CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An attempt has been made in this chapter to conceptualise certain aspects of development, displacement, compensation, resettlement and rehabilitation. This chapter also meant to discuss the different causes of displacement like natural, political and planned development programmes. The study particularly focuses on how planned development-induced displacement disturbs the existing symbiotic relationship between human habitats and environment. This chapter has also highlighted the ideology of development which leads to the displacement and how developmental 'gains' justify sufferers 'pain'. A review of the works of the social scientists on development, displacement and rehabilitation has also been done. This review reveals how poor rehabilitation leads to impoverishment risks like landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, social disarticulation etc. Some theories relevant to the phenomenon of displacement are discussed in this chapter. Particularly Marxian theory of ‘economic determinism', Radcliff-Brown's (1952: 191) ‘functional’ theory, Merton’s (1968) ‘structural’ theory and some ‘change’ theories are used in the analyses of the topic under study.

HUMAN HABITAT

A Symbiotic Relationship Between Community and Environment

An ‘individual’ belongs to a family; and the family in turn belongs to a lineage. The family unit further belongs to a caste or a sub-caste. A number of such caste units collectively forms a community i.e. rural or urban. Such naturally evolved communities are called 'human habitats'. However, human habitats cannot be born and survive above or below the surface of earth. They all very much require earthy
space to origin and to carry on the necessary activities and the food with which to maintain vital processes (Joshi 1982: 38).

The very fact of 'Human Habitat' is selective in nature, because, man considers several mutually conflicting factors before deciding his place of habitation. Sauer (1952: 11) has observed the same: "the most important factors in the initial selection of sites are proximity to water, availability of arable land, defense and an easy access to the fuel and building materials." This signifies the importance of geographical factors in the selection of any location of habitation as human habitats are always located at a certain place and the nature of this place exerts an influence upon the character of the community. Such geographical factors are: 1) Land 2) Water masses 3) Climate and 4) Natural resources. Each of these interdependent geographical factors exerts an influence upon the local habitat. In this regard Berstedt (1970: 23) focuses on how the geographical factors determine the human society in the following words: "Geographical factors are limiting factors, they set limits to the variation of social phenomena, and they determine the boundaries within which social events can occur. In this sense, at least, we may say that certain geographical conditions are necessary conditions in the existence of human societies".

Every 'human habitat' has its own ecology and ecological infrastructure i.e. land, water, climate, flora, fauna etc. and human being. Guha (1998) analyses the symbiotic relationship between ecological infrastructure and 'human habitat' in the following words: "... humans are unique amongst the earth's creatures in their elaborately developed culture(s); they do not stand above or apart from the nature. It is true that to a considerable extent, social facts can be adequately explained with reference to other social facts alone. However, in many instances social facts can only be properly understood with reference to the natural environment within which
humans like any other species live, survive and reproduce”. Therefore, there is not only intimate, complex and complicated relationship between ‘human habitat’ and his environment but the relationship between man and his environment is mutual, complex and subtle. Each of these shapes and in turn is shaped by the other. Man depends on the quality and quantity of the elements for his ultimate survival, which constitute his environment. Further, in the course of drawing upon them for his support, he changes them and the natural relationship between them (Crooks 1975: 9). Thus, the nature or ecological infrastructure powerfully conditions the static and dynamic nature of human community and its social structure (family, caste, kin, culture, art, religion, and ideology), economy (way of production) and polity (power relations, law, and the state). Therefore, Guha (1998: 5) has highlighted the significance of social ecology in the study of human society. He writes: “the task of an environmentally oriented sociology is the study of reciprocal relations between ecological infrastructure on the one hand and social structure, culture, economy and polity on the other”.

‘Human Habitats’ exist to enable humans to satisfy their needs. However, being a system, communities have their own needs. In short, certain conditions must exist in it. Such conditions which are necessary for communities to survive are sometimes called ‘functional requirements’. Therefore, in every community people involve in certain activities. The community in which most of the people are engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishery is known as a rural community. A rural community is often called ‘agricultural workshop’. It cannot be separated from the land whose use it ensures. The type, shape and pattern of it are generally in accordance with the kind of work, the agricultural techniques, and the way the soil is used (Guha 1998: 5-6). This shows that the families inhabited in rural community are
functionally interdependent upon one another. It provides them not only the opportunity to earn their livelihood but also provide the guarantee of socio-economic stability and security to villagers.

Most of the world’s settlements are rural and stable and permanent too. Such kind of stable and permanent settlement pattern provides opportunities to cultivate definite skills and techniques to sustain life and livelihood for its inhabitants. Open countryside, extensive land uses, relatively low population densities and simple mode of life dominate the rural areas. It is often viewed as opposite to urban in several ways (Hussain 1999: 30).

As human habitat and environment are mutually dependent, the disturbance in the one affects the other. The maintenance of harmonious relationship between the two is mutually beneficial. However, in recent years, the symbiotic relationship between the community and environment is severely damaged due to various reasons (natural and human-made factors) and this has resulted in the well known disastrous consequences.

**Disturbances to Human Habitats: The Natural and Human-Made Factors**

The human habitats or settled communities develop intra and inter community relationships. Such kind of functional relationships develop mutual interdependence among communities. It means that the primary orientation of the dependent community is not only to the land but to a network of inter community relations also. In addition, the network of relations or market situations, presuppose maximum mobility as they constitutes a highly flexible and changeable substitute base. In consequence, population in general must be prepared for change and habituated to readjustment through migration (Hawley 1950). The process of migration is the component of social change. Mandal (1981: 90) defines the term: “Migration is
known as the movement of people from one permanent residence to another permanent or temporary residence for a substantial period of time by breaking social and cultural ties'. The process of migration takes place when individual family or group of families decide that it is preferable to move rather than to stay. This kind of 'decision' process is voluntary in nature either because of 'push' or 'pull' factors. Therefore this kind of migration is either temporary or permanent in nature.

The process of 'migration' is not new to human civilization. In the contemporary and past indigenous people migrated from their regional habitats for one or the other reason. As Mandal (1981: 91) rightly said: "the history of population migration is as old as man itself... in almost all historic events of the world rise and fall of human migration has shown its magic. Under such a system of migration, the 'Aryans' came to India from central Asia. The growth of population in South America is the gift of slow and continuous migration from European countries".

However, sometimes the external factors disturb the 'human habitats' and force them to resettle involuntarily. Such kind of community resettlement is a subset of broader spectrum of displacement process. Therefore, the first conceptual distinction needed is the distinction between gradual population migration and involuntary displacement. The whole process of displacement can be classified into three main types corresponding to the three types of events:

i) Natural causes (earthquakes, floods, cyclones etc.)

ii) Political events (war, revolution, partition etc.)

iii) Planned development programmes (infrastructural development)

i) Natural Causes

The adverse geographical and environmental disasters are the natural causes of displacement. They are floods, drought, famine, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions,
infertile soil, changing courses of rivers, and tsunami waves etc. The Hwang Ho basin of China is known as the ‘sorrow of China’ due to its floods menace, which forced the local people to displace. Similar causes are found in the Mekong river basin of Cambolilia and the Indus river basin of the Punjab and Pakistan. The state of Rajasthan faces opposite cause of displacement i.e. due to drought. Volcanic eruptions also force people to move from place to place. In the month of January 2005, Tsunami waves affected coastal districts of Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry and Kerala. Consequently the fishing and agricultural communities of south coast were severely affected by this natural disaster. This shows that the sudden natural changes disturb the symbiotic relationship between community and environment. As a result, the settled communities displace and resettle at another place involuntarily.

ii) Political Events

The unhealthy political conditions cause sudden displacement too. They are war, revolution, partition of nation etc. Under political force the Portuguese, Spanish and the French had brought slaves of Africa to South America in the 18th and 19th centuries. In Sri Lanka, the ongoing conflict between the ethnic Tamils and the majority Sinhalese has forced a large group of ethnic families to seek refuge in India. Tibet has been taken over by the Chinese and its subsequent effort to ideological integration of the ethnic Tibetans has forced many to leave the country and take refuge in India and Bhutan. In Bhutan, the Nepali migrant settlers have been the victims of State terrorism. The oppression of the Nepali settlers by the Bhutanese state has forced many of them to take refuge in India and Nepal (Roy 2001: 1-3).

