

Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation of Tribal People: A Case Study of Orissa

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ABSTRACT The main objective of this paper is to describe the magnitude of displacement, the rehabilitation policy and the impact with special reference to tribal people in Orissa. The paper, divided into four sections, discusses the tribal displacement briefly in section one. The second section provides a bird's eye view of dam-induced displacements in Orissa. Experiences related to four major dams of Orissa have been discussed in section three. Concluding observations have been presented in the last section.

INTRODUCTION

Agriculture has been the mainstay of livelihood for a majority of population of our country. For this, construction of large irrigation projects gain importance for the vital link in the over-all development of the country (Reddy, 1988). With the advent of independence efforts were commenced right from the First Five Year Plan by Commissioning of irrigation and power projects in India (Tribal Research Bulletin, 1986). Projects undertaken to promote development have been a major cause of population displacement in many cases (Mathur, 1995). Many of the big development projects have been set up in tribal areas and on the lands owned by tribals. Tribals are by and large very simple people and attached to their life style, customs and tradition. Displacement of these people means disturbance of their way of life, which automatically leads to destruction of their social, cultural, religious and economic traditions. These are the groups that have traditionally depended on the common property resource basically on forestland for their survival. There are a large number of tribals and other forest dwellers who come under the forest laws that do not give any right of ownership to the cultivators even after several generations of occupancy and cultivation (Fernandes and Thukral, 1989). According to the present law, they are not entitled to any compensation. Hence in the name

of development, there is a difference between the class that benefits from the project and those who pay the price (Mahapatra, 1991). Again only compensation for their homestead does not in any way compensate for the loss of their livelihood since the village is dispersed and is not rebuilt as a unit.

After launching of planned development programs beginning with 1950-51, the Indian Economy witnessed undertaking of a large number of projects which may be grouped into (i) irrigation and power projects (ii) industries projects (iii) mining projects (iv) forest and wildlife projects and etc. But we do not have much thought over the implication of these projects from the point of view of extensive displacement and turn certain people destitute. The planners are concerned with the growth of GNP and NNP with the hope that benefit of economic growth would trickle down to the poor community. But this has disturbed the traditional resource-utilization pattern and existing mode of production encounters with an advanced mode of production. The interaction of these two processes has given rise to "losers" and "gainers" in development (Nath, 1998). Displacement of persons from their settlements when their lands are acquired for infrastructure projects is an inevitable process. No infrastructure project has been completed without displacing people. If development is one side of a coin, displacement is the other side (Ramesh, 1998). Most of the displacement has been due to irrigation, power and mining projects. These projects are taken up in areas rich in natural resources like water, minerals and ores and forests. These areas mostly inhabited by tribal people.

The Working Group on Development and Welfare of Schedule Tribes during Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-95) reports that out of the 16.94 lakh person displaced by 110 projects studied, 8.14 lakh were tribal (Thukral, 1992). Till 1990 Fernandes (1994) estimates that 2,13,00,000

people were displaced by development projects in India. A vast numbers of them are tribals. Out of a total of 74,10,000 tribal people displaced, only 24.9% have been rehabilitated and a staggering 75.1% still await rehabilitation (Fernandes, 1991).

The main objective of this paper is to describe the magnitude of displacement, the rehabilitation policy and the impact with special reference to tribal people in Orissa. The paper is divided into four sections. The second section gives a brief overview of dams-induced displacement in Orissa. The third section describes the experience of four major dams in Orissa. The last section presents certain concluding remarks.

II

ORISSA EXPERIENCE: AN OVERVIEW

According to 1991 Census, the population of the state is 3,15,12,070 of which 7,032,000 are Scheduled Tribe and 5,129,000 are Scheduled Caste i.e. 22.31% of the total population are ST and 16.20% are SC in the state. In the rural areas the ST population is 6,670,000 and SC population is 4,580,000 (Rural Development Statistics, 1999). In other words one out of every four persons in Orissa is a tribal. There is a heavy concentration of these populations in Western Orissa and in the Coastal districts they constitute a low percentage.

DAMS IN ORISSA

Flood, Cyclone in coastal belt and drought in the western part is the general feature of Orissa. In the western part of Orissa, particularly the districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir, Sambalpur, severe drought occur very frequently which leads to poverty, hunger, out-migration, out break of serious diseases and etc (Samal, 1998). And in the eastern plateau used to be affected by frequent floods. One of the main purposes of the construction of multipurpose dams in Orissa has been flood control, in addition to irrigation and power generation. In development projects, multi purpose river projects have been on the top priority. According to the National Register of Large Dams, 1994 there are 149 dams in Orissa. Two of the state's 149 large dams were completed before 1950; another eight before 1970; forty-eight in the 1970s and 18 were under construction in March 1990. Twelve are major dams, all except 4 of them in its tribal districts (Fernandes, 1996).

