same project, as principally unfeasible and practically unexecutionable. The formulatings of such policies being alien to the ‘situations’ of the oustees, their life-style, culture, religion, economy and above all, their complex social network, do tend to neglect such ingredients (ibid). There are instances that bureaucracy, entrusted with the responsibility of implementing the policy, being inept disinterested, corrupt and inexperienced, lacks concern and sincerity towards the proper rehabilitation of the evacuees (Joshi, 1982; D’Monte, 1984; Kothari, et al., 1984; Kothari, 1985; Deshpande, 1989).

Against the above backdrop, it becomes meaningful to examine the implementation aspect and the consequences of the policies on the basis of empirical studies conducted by various scholars in different parts of the country. For a precise and systematic discussion, certain salient features, by and large, included by all rehabilitation policies such as land, occupation, cash compensation for various assets, physical resettlement, cultural rehabilitation and psychological security are taken into account.
The common mode of compensation for land of the oustees has been either land or cash. The dispossessed families are given both homestead and agricultural land somewhere else. But the common finding of many studies is that 'land for land' policy has been a failure (Joshi, 1982; Kothari, et al., 1984; Kothari, 1985; Kalathil, 1988; Thukral, 1989; Deshpande, 1989). Either the oustees were given already encumbered land or waste land or government land where cultivation was not feasible (Joshi, 1982; Kalathil, 1988). It has also been the experience that the oustees were given scattered pieces of land and far from their residence (D'Monte, 1984; Kothari, 1985).

Even the method of monetary compensation for the lost land of the oustees has also been a failure. Many a times, the amount of compensation paid to the evacuees, falls far short of the market price. This becomes meagre when the owners of land in the nearby areas increase the price of their land in wake of displacement (Kothari, et al., 1984; Reddy, et al., 1986; Deshpande, 1989). Even, whatever amount the oustees get, most of them are not able to invest it in a productive way, because of their ignorance and the absence of proper guidance from any source. A greater amount of compensation money is spent on domestic consumption and for clearing debt. The tribal oustees squander away money on alcohol and other conspicuous expenditures. Touts, middlemen, contractors, and others swindle them of their compensation money. Further, cash compensation has often created mistrust and division in many families who were otherwise, living peacefully. Some clever and stronger members of the families also fraudulently deprive the weaker ones like widows, old women, etc. of their rightful compensation, and expropriate it for themselves, often in connivance
with corrupt officials. There are also cases of non-payment of compensation and non-provision of settlement facilities to the displaced even after many years (Vidyarthi, 1970; Muthayya and Mathur, 1975; Sengupta, 1979; D'Monte, 1984; Reddy, et al., 1986; Kalathil, 1988; Anand and Sarangi, 1988; Deshpande, 1989; Areeparampil, 1989; Thukral, 1989).

The landless and artisans are generally the neglected lot both in policy and in actuality. In some instances, the resettlement activities have covered only the landholders, and the landless were left out (Kalathil, 1988). While the landless ones do not fulfill the eligibility criteria for compensation under the rehabilitation policy, the artisans are in a slightly better position. They are usually supplied with some instruments to continue their traditional occupation. Artisans work in a traditional patron-client relation. This system, not only, provides them with permanent clientele, but also, social security. With displacement the artisans are uprooted from the network of patron-client relation, thereby, loosing their patrons. Without them, they are forced to switch over to other occupations forgoing their traditional skills. This leads to their pauperisation. The implementing authorities of the rehabilitation programme are found to be callous towards providing alternative employment to the landless (Joshi, 1982; Kothari, et al., 1984; Deshpande, 1989).

The experience of the oustees in almost all the cases of dislocation, regarding the jobs promised to them, is no different. Even though the projects create a good number of occupational vacancies and rehabilitation plans also include a clause for employment of the displaced in the projects, few of them actually receive employment. Without necessary skills and education, the
evacuees remain eligible for the jobs of unskilled variety and manual in nature. Moreover, most of these jobs are temporary in nature, and little or no effort is made to train the displaced persons to make them eligible for better posts in the new projects. Often even unskilled workers from outside are absorbed instead of the oustees (Vidyarthi, 1970; Sengupta, 1979; Reddy, et al., 1986; Fernandes, et al., 1989; Thukral, 1989).