This indicates that things have in no way settled down with the attainment of independence of these new nations. Inside some of these countries, there are ethnic tensions and conflicts too. In addition, the regional disparity in economic
development is an important reason behind population movement across the borders. The population pressure in Bangladesh and impoverishment of its masses forced its population to migrate to India to seek employment opportunities. Such kinds of immigrants are called 'economic refugees'. They are inseparable from the political refugees (Ibid.).

**iii) Planned Development Programmes**

The governments in the different parts of the world initiate the planned development programmes. This is because, development of any country is judged by its infrastructure development such as the number of dams, industries, mining, transportation and communication network, defense bases, and other large projects now a days. Such mega projects are considered as symbols of 'national progresses'. These projects require large tract of land to achieve the national progress. However, due to the pressure of heavy population the inhabited areas where projects could be set up without causing displacement, are increasingly becoming scarce. Mathur (1995: 16) rightly observes: “the only option to development agencies is to acquire private lands in populated areas. Millions who, thus, lose their lands for development purposes are simply ending up as ‘development refugees’”. Thus, displacement is a common phenomenon, which results from a variety of planned development projects such as:

1. Construction of dam for irrigation, hydro energy and water supply, which create man made lakes on previously inhabited areas.

2. Development of forest on similar public land where the land has already been encroached for habitation or is the traditional abode of indigenous people.

3. Extension of transportation, highways, railways, airports, transmission lines, irrigation canal networks and others.

5. Construction or improvement of urban infrastructure (e.g. sewage systems, subways, intra-city roads etc.).

6. Establishment of defense projects, industries, the protection of grazing area etc.

Thus, there are several development projects, which lead to the displacement of people from their habitat. The whole process of development-induced displacement is wider, complex and complicated in nature. Hence, it is difficult to estimate total displaced persons. World Bank research team generated the first estimate of the worldwide magnitude of displacement. On an average, four million people are subjected to displacement every year because of the commencement construction work on 300 large dams approximately. The urban development and transportation programmes displace an additional 6 million people each year. In total, approximately 100 million people have been displaced and relocated over the past ten years, as a result of infrastructure programmes for dam construction, urban development and transportation projects (Cernea 1999: 12).

Asia has the highest number of displaced people. In India, for instance, around 21 million people were affected during the last four decades (Fernandes 1991). In China water conservation projects alone caused the evacuation of over 10 million people between 1950 and 1990, while urban projects and transports accounted for 7 million and 14 million respectively (Chao 1990: 14).

Reddy (1994) has studied the industrial development projects in the southeastern region and problems of the uprooted families. He has surveyed seven different industrial projects totally, which have displaced 41,652 families (See Table No. 1.1). The data in the table shows that when industries acquire private agricultural land from the villagers, it compensates them by providing job for land in the project. To extent this helps them to sustain their family after displacement.
Table 1.1
Magnitude of Land Acquisition, Displacement and Rehabilitation Under Selected Projects in South Eastern India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Project</th>
<th>Land Acquired (In Acres)</th>
<th>Number of Families Displaced</th>
<th>Number of Villages Affected</th>
<th>Number of Persons Provided Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bhilai Steel Plant</td>
<td>33,370.80</td>
<td>5,817</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>4,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bokaro Steel Plant</td>
<td>31,030.47</td>
<td>13,309</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hindusthan Aeronautics Ltd.</td>
<td>3111.43</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Heavy Engineering Corporation</td>
<td>7,748.80</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>National Aluminium Company</td>
<td>7056.00</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rourkela Steel Plant</td>
<td>19,785.00</td>
<td>4254</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Vishakhapatnam Steel Plant</td>
<td>21,307.00</td>
<td>14,188</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>5,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,23,409.54</strong></td>
<td><strong>41,652</strong></td>
<td><strong>299</strong></td>
<td><strong>33,647</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


People are displaced in large scale due to irrigation projects in India as well. The Maharashtra Irrigation Phase II in the Satara District of Maharashtra and the Upper Krishna Irrigation Project in Bagalkot District of Northern Karnataka were constructed across the river Krishna and they caused large-scale displacement. The Maharashtra Irrigation II consisted of Five Dams, resulted in displacement of over two lakhs persons. The Upper Krishna Project, which included two dams, namely Almatti and Narayanpur, displaced over two lakh fifty thousand persons. And the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) which involved the construction of a dam across the Narmada River in Gujarat State, displaced one-lakh sixty-three thousand and five hundred people (Parsuraman 1999). These three mega irrigation projects, covering
only three states displaced altogether 6,13,500 people in last one decade. Therefore, one can perceive what must have been the magnitude of displacement in entire India. We can understand the painful social costs of man’s planned direction towards change through infrastructure development.

The above three sets of events triggering displacement processes seem that they are similar in their causes at first sight. However, despite certain common features, the difference between them is substantial. Each type, therefore, requires individualized analysis and distinct responses. The basic difference between displacements due to planned development programmes as compared to natural and political events is that the former are deliberately induced through purposive, intended planned change. Knowing in advance, it can be subject to meticulous planning, including design and land use provisions which are apt to reduce the need to displace in the first place (Cernea 1995: 45).

The present research study comes under planned development project induced displacement. Our planners felt the need to strengthen the national defence project, particularly, the naval defence. Accordingly, they made a plan for it and executed the same right on the west coast in Karwar, Karnataka state. As a result of this national gain, which is inevitable as being part of national defence project, some local pain was experienced by the displaced. Centuries old thirteen coastal habitats were affected by this defence project. As a result, the agriculturists, landless labourers, fishermen and others (e.g. carpenters, blacksmiths, businessmen, ex. servicemen etc.) are evacuated from their sources of livelihood, socio-cultural, religious, political ecology and environment. This disturbs not only their homes, lands and common property resources (CPRs), but the symbiotic relationships between families, caste, kin and occupational groups, neighbouring villages and life sustaining ecology also.
However, this naval project code name ‘Sea Bird Project’ (SBP) is a national development project so that our planners made a resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) plan for the development of the displaced. Thus, this study entitled ‘Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: A Sociological Case Study of Sea-Bird Project, Karwar’ highlights the sociological issues related to the topic. Before going into the details about the aims and objectives of our topic, it is necessary to understand historical background of such issues, as conceptual clarification, earlier research attempts on the topic their strengths and weaknesses, theoretical background etc. particularly.

**Key Terms: Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation**

The terms ‘progress’, ‘evolution’ and ‘development’ have been used interchangeably and the distinction had not been made between them. Classical thinkers have loosely used these words to cover just about every sort of ‘social developmental’. Besides, we find a florilegium of euphemism intended to convey the value-loaded ideas in the literature. The terms like ‘underdeveloped countries’ have been replaced by developing countries which is only a tactful description of the position of the very poor countries. The term ‘developing countries’ is used as most of them are already in the process of economic development (Pandey 1985: 24).