As it is already mentioned, displacement deprives the people, not only, of their ancestral home, land and traditional occupations, but also, of their social and cultural life. As a result of the new forces that are being introduced among them and also due to rapid change that is taking place in their economic conditions, the social structure of the indigenous societies undergo changes (Vidyarthi, 1970; Sengupta, 1979; Areeparampil, 1989). Due to scattered resettlement, their community organisation and corporate life break up (Reddy, et al., 1986). The family life of the oustees also gets disrupted. The status-role relationships in the family face a state of stress (Muthayya and Mathur, 1975; Areeparampil, 1989). With the loss of their traditional social control system, the oustees get exposed to various social problems such as alcoholism, crime, suicide, prostitution, etc., creating an ‘anomic’ condition (Vidyarthi, 1970; Sengupta, 1979). Displacement also causes cultural uprooting of the indigenous people. The rehabilitation policy usually does not take cognisance of the cultural ethos of the oustees (Fernandes, et al., 1989).

Referring to the impact of displacement by Narmada Sagar Project and Sardar Sarovar Project on culture, Baba Amte (1990) claims that these projects will cause large-scale cultural ethnocide. Besides all these, the wide gap
between the promises made by the authorities and the realities create a great deal of psychological problems such as anxieties, frustration, and loss of identity, etc. (Muthayya and Mathur, 1975; Joshi, 1982; Areeparampil, 1989).

Another tragic experience of the oustees of many projects has been multiple displacement. There are instances that after being resettled in certain areas, the oustees were soon uprooted again by another project. In Koraput (Orissa), for instance, entire villages have been displaced more than once within the span of 16 years. First, with the establishment of Hindustan Aeronautics (HAL) project in 1962, they were resettled at some places, and for the second time they were uprooted from the new settlements in 1978 when the upper Kolab hydro-electric project came up (D’Monte, 1984). The oustees of Rihand dam have also faced the same situation of multiple displacement (Thukral, 1989). This results in the repetition of the entire agonious process of uprooting, resettlement and adjustment in another unfamiliar environment (ibid).

Studies highlighting the positive consequences of displacement and rehabilitation are scarce, though not completely absent. Gajarajan (1970), in his study of the rehabilitation colonies of the oustees of Tungabhadra River Project, reported that there were healthy changes in terms of income, standard of living, ideas and outlooks among the oustees. Reddy and Chattopadhyay (1986) found out in their study of the oustees of NALCO project and Upper Kolab Projects that the long-term effects had been beneficial for the dislocated persons, even though the process of rehabilitation was painful.

The above discussion has highlighted the ‘other side’ of the projects which are considered inevitable for strengthening the infrastructural base of
development in the country. The discussion further brings out that the projects, planned by the state in the interest of the country as a whole, are not compatible with the interests of the people who sacrifice their land and life for them. Such incompatibility of 'interests' has led the people to critically examine the rationality of such projects which also questions the authority of the state agency in this regard. This has been manifested in various forms of andolans or people's struggles against the projects (Areeparampil, 1989).

Such andolans or movements against the state sponsored projects at the grass roots have reached such an extent that in some cases they have been able to deter the state from proceeding with the project (D'Monte, 1984; Drucker, 1986). The cases of ongoing andolans against many a projects such as Narmada Dam, Baliapal Missile Testing Range and Karwar Naval base, are so much publicised through mass-media that they hardly need specific mention. From sociological point of view, these andolans or movements assume much importance as a phenomenon for systematic study, because they apparently involve a 'conflict situation' between the 'people' and the state. Though such 'conflict' as a concommitant of the actions of state is localised and occurs sporadically, they have larger implications at macro level, and also have historical contextuality.

Though a few studies have referred to the resistance movements launched by the local people against such projects, but a rigorous and systematic study of the phenomenon is conspicuously lacking (Vidyarthi, 1970; D'Monte, 1984; Drucker, 1986). Moreover such phenomena of collective action are not considered as social movements by the social scientists, in general, and
sociologists, in particular. They are often considered as unimportant phenomena, probably because the character of such movements is generally undermined as ambiguous, and these are unlike more commonly known and understood social movements (Chilcoti, 1972).

Before the discussion is pursued further, it is imperative to have clarity on the concepts of protest, resistance and conflict which are often referred to. Protest relates to the forces that cause man to reconsider his present situation in view of past and future and to reflect upon the future deprivation. Protest, it may be argued, stems from an active desire for change or maintaining status-quo. Protest may be the outcome of exposure to the materialistic and other loss or benefits, that an anticipated 'better' or 'deprived' life can produce. Protest activity may also be the direct result of institutional failure to accommodate immediate and local demands. This may be manifested as a complaint, objection, disapproval or display of unwillingness to an idea, course of action or social condition (Lipsky, 1968).

Resistance is the reaction of a given segment of population to certain environmental, political, economic, cultural and social condition which is accompanied by collective mobilisation directed towards amelioration in adverse conditions. The point of distinction between protest and resistance is that, while protest is collective behaviour without formalisation or organisational structure, resistance is marked by some amount of formalisation (Chilcote, 1972).

The concepts of protest and resistance also relate to conflict. Conflict basically means the incidence of disagreement over fundamental values in society. Kriesberg (1973) defines conflict as a relationship between two or more
parties who believe that they have incompatible goals. Such incompatibility may lead to the development of relations of antagonism. These relations of antagonism are translated into conflict. However, theoretically, not all relations of antagonism are necessarily translated into conflict (Mukherji, 1989). Conflict is manifested in collective behaviour which encompasses a broad range of phenomena; class, racial, religion and communal conflicts; riots, rebellions, revolutions, strikes and civil disorders, marches, demonstrations, protest gatherings, and the likes (Oberschall, 1973).

In Indian context, the arenas of resistance and conflict are numerous. They range from the extensively publicised Chipko movement in U.P. and its counterpart Appiko movement in Karnataka to the resistances to the Silent Valley Project in Kerala; from the opposition to Tehri (U.P.), Koel-Karo (Bihar), Inchampalli-Bhopalpatram (M.P., A.P., and Maharashtra) dams to the movements for full rehabilitation where entire communities are displaced as in the Sardar Sarovar Project on the river Narmada; from the protest against lime stone mining in Doon Valley and Bauxite mining in Gandhamardan (Orissa), to the peasant movements in the Tawal and the Chatprabha-Malaprabha areas where people are resisting the growing water-logging caused by irrigation projects meant for water intensive cash crops (Kothari, 1985).

The case in point is the ‘conflict’ which has emerged in Baliapal-Bhograi area of Orissa, against the proposed National Missile Testing Range (map in chapter III). An andolan has been launched by the people to resist the National Missile Testing Range to be set up at Baliapal- Bhograi in the district of Balasore in Orissa. For the last five years, the people of Baliapal and
Bhograi backed by intellectuals, environmentalists, social activists, various political parties and non-Government voluntary organisations, have been resisting the project. The range will displace 55 villages covering an area of 102 square Kilometres and displace about 1,00,000 people. The details about the project and land acquisition have been given in Chapter III.

In the context of the above mentioned resistance, conflict and andolans, certain vital questions arise. Are these andolans mere manifestation of sporadic and short events of resistance or they can be conceptualised as social movements? Why do such andolans emerge and under what conditions do they emerge? Do these andolans involve masses or are they the creation of certain dominant interest constellations? Who are they who provide leadership to such andolans? What is the belief system which sustain the andolans? How such belief system is translated into action? What are the consequences of these andolans?

The issues raised above warrant a rigorous conceptual discussion on the concept of social movement. One of the major objectives of the sociological analysis of social movements is to construct a definition of social movement which will meaningfully separate them as action systems from related phenomena and, at the same time, classify them according to some logical principle. To this end, extant, popular conceptions of social movements must be put to examination and modified to provide a concept useful for empirical research (Wilson, 1973).

In the literature of sociology of social movement, there is much of confusion in defining social movements (Rao, 1978). The concept of social
movement is one of the most elusive concepts and hard to define (Cohen, 1983). The varieties of theoretical approaches have also added to the confusion. Moreover, social movements have traditionally been included in the sub-field of sociology known as collective behaviour (Turner and Killian, 1961; Lang and Lang, 1961; Blumer, 1969; Smelser, 1963). The range of phenomena usually subsumed under the label of collective behaviour also makes the task of defining social movement more difficult. In the following discussion, an attempt has been made to formulate an operational definition of social movement on the basis of existing definitions advanced by various scholars.

The English word ‘movement’ derives from the old French verb *movoir*, which means to move, stir or impel, and the medieval Latin *movimentum* (Wilkinson, 1971). The Oxford English Dictionary defines movements as, '..... a course or series of actions and endeavours on the part of a body of persons, moving or tending, more or less, continuously towards some special end' (Sykes, 1983). Even though, this is widely accepted usage of the term movement, this does not distinguish social movements from other forms of collective actions. Hence, some conceptual refinement is an urgent necessity (Banks, 1972).