The fundamental question that needs to be answered is: what development is? The development has an intriguing etymological ambivalence. As a noun, ‘development’ is used in two senses: there is an active meaning which describes development as a action in order to make something develop, and a medial meaning something goes through a developmental process. It then denotes both active and progress (Ibid.).
The whole process of development is viewed from two perspectives. They are non-Marxist or anti-Marxist and Marxist perspective respectively. The first perspective defines development as the 'change towards a social state judged desirable'. According to Warner, societal development refers to an increase in the life chances of people in society. The meaning of life chance is wider. According to Weber, life chances are the typical chances for a supply of goods, external living conditions and personal life experiences. United Nations has defined development almost in a similar sense: "As the ultimate purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all people for a better life, it is essential to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing, social welfare and to safeguard the environment". The second perspective of development, by contrast, is based on modern egalitarian values. The structure of society changes in the direction that enhances the opportunity for the deprived masses to obtain a greater share of resource and this structure is the process of development. Such a conception of development shows preference for a social order rather free from exploitation than an exploitative social order (Warner, Weber, United Nations quoted in Pandey 1985: 24-26).

However, the modern democratic nations like India are making attempts to develop their infrastructure. Such kinds of infrastructural change brings the change naturally in existing structure of society. National planners intended to bring planned developmental changes in the social life of its citizens. One of the main interests behind it is to provide better developmental opportunities to certain weaker sections of the society. They include backward castes, classes, minorities, isolated rural masses, tribals, women, elderly people, the people who are physically and mentally weak etc. whose development was knowingly or unknowingly neglected in the past.
by the formal and informal rulers of the society. Hence, the idea of national development through the infrastructural growth encompasses dual aspects. One, the nation wants to become the part of race of the international development and wants to show its strength. Second, it intended to fulfill its welfare goal by providing better opportunities to deprived people.

Mehta (1986: 39) has also distinguished the indicators of development into two broad categories — first, societal level and second, community level. The indicators of development at the societal level could be economic growth, industrialization, urbanization, literacy rate, employment status, agricultural development, health status, improved means of communication, technological advancement, the development of art and culture, the scientific and rational outlook of people, static political institutions and the legitimization of social action appropriate to the need of the people. At the community level the development could be visualized in terms of the mobility of individuals or groups in the social hierarchy, the standard of living of the people, the involvement and participation of leaders and followers in the organizations, the provision of infrastructure amenities like health centre, market, welfare centre, school, post office and telephone, improved roads and paths, the mechanization of farms, the development of basic industries, a decline in crime rates and collective and rational efforts to solve the problems of the community. The possession of new houses, public lavatories, bus shelters, playgrounds, improved means of communications may be other indicators of development at the community level.

This shows that development is still conceived primarily in economic terms by and large. This is evident from the dominance of economic concerns underlying development paradigms, development planning strategies and measures of
development performance. Therefore, the social concern remains, at best, marginal importance. Singer, an economist, supported the social concern in development through his words as follows: "a high income society can be socially underdeveloped". This realization has made little difference to the prevailing economic conception of development (quoted in Sharma 1986: 24).

In this way, ‘development’ means different things to different people. Leopold (1967) states, “development means dams and factories, roads and canals, electrification, soil improvement, universities, secondary schools, primary schools, sanitation, research and a multitude of other activities and achievements. But above all, development means people, the preparation and activation of people is the cause of economic and social development”.

Patel and Behera (1999: 54) have also focused on the relationship between development and economic growth. They remark: “the concept of development centered round human beings and their environment. The western blocks saw to rampant and massive development by technological augmentation and rapid industrialization. Thus establishing them as the ‘developed nation’. The so-called ‘developed nation’ laid the example to be aped by the third world countries. In order to catch up with their developed brethren, the third world countries could not find better alternatives but adhere to the path taken up by them, little realizing its long term implications on environment and socio-cultural matrix”.

In India too, particularly after independence, the planners pursued messianic zeal the plans and policies borrowed from the developed nations to help her cross the threshold of underdevelopment with a messianic zeal. Hence, emphasis was given to massive infrastructure development like big industrial set up, dams, mining, airports, railways, power plants, defence projects etc. However, in their attempts to eradicate
the problems of underdevelopment, they often created newer ones. One such serious problem created by development projects is the 'problem of displacement' of people from their settled habitat (Cernea 1994: 46). Development-induced displacement not only evicts people from their home and hearth but also robs them of their long-standing cultural heritage and elements of substance. However, people fail to realize that, many times, development, either spontaneous, or induced, brings not only benefits but also social disruption. Many planners and policy makers find it difficult to recognize this double impact when a development programme is being designed (Cernea 1985: 188).

The views of Cernea about the policy makers' difficulty regarding development is applicable to independent nations like India. This is not only because it is a free nation-state, but more probably because it is a welfare state. Here everybody and for everything (benefits as well as recovery of loss, to achieve gains or to avoid pains) hopefully look towards the nation-state. Hence, our policy makers are facing the critical situations of development which induces displacement. This is mainly due to the fact that some sections of displaced are marginalized after displacement.

In the same way Savyasaachi (1998: 54) also highlighted the relationship between national development-induced displacement and marginalization of displaced people. "The construction of the nation-state was premised on the displacement of a large number of people. The partition marked the end of the nationalist struggle for independence and inaugurated the new era of development and displacement. It was the first traumatic encounter with the modernity project. Studies indicate that over a period of 50 years displacement has become synonymous with development and
development has become synonymous with the further marginalization of socially disadvantaged people”.

Thus, displacement and crisis emerging out of development are unavoidable facts. In such kind of developmental intervention, if gainers gain more than losers lose, it raises major issues of social justice and equity. Development is for whom? And at whose cost? It is very difficult to answer such questions. Here value loaded words of Cernea (1991) may help to answer above questions. “People are and should be the starting point, the centre, and the end goal of each development intervention. In sociological terms, ‘putting people first’ is above an ideological appeal. It means making social organization as the explicit concern of development policies and programmes and constructing development patterns, needs and potential of the populations in the project area”.

Among the early reflections on the subject was an edited volume by Cernea and Guggenheim (1993) entitled, ‘Anthropological Approach to Involuntary Resettlement’. This volume focused on displacement due to the infrastructure projects. If 1980’s were a ‘decade of displacement’, then the 1990’s can aptly be treated the ‘decade of popular resistance to displacement’. Mounting antagonisms to development induced displacement resulted in new forms of political activism paralleled with new agendas in research. The studies showed that displacement resulted not just in asset and job losses but also in the breakdown of social and food security, credit and labour exchange networks, social capital and kinship ties also. They evoked a sense of the affected people’s socio-political disempowerment and loss of cultural identity and heritage as well as economic impoverishment (Baviskar 1995).

Displacement impacts were modeled to measure degrees of vulnerabilities and ways of offsetting risks (Cernea 1997). Evaluation studies highlighted the
abysmal environmental conditions and inadequacies in resettlement sites, and the
difficulties that people faced in reconstructing lives and livelihoods after
displacement. Dwivedi (2002: 711) also focused on the matter, “a generally accepted
maxim in development statutory is that displacement is a painful and adverse social
outcome of development. However, beneath this apparent ‘consensus’ is struggle for
a destructive hegemony over conceptualization impact and directions of policy.
Existing literature on development induced displacement falls into two broad
categories. One mainly addresses applied concerns, while the other is primarily born
out of action research”. An applied category of scholars consider displacement to be
an inevitable and unintended outcome of development and they focus on its
consequences. The action research scholars focus on the causes of displacement.
These two categories of scholars have developed two broad approaches. The applied
research group of scholars think that though displacement is unfortunate and painful it
is part and parcel of development. The concern of this group is mainly to minimize
the adverse outcome of displacement. By and large, they belong to ‘reformist-
managerial’ approach. And the action research group of scholars focus on the
structure of displacement. This group raises more fundamental political issues of
rights, governance and negotiation, which question development that displaces. By
and large, they belong to ‘radical-movements’ approach (Ibid.).

Displacement is concerned with how land and other assets are expropriated to
allow a project for overall social good to proceed. Rehabilitation concerns involve the
fate of the displaced people. These two aspects are segments of a single process i.e.
involuntary resettlement. The people, who are affected due to the infrastructure
development projects are described in different terms and concepts like, ‘Displaced’,

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‘Affected Populations’, ‘Uprooted’ and ‘Refugees’ or ‘Development Refugees’. The above terms are used as synonyms most of the time for the people who are forcibly dislocated by the development projects from their native place. The comprehensive terms like ‘Displaced Populations’ or ‘Involuntary Resettlement’ are more appropriate as they involve resettlement and rehabilitation as part of the total programme or project (Jojo 1998: 4, Reddy 1995: viii).

The people, who are physically displaced because of loss of land or homesteads or both in the interest of the project should be distinguished from the other project affected persons, who may not be physically displaced but nonetheless are affected in their day to day existence and means of livelihood either directly or indirectly. Cernea (1993: 80) and Mahapatra (1994: 4) have sub-divided the oustees based on the degrees of loss suffered by them. These are: i) People who lose either homes/dwellings, ii) people who lose both their homes/dwellings and their farming land or other productive assets (in full or in part), iii) people who lose land (in full or in part), or productive assets but not their homes/dwellings. The people who fall in the third category are project affected persons but are not given the status of ‘outstees’ or ‘displaced persons’. They are omitted from the outstees statistics and implicitly from relocation planning and resource allocation.

Sinha (1996: 1455) speaks about total displacement and partial displacement. He says: “Displacement refers to the process of expropriation of land and other assets in order to allow a project to proceed for the overall social good. Displacement may be total or partial. Total displacement, occurs when, in addition to the loss of livelihood, there is a loss of home and hearth. Otherwise displacement is termed partial”. Some other writers have made distinction between ‘displaced persons’ and ‘displaced families’.
According to Ahmad (1998: 50), 'Displaced Persons' are those who are ordinarily residing in the impact area or practicing agriculture, involved in any trade, occupation or making for livelihood in the area likely to be affected by the development project. A 'Displaced Family' includes husband, wife and minor children and other persons dependent on the head of the family (e.g. widowed mother). Every major son will be treated as a separate family.

Displacement may be 'total' or 'partial', may be 'family' or 'person' but has both short-term and long-term consequences. It has particularly negative consequences for vulnerable groups like the intensively poor, the socially deprived and the tribal communities. It tends to disorganize the social groups/communities. The displaced people of a particular area face variety of problems related to their life and livelihood. The whole process of displacement makes them feel that they are losing everything in their life. Displacement destroys both the human-made and natural environment. In other words, 'human habitats' are forcibly displaced from both 'social' and 'natural' environment.

According to Verma (2004: 16) development projects that displace people generally give rise to severe social, economic, ecological and environmental problems. Family as a system of production ceases to exist and the nature of religious worship gets affected. The sense of belonging to their birthplace is threatened and the security of symbolic creations such as places of worship, graveyards of the ancestors, sacred mountain, trees and the deities are destroyed. It is generally associated with psychological stress and results in sickness, grief and death. The roots of cultural identity are suddenly uprooted. People are bound to live in a new atmosphere, in a new place with new attitudes and values, which change the entire socio-cultural life cycle of the affected persons.
While stating the adverse effects of displacement, Sathpathy (1998: 67) writes, “displacement refers to the process of physically uprooting of large sections of people from their land, economy, resources and culture. The resources, which had been the basis of the livelihood and sustenance of the uprooted communities, are either transferred or destroyed through this act”. On this line, Patnaik (2000: 306) rightly recognizes that displacement of the community leads to total destruction of socio-cultural and economic links. When a community is involuntarily retracted, it is not only internal structure, which gets disturbed but also the fringe relations or relations linking it to other communities get disturbed.

Thus, the consequences of displacement are social, cultural and economic in nature. The construction of large projects acquires vast tracts of agricultural and non-agricultural resources. The people living in the area are forced to move out of their native place. When people are forcibly moved, the production system is dismantled, long established residential settlements are disorganized and kinship groups are scattered. The physical displacement from ancestral habitats alienates the people from their traditional and cultural ethos attached with the native place. The villagers particularly, the cultivators and fishermen have a deep attachment to the soil, sea, hearth and home. Therefore, forced displacement disorganizes the entire social, cultural and economic life of native community (Jojo 1998: 20, World Bank 1994: 1, Joshi 1991: 32-33). It is the state of what Areeparampil (1987) calls, ‘dispossession’. The socio-economic dispossession due to displacement breaks the life support system, which brings about disorganization and insecurity in the lives of the displaced people. It is a physical and debilitating stressful experience for them.

Every body accepts the fact that development-induced displacement unraveled the socio-cultural and economic organization. However, there is non-database which
regards it either at the global or country level. The case studies and evaluation reports provide information on some projects. However, this information collected and maintained by different agencies do not match for the same projects sometimes. In spite of this, concerned agencies are attempting to estimate the extent of the displaced people.

Roli (1996: 1469) has also brought out the lack of adequate and accurate data on displacement. According to Rolli, there is no rigorous global statistics about development-induced displacement. This absence contributes to insufficient public awareness of the seriousness and the magnitude of such process. Yet, a rough assessment can be made by extrapolating from available data. The table 1.2 shows the size of displacement caused by development projects.

Table 1.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Time-Period</th>
<th>No. of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1950-90</td>
<td>20,000,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1950-90</td>
<td>18,500,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>1963-77</td>
<td>1,30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1980-90</td>
<td>4,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1980-90</td>
<td>3,00,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Guggenheim and Cernea 1993 quoted in Roli 1996.


The data, in the table, shows that almost all developing countries are facing the problem of development-induced displacement. It is also shown that there is correlation between the geographical and population size of the nation and the ratio of displacement. The rate of displacement is high in big countries like India and China compared to the small countries like Thailand and Turkey.
Sathapathy (1998: 68-69) has highlighted the underestimation of oustees number and absence of rehabilitation. According to him, almost 15.92 million oustees have been given no rehabilitation apart from the undervalued compensation amount. There are number of statistical issues centering on the development paradigm, displacement and rehabilitation. Can displacement be avoided? Have the projects actually attempted to minimize displacement? What is to be done when estimated displaced number changes due to a time gap? These are the questions that need to be addressed. Sathapathy (1998) has attempted to document the underestimation of oustees number in Table 1.3

Table 1.3
The Underestimation of Oustees Numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dam (Project)</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Original Estimate</th>
<th>Revised Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ita</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guavio</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akosomboa</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh Irrigation II</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat Medium Irrigation II</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka Upper Krishna</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh Medium Irrigation</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardar Sarovar</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Indravati</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiambere</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakum</td>
<td>Malasia</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funtua</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarbela</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruzizi II</td>
<td>Zaire/Rwanda/Burundi</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in the table explicit that the project authorities concerned to respective dams underestimate the displaced number. The revised estimates proved that there is a huge gap between the original estimation and revised estimations of displaced population. In some cases it is almost double or more than double the original estimation. This shows that there is the lack of proper planning at initial stage of the project and how one can expect better resettlement and rehabilitation planning from such authorities.

The underestimation of oustees’ number creates many problems related to the resettlement. Mathur (1991: 113) rightly noticed the lower estimation of number of people to be resettled than actual number: “Resettlement plans were developed purely ad hoc. They were not based on any detailed planning indicating the number of oustees to be resettled and the cost of resettlement. Often, the plans underestimated the number of people to be resettled. The numbers were based on mere guesswork. In several pursuits, the estimates indicated that the populations in need of resettlement were later found to be much lower than actual numbers”.