Initially social movements were considered as the subject matter of the study of collective behaviour. But gradually, as social movements gained more importance because of transformation of society and emergence of new social realities, they (social movements) carved a separate niche for themselves independent of other similar phenomena. In other words, the phenomenon of social movement *per se* became the subject matter of scientific study.
It is commonly accepted by various scholars that social movements are collective behaviour which are directed towards social change or maintaining the status-quo (Heberle, 1951; Turner and Killian, 1961; Smelser, 1963; Blumer, 1969; Gusfield, 1970; Wilkinson, 1971; Wilson, 1973). However, the scholars differ on the issues of inception of social movements, and the nature of change, social movements strive for, and also on the nature of collective action that constitutes social movements. While Blumer (1969) views that social movements have their inception in a condition of unrest arising out of dissatisfaction with the current life, Smelser (1963) emphasizes that there can be no social movement without previous subsystem strain, since such strains are the important set of determinants in the genesis of collective behaviour. Gurr (1970) advocating the theory of relative deprivation stresses upon the condition of relative deprivation as the causative factor of social movements.

The nature of change, social movements aim at, also differ from one to another scholar, on the basis of his conceptualisation on the genesis of collective behaviour. While Blumer (1969) talks about the change in the current form of life, Heberle (1951) speaks about fundamental changes in the social order, especially in the basic relationship. Smelser (1963) refers to change in terms of modifying strains in the subsystem, and Gusfield (1970) does not differ much, as he refers to change in some aspect of the social order. Hence, it is clear that the nature of change, social movements seek to bring about, varies from partial change to total change of social order or social structure.

As far as the nature of collective behaviour which emerges under certain condition to bring about partial or total change is concerned, it is marked
by some continuity and a minimal degree of organisation (Heberle, 1951; Turner and Killian, 1961; Wilkinson, 1971; Wilson, 1973). However, formalisation may range from a loose, informal or partial level of organisation to a highly institutionalised and bureaucratised movement (Wilkinson, 1971). With the sustained action and some level of organisational structure, the collectivities involved in social movements, usually adopt uninstitutionalised means to achieve the goal (Smelser, 1963; Wilson, 1973).

The above discussion illuminates the concept of social movements. It is essential to attempt an operational definition of social movement in the light of the above delineation. Social movements can be defined as sustained, conscious, collective mobilisation, informed of an ideology to promote or resist change using uninstitutionalised means and functioning within at least an elementary organisational framework. However, ascribing the conceptual status of social movement of any kind of group or collective mobilisation is fallacious. Hence, any collective mobilisation for action with an element of ideology and elementary organisational structure, directed explicitly towards an alteration or transformation of the structure(s) of a system, or against an explicit threat to an alteration or transformation of a system, can be properly understood as a social movement (Mukherji, 1987).

Keeping the above definition in view, the present effort would be to examine whether the sustained collective mobilisation against the 'imposed' projects such as hydro-electric dams, mines, heavy industries and other state enterprises can be construed as social movement? The case in point, as already mentioned, is the prolonged resistance launched by the people against the
proposed National Missile Testing Range to be set up at Baliapal-Bhograi area in Balasore district of Orissa. Since the declaration of the project, inspite of promises for proper rehabilitation, the area has become the epitome of a mass \textit{andolan} with an elaborate organisational structure. The movement has, not only, involved all sections of people, but also, secured support from macro-level political parties, various ecology and peace movements, and voluntary organisations. The resistance has been manifested through rallies, demonstrations, \textit{bandhs}, \textit{gheraos} of officials, etc.

Although such grass roots struggles are seemingly local episodes, their reverberations are global in import. It is because survival on the local plane is impinged upon by forces that are non-local in origin, such as the dominant proselytizing scientific and technological culture and the development paradigm imposed from above. The local struggles are manifestations of a search, non-theorized and non-verbalized for an alternative concept of development (Shiva, 1986 and 1988). These grass-roots micro movements have challenged the validity of dominant concepts and rationality of the ideology of economic development and the political decision making process (\textit{ibid}).