Displacement from original habitat and relocation in an unfamiliar place, once in lifetime, is a trauma. It is painful in nature socially, culturally and economically. However, the same people find themselves displaced more than once in their short duration of life due to negligence of project authorities and lack of scientific long-term relocation planning in India. The displacement of same people takes place several times as the process of resettlement and rehabilitation is undertaken project wise by independent authorities who have little or no coordination between them in India. Thus, the same people find themselves displaced more than once because of different projects.
Thukral (1989: 17-18) has raised this issue of multiple displacements. The Sangruali Super Thermal displaced people three times. Once for power plant, second time for coal mines and third time for construction of industrial unit, all of which came up within 20 kms. radius of the Rihand reservoir. This was again repeated in Korba where the people were displaced more than once. Some of the Tehri dam oustees have been rehabilitated at Jolly Grant Site near Dehradun. The government proposes to acquire the land from the resettlement oustees to extend the Dehradun airport now.

Thus, multiple displacements reflect the planners' complete lack of understanding and planning for resettlement. Generally, project authorities try to bring down resettlement and rehabilitation costs. To achieve this purpose, they under compensate the displaced people, under enumerate project-affected families, and out rightly exclude certain categories of project-affected families from the list. Gender bias is also sometimes noticed in resettlement and rehabilitation packages. These are the root causes of agitation, disquietude and litigation among project affected families and their representatives (Gumaste 1998: 75-76).

Fernandes and Paranjpye (1997: 10) have narrated the first social protest against unjust displacement occurred in 1927. That the struggle against the Mulsi dam and the hydro electrical works located in Western India in the erstwhile Bombay presidency, is a landmark in the history of involuntary displacement in India. The project was owned by the corporate industrial house of the Tatas and had been commissioned in 1920. About 11,000 persons were to be displaced from their paddy fields. The local inhabitants called, the ‘Mavlas’ in vernacular language, supported by sympathizers from Pune decided to resist the eviction. A protest memorandum, with 1,300 signatures, was prepared and sent to the Government. Later, on 6 April
1927, 1,200 Mavala men, women and children staged a Satyagraha and stopped the work on the dam site. Several hundred people were arrested and the agitation lasted for two and half years. Senapati Bapat, who fought against the unjust compensation and displacement of several villages, led the satyagrah at Mulshi.

Wrong baseline survey and consequent inadequate resettlement have increased social resistance all over the world. The social researches related to the resettlement and rehabilitation point out number of social protests in different parts of the world. The strong and world popular social protest against Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) by Narmada Bachavo Andolan (NBA), movements against the Ambehole dam in Maharashtra, Upper Krishna Project (UKP) in Karnataka, Hirakud dam in Orissa, the Zama Pan Dam in Mexico, Keding Ombo in Indonesia, Ita in Brazil (Parsuraman 1999, Fisher 1997, Balagovind 1999) are a few examples of such protests.

The social scientists, governments, funding agencies and NGO's all over the world must be aware that development-induced displacement will not disappear soon. It will continue and probably even multiply in the near future. Therefore, the real issue here is not the 'forced displacement' but rehabilitation. The involuntary resettlement consists of two distinct but interrelated processes. First, displacement of people and dismantling of their patterns of economic and social organization and second, resettlement at a different location and reconstruction of their livelihood and social networks (Parsuraman 1999: 2).

This shows that the forced displacement disturbs the long established socio-cultural and economic organization of settled habitats on one side and it needs resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced on the other side. This indicates clearly that the post displacement phase consists of two significant and interrelated processes, resettlement and rehabilitation. Regarding these two processes, we can find
differences in Indian and Western literature. Resettlement in the western literature encompasses the processes of displacement and reestablishment. In India, however, the usual practice is to differentiate between resettlement and rehabilitation. Resettlement in India is taken to mean a simple relocation after physical displacement from the original habitat. In turn, rehabilitation is defined as “grafting a community at a new place and nurturing it to ensure its steady and balanced growth” (Joshi 1987). Elsewhere the concept of rehabilitation is interpreted rather narrowly as referring to a household, or a section of the targeted groups, or even an individual such as an orphan or displaced person who is physically handicapped. However, the basic thrust of rehabilitation focuses on achieving sustained development for displaced people (Cernea 1999, Joshi 1987, Mahapatra 1999).

Cernea has pointed out the two distinct concepts used which are for the two post-displacement phases. They are: resettlement and rehabilitation. The Indian legal and sociological literature uniformly emphasize that ‘rehabilitation’ does not occur automatically just after relocation. Indeed, resettlement may occur without rehabilitation, and unfortunately it often does. He emphasizes further that resettlement and rehabilitation are two interrelated processes that form a continuous, partly overlap to each other and should not be seen necessarily as sequential ‘stages’. On the contrary, to be successful, rehabilitation processes may be, and sometimes should be initiated before physical displacement of people takes place (quoted in Mahapatra 1999).

In Indian context, officials as well as politicians prefer to use terms like ‘resettlement and rehabilitation’. They deliberately avoid the use of harsher term ‘displacement’. The official separation of ‘resettlement and rehabilitation’ perhaps narrowed the whole post displacement processes. The empirical studies conducted by
Indian social scientists point out the narrow perspectives of rehabilitation. In India, the resettlement and rehabilitation more or less include: (a) the payment of cash compensation for the land, house and assets lost (b) provision of house plots to those losing houses, and (c) development of basic services at the relocation site and shifting of people. This is not a total rehabilitation.

Sometimes the concepts 'Relocation', 'Resettlement' and 'Rehabilitation' are treated as being inter-related and sometimes inter-changeable. These concepts are treated as an inter-related process because we attach different meaning to them. These processes have taken place one after the other. 'Relocation' is a temporary settlement. 'Resettlement' is a semi-temporary settlement in transition and 'Rehabilitation' is treated as the permanent settlement. Burring the concept 'Relocation', the other two concepts ('Resettlement' and 'Rehabilitation') are also interchangeable concepts used in sociological literature. However, the concept of 'Rehabilitation' has gained popularity in its use. The concept of 'Rehabilitation' assumes importance because it establishes the symbiotic relationships between man and his habitat or total environment. According to the present empirical study: 'rehabilitation is a process of adaptation, adjustment and assimilation of resettlers with new ecology and the development of symbiotic relationships with the environment'.

This shows that resettlement is easy, less time consuming where as rehabilitation is comparatively more complex, wider consuming time and money. Probably due to this reason, Indian planers prefer to use more sophisticated words like 'resettlement and rehabilitation' together. In other words in actual practice they attempted more for resettlement and less (not) for rehabilitation. The second process is that they left to the families involuntarily resettled in the new ecology and environment.
Therefore, the entire ideology shows that the official resettlement and rehabilitation is restricted only to physical resettlement, where as it is missing social, cultural, economic and ecological resettlement and rehabilitation which is more significant from the point of view of displaced community in India. Thus, in India the rehabilitation becomes the responsibility of individual families. This leads to disintegration of families and communities into number of small segments in their effort to find a livelihood. This indicates that the rehabilitation is not only significant, complex and complicated in nature but it is wider and multi phases process compared to resettlement. It is a long run process from physical resettlement to socio cultural and ecological rehabilitation (Cernea 1997, 2000).