As already pointed out, in sociology empirical studies of such micro phenomena are scarce. Sociologists are conspicuously absent from the fast growing literature on such crises which give rise to grass roots mobilisation and crystallizes them into social movements. To quote Prof. Dhanagare (1985), "It is interesting to note that even in the area of sociology of social movements, more conventional movements (like the social reform or protest movements from the early 19th century onwards, the reform movements and other movements of
Indian Working Class as well as peasantry) attracted greater attention than some of the 'new social movements'. For example, women's movements, peace movements or environmentalist-ecology movements and so on, were initially ignored by the sociologists. These movements were undermined even by the social scientists as law and order problems or simply as unlawful, unjust resistance of people at the cost of 'national interests' or greater benefit. But, such a study has great potentialities for theorizing a new arena of conflict. Further, such a study could help in examining the efficacy, adequacy and rationale of development policies formulated by the state agencies in 'developing countries' to induce change. In the above context, the task of the present endeavour is to have empirical insight into a contemporary micro-level movement which has emerged at Baliapal. The specific objectives of the present inquiry are as follow.

Objectives

In the light of the issues which emerged in the above discussion, the present study is designed for a scientific investigation of the phenomenon of organised collective behaviour which has taken shape in Baliapal-Bhograi area in Orissa in order to resist the setting up of the National Missile Testing Range. The following objectives are formulated for the study.

1. The inception of the NMTR and the logic behind the selection of site and the counter-logic against the site as advanced by different groups will be studied.

2. An attitudinal survey of the 'affected people' in terms of class, caste and social categories will be carried out to assess their reaction, receptivity and orientation towards the establishment of the NMTR, the rehabilitation
programme and the changes in the life situation to be brought about by the project.

3. The study will attempt to explore the causative factor(s) of discontent generated among the people in the NMTR area and to trace the process of interest articulation by various categories and the transformation of discontent into collective action.

4. The study will attempt to analyse the history of the movement on the basis of event structure and to trace the processual aspect of the movement.

5. The study will make an effort to find out the organisational structure of the movement and its ideological components, both in written and unwritten form and the mechanism to translate ideology into action.

6. An effort will be made to find out the intended and unintended consequences of the movement in the whole course of mobilisation and action.

Research Methods

The choice of methods for research is to be made on the basis of several considerations such as the nature of social system in which the study is launched, the subject matter, the purpose of the study, etc. The relationship between the research procedures and the nature of data to be collected is well recognised in social research (Zelditch, Jr., 1962).

It is thought to be proper to mention a few things about the research problem under investigation, which will provide a context to the discussion of methods used for this study. This movement against the proposed NMTR was an
ongoing one while the empirical study was conducted. (Even it is still going on at present). The basic character of the movement was that the people of Baliapal-Bhograi area or the prospective ‘victims’ of the proposed NMTR were opposing the State action, and this has resulted in direct confrontation between the people and the State. This has accorded a peculiar character to the movement as well as the participants. The people of the area were found to be very suspicious of strangers and secretive about all information either regarding themselves or the movement activities. It is because, the people were apprehensive about the saboteurs and the police agents. Even the people were instructed by the leaders not to allow any outsider to enter into the area and village, and also not to give any information either about themselves or about the movement affairs. All these factors acted as barriers at different levels of the empirical investigation. Hence, the methods were selected keeping these facts and problems in view.

Research design
As pointed out earlier in this chapter, there is a scarcity of studies on such movements. Lack of existing literature on, and adequate insight into such phenomenon deterred the researcher from formulating any apriori hypothesis. This, in consequence, led us to specify the objectives, and to explore them in the empirical situation. Such definite purpose of investigation called for the employment of an exploratory cum descriptive research design.

Sampling
Initially, it was planned to cover six villages in total, and three hundred respondents from these villages for the purpose of the study. But because of the
barriers mentioned above, the number of sample villages and also of the respondents had to be delimited to three and one hundred and fifty, respectively. However, this excluded the leaders of the movement.

The selection of village was based on their location in the movement area, size of population and varying social composition. The movement area could be divided into mainly two parts, core and periphery. As there was no documented material available on demarcation of core and periphery, a set of informants was used for this purpose. Information on this matter was also collected from the leaders. The main criterion used for such demarcation was the frequency of occurrence of movement activities in each area. On this basis, three villages were selected out of which two fell in core area and one in periphery.

Besides the location, size of population, and social composition were also taken into consideration. Village with medium size population were chosen. However, it was kept in mind that each village must have most of the caste groups existing in the area, and the class factor was also taken care of.