In displacement research, the 'impoverishment risks and reconstruction' (IRR) model of Cernea is the most influential. According to him, the IRR model aims at 'deconstructing the anatomy of impoverishment' This model implies that displacement (with the resettlement, or poorly handled resettlement) increases the probability of people becoming impoverished in eight main ways as follows: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and social denticulation. The risk prediction model becomes maximally useful not when it is confirmed by adverse events, but rather, when, as a result of its warning being taken seriously and acted upon, the risks to be prevented by the model do not occur (Cernea 2000). In fact the reversal of the risk model countering landlessness through land based resettlement or homelessness through sound shelter programmes - helps in identifying exactly, what needs to be done to avoid the risk of impoverishment. The IRR model predicts the risks of impoverishment along with an explicit framework for the socio-economic reestablishment of these displaced (quoted in Dwivedi 2002: 17).
Post resettlement and impoverishment risks not only increase vulnerability but also frequently increase social discord (Seregeldin 1998: 7). This shows that a household is a unit but households do not live in vacuum. They live in a community structure/habitat related to each other and form a social capital and capacity for collective action. Therefore, forced displacement leads to social disarticulation, which is the cause of destabilization of the social organization. Therefore, it is important to move people in command groups rather than individual households (Joshi 1982).

Forced displacement takes away the basic livelihood of people. Therefore, it becomes the legal and moral responsibility of authorities to provide alternative means of livelihood. However, many empirical studies have amply clarified that the authorities fail to provide alternative means of livelihood to displaced people. This compels the displaced people to choose defective means of livelihood like prostitution, begging, gambling, robbery etc. This reveals that the forced displacement and the unplanned resettlement have impoverished people in many ways. This happens mainly because of lack of planning and absence of baseline surveys.

A major problem in the process of development-induced displacement is that many resettlement programmes are planned without a good working knowledge of the size and nature of heterogeneity of the population to be displaced. Fernandes and Paranjpye (1997: 6) argue that both the project authorities and the administrators have failed to reduce the trauma of displacement in the last fifty years of experience. What is to be noticed particularly is that they have violated individual as well as group rights while implementing the resettlement plans.

Unfortunately, very casual approach is followed in conducting many baseline surveys. They become merely a tool to fulfill the technical requirement. The
bureaucrats and the agencies that are employed to conduct the survey look at displacement and rehabilitation as a major obstacle in the way of development. They hardly think about it from human rights angle (Paranjpye 1997: 237).

The planning for resettlement and rehabilitation should begin simultaneously or well in advance with the socio-economic baseline surveys. Nevertheless, in India due to negligence of project authorities and administration, people are displaced well before the surveys are complete. Thakral and Singh (1995: 106) have brought out this aspect, “the construction of Nagarjunsagar Project began in 1955, and the socio-economic surveys were conducted after 1957 and continued till 1965. The displacement, however, began in 1959, well before the surveys were complete”.

The wrong baseline surveys lead to wrong macro level data available regarding the total number of project affected people, the actual number of people displaced and the rehabilitated. But some scholars and agencies have tried to give a picture of the extent of displacement, actually resettled and backlog remained. See Table 1.4.

Table 1.4

A Conservative Estimate of People Displaced and Resettled by Development Project, 1951 to 1990 (In Lakhs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Projects</th>
<th>All Displaced Persons</th>
<th>Tribal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Displaced</td>
<td>Resettled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dams</td>
<td>140.00</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mines</td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>05.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td>03.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Life Sanctuaries</td>
<td>06.00</td>
<td>01.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>05.00</td>
<td>01.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>185.00</td>
<td>46.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indian social scientists as well as planners have failed to give a comprehensive database picture of displacement of the country as a whole. However, some research institutes have estimated the total number of displaced, the total number of resettled and the backlog pertaining to dams, mines, industries, wildlife sanctuaries and other development projects. The research finding shows that only 23 to 25 percent displaced population has been resettled after evacuated from their hearths and fields where as backlog is more than 73 to 75 percent irrespective of the nature of project and displaced community. As Reddy (1990: 15) has rightly said: “the example of poor resettlement or no resettlement shows how one party (‘Govt’.), which has to deal with another party (‘Displaced’) caught in a life and death situation could have a perception which is the very opposite of that of the later. It is here that the role of social scientist as an honest mediator comes in”.

Social Research on Involuntary Resettlement in India

Progress in social research on involuntary resettlements has been nothing short of explosive during the past two decades. Anthropologists and sociologists started the study of these processes some six or seven decades ago and they maintained a virtual monopoly in this area of inquiry. Some principal characteristics of developments in social science knowledge on resettlement are: First, social knowledge about process of involuntary resettlement is more intensive and substantive, ‘thicker’ than ever before. The understanding of displacement in socio-economic content has been considerably enriched, refined and systematized. Second, resettlement research has multiplied its products and services, moving from descriptions to prescriptions, from academic analysis to operational research. Third, research has sealed up crossing the threshold from micro to macro, from case ethnographies on localized instances of resettlement to general sectoral, national and international policy frameworks for
resettlement. Fourth, new theoretical models based on the ever-growing bodies of empirical data on resettlement, inform about the practical planning of induced resettlement more effectively and generate hypothesis for further research (Cernea 1999: 8).

Empirical sociological studies on involuntary resettlement have been carried out in both developed and developing countries. In developed countries, one of the seminal contributions was Herbert Gans' research in the 1960s in the United States on urban involuntary relocation in the Boston area (Gans 1968). The credit for laying the early foundations of research and knowledge about involuntary resettlement in developing countries goes to well known anthropologists Roy-Burman (1961).

In Asia, the resettlement literature has registered the largest and undoubtedly the fastest growth in India. India's social scientists have devoted much research to the impact of displacement in tribal groups and scheduled castes (Fernandes, Das and Rao 1989; Mahapatra 1994; Pandey 1998). The growing literature on dam related displacements, particularly on Narmada Sagar Sarovar dam, enriched the debate with new topics from the role of the state to resettlers' resistance (Thukral 1992; Fernandes and Thukral 1989; Joshi 1987; Singh 1992; Balagovind 1992; Mathur 1994; Baviskar 1995; Fisher 1995; Gill 1995; Dreze, Samson and Singh 1997; Mathur and Marsden 1998; Mahapatra, Ota and Mohanty 1998; quoted in Cernea 1999).

Indian anthropologist Roy Burman's (1961) foundational research on involuntary resettlement in our country was followed by some other social studies. One of the earliest studies among these is the study made by Das and Bannerjee (1962). They have studied the psychological and socio-cultural adjustment due to industrialization. They observed that displacement of tribal and their resettlement in new areas caused disruption in their socio-cultural life. The continuous contact with
outsiders and availability of compensation money was found to create new wants among them. Even after they were rendered without employment due to completion of various construction projects, the desire for newly acquired goods and things remained which creates creating a void in their lives.

Sachchidananda (1965) has pointed out that the impact of industries on tribes in Bihar has been reflected in the changes in their leisure time activities, food habits and patterns, mixing of tribal with non-tribal and decline in the importance of religion.

Karve and Nimbkar (1969) have made a study of displacement under Koyana Dam in Maharashtra. This study has argued that the inner structure of village as well as its complex relationship with other neighboring villages is likely to be disturbed by displacement, such as that caused by the building of a Koyana Dam on river Krishna.

Chandrasekhariah (1970) has studied the problems of rehabilitation and social readjustment of displaced people with reference to the construction of Tungabadra River Project in Karnataka.

Gajarajan (1970), based on his study of rehabilitation programme under Tungabhadra River Project, observes that the success of rehabilitation programme also depends on location advantages of the rehabilitation centre. If rehabilitation centers are well developed or linked by communication network, marketing facilities etc and if sufficient land is available, it can accelerate the pace of development.

Muthayya and Mathur (1975) have reported the indiscriminate spending of compensation money by the recipients. The study based on Bharat Heavy Electrical Limited at Ramachandrapuram in Andhra Pradesh found that the compensation was mostly spent on domestic and living expenses, clearing of debts and performance of religious and marriage ceremonies.
Joshi (1982) has made a study of the pre and post displaced village Pimpalwadi due to the construction of Jayakwadi Irrigation Project in Maharashtra. This study mainly focuses on the changes in social and economic relations and the psychological stress and the strains involved in the rehabilitation of the people.

Rao's (1986) study reveals that the displaced people under Rengali Dam are resettled in an area where even drinking water is a luxury. He states that the established colonies resemble the pre-historic place without any basic amenity.

Joshi (1987) has studied the submerging villages in Narmada Valley projects. The study deals with the analysis of policy and practices of rehabilitation. The socio economic differences among the oustees of the submerged villages and their attitude towards the issue of rehabilitation are dealt with in this study.

Vidhyarthi (1987) in his comparative study of three project areas in Bihar has found that there was a complete disintegration of pre-industrial culture in Jamshedpur and Bokaro Project areas but the social structure under Patratu Industrial Area remained unaffected.

Mahapatra's (1990) study has attempted to understand the impact of industrialization on the tribals of Eastern India and its planning implications. This study has analyzed the various changes in occupational pursuits, agricultural practices, jajmani system and traditional society in the tribal villages.

Balgovind (1991) has made the study of rehabilitation programme among the displaced families falling under Hirakud Dam area as part of his postdoctoral research. An important observation of his study was that the oustees in all the localities suffered a lot of hardship in the initial years of resettlement. Many of the oustees had to change their occupation and sometimes took to work which their respective caste councils did not prescribe usually.
Satyanarayan's (1991) study deals with process of land acquisition, resettlement and rehabilitation of Ramagundaum Super Thermal Power Project in Andhra Pradesh. The socio-economic, educational and cultural impact of displacement on various sections of village population are studied.

Fernandes and Raj (1992) have done a study of eleven development projects in Orissa. They have analyzed the process of displacement and rehabilitation in the context of regional as well as caste/tribe difference. The study of social movements arising out of the displacement problems is also done.

Behura and Nayak (1993) have studied the cultural impact of involuntary displacement occurred due to the construction of the Rengali Multi-Purpose Project. They have highlighted the impact on rural farming base of the displaced and the problems of their life in the new settlements.

Reddy (1993) has studied the magnitude of development, displacement and social transformation occurred among the displaced and living conditions of affected people with reference to NALCO and Upper Kolab Project.

Dalua (1993) has studied the environmental impact of large reservoir projects on human settlement due to the construction of Upper Kolab Project in Orissa. His study concludes that the construction of major river valley dams caused damage to the ecosystem and brought about unmitigated miseries to the oustees.

Ramaiah (1996) on the basis of the study of three rehabilitation centers of Singrali Project has explained reduced health status in the form of calorie protein intake level of displaced people. Findings of her study indicated that health status of a large number of involuntary settlers, who were cultivators before resettlement and wage labourers after resettlement, was adversely affected. This was attributed to occupational change as physically demanding work required additional calorie intake.
Health status of a wage earner was often affected since the demand of calorie intake was not proportion to the actual intake.

Jojo (1998) has done a doctoral research on socio-economic and political factors determining resettlement and rehabilitation outcome of dam-displaced people. The main finding of the study is that the weaker socio-economic and political conditions cause higher risks of impoverishment.

Ganguly (2000) has studied the displacement and rehabilitation of Maldhari families of Gir forest in Gujarath during 1992 and 1996. She has analyzed the adverse changes in the life of the ‘Maldhari’ and the decline in population of the ‘Vasahats’. The Study attributed this to mainly the faulty rehabilitation policy, the tardy implementation of the rehabilitation package and the indifference of the government officials towards the displaced families. This study reveals that one fifth of these families enjoyed better standard of living, but the role of the government was marginal in improving their living conditions.

Biswal (2002) has studied the impact of two major irrigation projects in Orissa. One is Rengali dam and the other Subarnarekha dam. The study analyzed the economic activities pursued by different categories of oustees before displacement, change in the pattern of economic activities after displacement and the extent of loss or gain derived out of major economic activities followed by different categories of displaced families.

Verma (2004) has done comparative study of the sociological matrix of involuntary displacement in two NTPC projects located at the borders of U.P. and M.P. This study analyses the impact of displacement on the life cycle of the affected people, socio-economic changes and its consequent impact on ecology and environment.
A brief overview of the social research on involuntary resettlement and rehabilitation emphasises the need for not only studying disruptions but also helping to formulate reconstructive strategies to turn displacement into development opportunities. Thus, it helps to draw broad approaches and theories. This research has highlighted some sociological theories which may provide relevant insight into the understanding of the topic under study.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Sociology is a fundamental science of 'society'. It deals with society. It means that it deals with the 'human habitat'. The 'human habitat' has its own 'social structure'. The idea of 'social structure' is at the very heart of sociology as a scientific enterprise. Structure is defined as "an organized body or combination of mutually connected and dependent parts or elements". The basic units of analysis in the sociological study of structure are two: first, certain relational characteristics that arise from the location and interaction among the individual persons as role relationships (parent-child), in the complex patterning of role relationships into institutional form (market-structure, family structure, educational structure), and a stratified relations among persons along the lines of wealth, power and prestige, and second, irrational characteristics among groups or social associations involving common interaction, membership, feelings of belonging, and identification as such by those outside the group. Examples are relations among social cliques, political parties, voluntary associations and social classes (Merton 1968).

According to Radcliff-Brown (1952: 191) "The concept of function ... involves the notion of structure consisting of a set of relations amongst unit entities, the continuity of the structure being maintained by a life process made up of the activities of the constituent units". This might be of some relevance to the
displacement phenomenon. Displacement leads to modification/changes in activities and functions of social units and in return responsible for changes in structure of social units.

The Marxian theory of super structure, which roughly means that the economic structure determines the culture patterns of a society, might be of some relevance to the displacement phenomenon. The displacement of population from its original habitat means the total disruption of the traditional means of production, structure of wealth and property and the power structure based on them. Displacement leads to a process of forced change in people's traditional socio-economic network base and class/caste divisions. Hence, it is interesting to observe how the displaced fared in their aim of preserving their original class/caste status character within an alien society with a new pattern of socio-economic stratification (quoted in Biswal 2000: 54 and Sakalani 1984: 28).

The research on involuntary resettlement also draws some broad social science approaches such as:

i) Psychological and Socio-Psychological Approach: It concentrates on the consequences of displacement such as isolation, anonymity and sense of inferiority.

ii) Sociological-Anthropological Approach: It examines the consequences of displacement on social institutions and problems of social disorganization and normlessness among the oustees.

iii) Displacement as Transitional Society Approach: It tries to cover the forms and process of social changes among oustees particularly changes in their socio-economic and cultural institutions.
All the approaches and areas of study are mutually related. One study might seek to combine all the other themes, though this is likely to prove a very unwieldy task. Displacement and rehabilitation is a complex subject and a phenomenon that transcends several disciplinary boundaries (Sakalani 1984: 19).

The 'human habitat' or settled community is a symbiotic commensalistic phenomenon. The symbiotic relations are the basis of what we call a corporate group. Such a group is internally differentiated and symbiotically integrated and it constitutes an organ of the larger communal organism. This might be of some relevance to displacement and resettlement. In the original habitat, each family unit symbiotically integrated with the larger community structure. While in, involuntary resettlement family unit is under varying degree of compulsion to adapt or to adjust depending on the degree of conformity demanded of the family by the resettled community (group). But the criteria of adjustment must be viewed both from the angle of the family unit and that of the resettled group, as the image of the process may differ when seen from these two points of view. The resettlers' own predisposition to change plays a major role in the conditioning of the adjustment and adaptation. This implies a willingness to accept new roles for himself and a certain time perspective that enables the resettlers to see beyond the present difficulties of adjustment to future goals (Arakeri 1978, Sakalani 1984, Joshi 1982).