Stratified cum purposive cum random sampling procedure was used to pick up the sample respondents. The head of the household was preferred as the respondent for this study. First of all, each village was stratified on the basis of caste. In order to have sample from all socio-economic status groups, landholding and income were purposively kept in view. Special attention was given to the representation of pana cultivators, since pana is the main-stay of the local economy. Purposive attempt was made to include fishermen, a major occupational group in the sample. An effort was also made to give representation to all occupation categories. As no village directory could be procured and no
other source was available, caste and occupation enumeration was done with the help of a set of informants. A door-to-door survey was not feasible because of the nature of the movement mentioned earlier. The leaders advised not to go for such a survey and any such survey would have met with resistance from the people. These informants also provided information on approximate landholding and income of each household, and occupations in the village. However, these informations were cross-checked. After collecting all these data on caste, landholding, income, pana cultivation, and occupation, the individual respondents were picked up through random sampling procedure.

Out of thirteen members of the Steering Committee which was the apex body in the organisational structure of the movement, eight could be contacted for interview. However, all the important office bearers, such as the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Office Secretary and Joint Secretary, were interviewed.

Data Collection

There is an inextricable relationship between the techniques of data collection and the nature of data required for the study. Since this endeavour aimed at studying the movement at the grass roots, the causes of its emergence and the process of its development, it was required to collect varieties of information. For this purpose, different sets of informants, leaders and the respondents were identified to provide primary data, and the secondary sources, e.g. books, journals, published and unpublished articles, newspaper clips, reports, etc., were tapped.
Since there was no strict recording of history of the movement either done by the movement leadership or by any government agency, appropriate sources were identified and utilized to reconstruct the history of the movement. The most important source used for this purpose was a set of informants. In order to understand historical background of the area, elders were found to be more useful. And to recapitulate the history of the movement, the active youth were found to be more proficient in reporting the past events. For the purpose of reconstructing the history of the movement, a set of informants, the notes of the record keeper of the movement, informal interviews, and newspapers were used.

Precisely, both primary and secondary data were collected for analysis. The primary data were collected from the respondents and the leaders. Leaflets and pamphlets were also analysed as the primary source of data. The sources of secondary data were government reports, books, journals, published and unpublished papers, newspaper clips, and other secondary materials. Both primary and secondary sources have provided qualitative and quantitative data.

Mainly three techniques have been used to collect the required information. They are interviews, schedule and case study.

The nature of the empirical situation led us to employ interview as the technique of data collection. Because of high suspicion and secretiveness among the people, prolonged interview with proper rapport proved to be useful. The leaders were interviewed with the help of an interview guide. Each leader was interviewed for a number of times. The informants were also involved in prolonged interviews.
Initially a structured schedule was planned to be administered to the respondents, but later, it was discovered that a completely structured schedule would not serve the purpose. Hence, a semi-structured schedule which included open-ended questions to elicit qualitative information, was formulated. The schedule is given in the appendix.

The schedule could be divided mainly into two sections. The first section pertained to socio-economic background of the respondent and the second one with awareness and attitude about the situations, and participation in the movement. The second section contained eleven sub-sections. Each sub-section aimed at eliciting particular genre of information. The first part of the schedule was administered to the leaders as well.

During the course of field investigation, it was felt that an extensive and indepth study of certain respondents was necessary. Hence, case study method was also employed. The respondents, who were made subject to case study, were interviewed in several long sessions. However, no specific scientific criterion was followed in selecting the subjects of case study. Those who were found to be relatively more sensitive about the issue, active in the movement, and seemed to be open to the researcher, were picked up. This method proved to be more useful, since more subtle information could be collected.

The respondents were interviewed individually and some of them in group-situations also. Though it was intended to conduct interview in group-situation also, but in certain cases individual interviews turned into interviews in group-situations, as it was unavoidable. However, interview in
group-situation proved to be useful because of feedback from various angles on various aspects.

**Analysis of Data**

The data collected through above techniques and from various sources, were made subject to quantitative and qualitative analysis. A code design was constructed to tabulate the quantifiable data. Then, the data were transferred to coding sheets and the coded data were fed into the computer for a frequency and percentage analysis. On the basis of this analysis, univariate, bi-variate and multi-variate tables were prepared and analysed according to the requirements. An attitudinal scale was also developed and used to distribute the respondents according to their level of attitude.

Qualitative analysis has been a very important aspect of this study. The quantitative data were placed in a qualitative matrix. A careful and thorough analysis has been made of the qualitative information collected from the secondary and primary sources.