Social change has always left visible impact on its social structure and tradition. Generally, social change has been viewed as a gradual process within the boundaries of social equilibrium or system maintenance. Yet the involuntary resettlers as a social system represent a different model of social change, their change has been described as a model of forced or drastic social change.
The present research study also mainly focuses on involuntary resettlement and drastic social change because of exogenous factors. The fact is that this drastic social change has not occurred as a consequence of shift of population by natural events (calamities) or political events but because of planned development programme called sea-bird project. Therefore, due to construction of sea-bird project families of coastal villages in Karnataka are involuntarily resettle in rehabilitation colonies. Thus, the main problem of research is to study the process of involuntary resettlement, adaptation, continuity and change among displaced in planned rehabilitation colonies. The study of these aspects will also incidentally cover the personal/social disorganization and social sufferings of resettlers in the process of adaptation.

**Inadequacies in Earlier Studies**

The problem of development-induced displacement and resettlement is becoming such a widespread event that it is enveloping all corners of the developing as well as developed societies of the world (Verma 2004: 75). Before any development project is conceived and planned, it cannot be predicted exactly which category of people or habitat is going to be displaced. It all depends upon the national policy makers, their approach towards the development projects, time, resources and situational demands.

As we have already mentioned that the early foundation of research and knowledge about involuntary resettlement in our country laid by anthropologist Roy-Burmon in 1961 is continued till today. Indian social scientists in general and sociologists in particular have done a lot of research works on involuntary resettlement. Also, NGO’s, social activitists, government agencies as well as funding agencies like World Bank, Asian Development Bank etc. have done research surveys
on involuntary resettlement in India. All these studies have covered one area or the other depending upon the context and their requirement. Even then some errors have remained uncorrected in most of the earlier studies. The present study has definitely attempted to correct some errors remained in earlier studies with the help of more appropriate and skillful research methodology. Hence, we can claim that this study is, to some extent, different from earlier studies on involuntary resettlement. At least in three ways the present research work differs from the earlier ones: 1. In the earlier scientific effort towards the involuntary resettlement, scientists preferred to study the settled communities. However, the present sociological study has tried to generate the knowledge on initial process of human resettlement in planned rehabilitation colonies. The empirical knowledge generated by this study will help to enrich the sociological (knowledge) insights into the understanding of the socio-cultural transformations during the transitory phase of resettlement of the community. 2. Another speciality of this study is its attempt to collect systematic knowledge about the original habitats and symbiotic relationships within a habitat, habitat and environment and between habitats. With this kind of knowledge (background), the study focuses on the adaptation, adjustment and nature of symbiotic relationships among the families of various habitats resettled in one colony. This kind of sociological enquiry helps to enrich the knowledge. The families resettled in the new ecology belong to various habitats which are socio-culturally peculiar and heterogeneous in nature. Thus, the study tried to generate the empirical knowledge about the socio-cultural and livelihood transformations among resettled families which, in turn, helped to understand the transformations in habitats during the initial stage of resettlement. It means, the study deals with various heterogeneous as well as peculiar village (Broken) habitats in one resettled colony. In other words, the study generates the
scientific knowledge about the concomitant variations in socio-cultural and livelihood systems of families and village communities. 3. The earlier sociological studies on involuntary resettlement are more focused on the social and economic fabric of the displaced community. However, this study tried to maintain the balance in its focus to understand relationships between social ecology and environment of displaced community. This empirical study attempted to understand the social reality (social units, social facts) with reference to the natural environment. Thus on one hand, the present research study has made an effort to fill the gap in existing knowledge and on other hand, it contributed new knowledge to the field of sociology.

Organization of the Thesis

The research work consists of eight chapters listed below.

1. Chapter One: Introductory

   This chapter mainly focuses on the review of literature on the development-induced displacement and rehabilitation. This chapter also highlighted some theories relevant in explaining the phenomenon of displacement and involuntary resettlement. It also throws light on the inadequacies remained in earlier studies and discusses the theoretical and practical utility of present research study.

2. Chapter Two: Methodology

   This chapter mainly deals with research problem, methodology and design of the study. The specific objectives of research, research questions, hypothesis, area and time of study, sampling procedure, field experiences and methods of data collection are discussed in this chapter. The study of involuntary displacement is methodologically complex in nature. Therefore, multiple tools are used to study the various aspects of displacement, and rehabilitation. These include: observation, informal and formal discussion, household interview, household case studies and
focused group discussion. The chapter also focuses on theoretical and practical significance of the study.

3. Chapter Three: The Research Setting

In this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the historical and physical background of the sea-bird project affected area. This is done as prelude to understand the problem under study. The emphasis here is to know the nature, extent and consequences of historical and physical background, topography, climate, rainfall, common property resources of the study area. This chapter also deals with the process and extent of land acquisition for establishment of naval base. It covers the data pertaining to fully and partly affected villages, families and their structure and functions. It also probes how the land acquisition process disturbs the physical, socio-cultural and economic structures of coastal habitats.

4. Chapter Four: Sea Bird Project: Development-Induced Displacement

This chapter makes an analysis of the idea of ‘nation-state’ and development of national defense force particularly, the growth of Indian Navy and its integrated modern naval base. It explains the contradiction in the fundamental goals of the ‘nation-state’ and naval development. Because acquisition of land by the nation-state for naval base invariably displaced people from their hearth and fields without adequate and apt rehabilitation policy. It also deals with brief history of Indian Navy, the necessity of sea-bird project, technical and geographical grounds for selection of particular area for sea-bird project and its national significance.

5. Chapter Five: Rehabilitation: Policy, Package And Practice

Forced displacement takes away the basic livelihood of people. Therefore, it becomes the legal and moral responsibility of welfare state to promote alternative means of livelihood (Cernea 1993). Thus, in this chapter an attempt has been made to
critically assess the land acquisition act, 1894 (amended in 1984). The present status of national rehabilitation policy and Karnataka state government's rehabilitation act are also discussed. This also includes critical analysis of sea-bid project rehabilitation policy, package, its practice and the tangible impact on project displaced people.

6. Chapter Six: Resettlement and Socio-Cultural Transformation

This chapter makes an analysis of resettlement and socio-cultural transformation among the families resettled in the rehabilitation colonies. It mainly focuses on certain macro and micro socio-cultural units particularly village, caste, family, neighbourhood, leadership, religion, gender etc. This chapter also explains the process of adaptation and adjustment among the interrelated socio-cultural units both before and after resettlement, which invariably covers the socio-cultural problems and sufferings.

7. Chapter Seven: Resettlement and Livelihood Systems: Change and Continuity

In displacement, the poverty and impoverishment are the primary matters of discussion (Cernea 1997). Hence, in this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the resettlers livelihood systems before and after displacement. It probes, in detail, the multiple economic activities of SBP affected families. Thus, it primarily deals with how the economic activities of resettled families are inter-linked with the socio-cultural and ecological life patterns of village community before and after displacement. It also enquires into the degree of change and continuity that occur in the livelihood systems in the process of involuntary resettlement. Accordingly, certain important sources of livelihood i.e. land, occupations, livestock, household industries and common property recourses are discussed.
8. Chapter Eight: Summary and Conclusion

The analysis of the findings pertaining to the study of 'Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation of SBP, Karwar are presented in the substantive chapters (three to six). Drawing insights from them, this last chapter of the study presents its summary and conclusion, which also includes some important suggestions. The findings pertaining to the macro and micro level changes in the socio-cultural and economic units of human habitats due to the phenomenon of SBP displacement are highlighted in this chapter. The degree of change and continuity in the structure and functions of major social units of displaced society, particularly the village, caste, family, neighbourhood, leadership, religion, education, economy etc. are analysed.