The so-called development has brought about the uprooting and dismemberment of socio-economic, moral and cultural webs of indigenous life built over generation. It has caused great damage to the indigenous people. It has marginalized the displaced people and pushed them to the periphery of society. A significant number of those displaced are tribal and other economically marginal rural populations who have historically, depended on the natural resource base, particularly the commons for their subsistence. The following table 1 represents the human displacement from multipurpose, major and medium projects in Orissa.

Out of the total 41,706 families displaced by multipurpose dam projects, 6211 families are scheduled tribe i.e. around 15% of the total families displaced are tribal. In Koraput district, where tribal population is 58% have 18 large schemes, occupying 5,00,000 acres or, 7.42% of their area. According to one estimate, the schemes have deprived 6% population of the district, mostly tribal, of their livelihood. Thus at least 10% of the tribal in these districts have been affected. The Land taken over includes 4,00,000 acres of forests on which the tribal have depended for their sustenance though they didn't have a legal title to it (Govt. of Orissa, 1991).

Displacement in these projects follows either from acquisition of private lands or from earmarking and assignment of the Government and community land for use of the project. While in the former case the economy of the population dependent on land gets upset, in the second case impoverishment of a section which depends for its living on the forests and the natural ecosystem is a necessary consequence. In either case, there is a disruption of the socio-economic and cultural life of the tribal. Displacement and rehabilitation experience in Orissa described in following section with reference to the following four projects:

1. Hirakud dam project (1948- 57)
2. Rengali dam project (1973- 93)
3. Upper Kolab project (1976- 91)
4. Upper Indravati project (1978- Ongoing).

IV

THE FOUR PROJECTS

Hirakud Dam Project (1948-57)

Constructed on the Mahanadi River, Hirakud

Table 1: Human displacement from multipurpose, major and medium projects in Orissa

Name of the Project		Number of Displaced Families			
		General	SC	ST	Total
<i>Multipurpose</i>					
(i)	Hirakud	Na	Na	1,636	22,144
(ii)	Balimela	Na	Na	Na	1,200
(iii)	Salandi	32	5	352	569
(iv)	Rengali	8,015	1,710	1,172	10,897
(v)	Upper Indravati	1,557	338	1,630	3,725
(vi)	Upper Kolab	1,308	442	1,421	3,171
TOTAL		10,912	2,495	6,211	41,706
<i>Major Irrigation Projects</i>		General	SC	ST	Total
(i)	Subarnarekha	2,246	416	6,382	9,044
(ii)	Rengali Irrigation @	918	81	10	1,009
TOTAL		3,164	497	6,392	10,053
<i>Medium Irrigation Projects</i>		General	SC	ST	Total
(i)	Dadraghati	228	66	133	427
(ii)	Derjang	327	29	-	356
(iii)	Baghua	406	8	96	510
(iv)	Ghodahad	3	-	65	68
(v)	Baghlati	17	15	91	123
(vi)	Dumerbahal	74	23	156	253
(vii)	Pilasalki	57	24	104	185
(viii)	Kuanria	49	54	48	151
(ix)	Daha	3	10	7	20
(x)	Remal	1	2	1	3
(xi)	Sarafgarh	26	3	0	29
(xii)	Jharbandh	120	2	4	126
(xiii)	Talsara	1	3	19	23
(xiv)	Gohira	51	18	74	143
(xv)	Ramiala	166	159	89	414
(xvi)	Sunet	84	2	267	353
(xvii)	Kanjhari	113	4	80	197
(xviii)	Bankbahal	98	35	149	282
(xix)	Kansbahal	10	29	172	211
(xx)	Hariharjore	140	41	213	394
(xxi)	Harbhangi	17	8	128	153
(xxii)	Badnala	4	2	163	169
(xxiii)	Upper Jonk	46	30	225	301
TOTAL		2,041	567	2,284	4,892
Grand Total		16,117	3,829	14,887	57,386

Source: Dalua, A.K (1993). Environmental Impact of Large Reservoir Projects on Human Settlement, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.

@ Status report on Rehabilitation & Resettlement and I.P.D.P of Rengali Irrigation Project, 2000, Department of Water Resources, Government of Orissa.

Dam is the largest multi purpose river valley project in Orissa. Primarily conceived as a flood control measure the water thus stored could also be used for irrigation and power generation. Originating in the Raipur district of Madhy Pradesh, the Mahanadi flows in the southeastern direction through the districts of Sambalpur,

Dhenkanal and Cuttack and finally falls into the Bay of Bengal. Along with its tributaries the total length of the river is 853 km. with the main river has a length of 90-km (Govt. of Orissa, 1968). This is the largest dam in the World with the main dam being 5 km in length. The concrete dam and the earthen dam are 1.2 and 3.8 km

respectively. It has two dykes on either side of the earthen dam with a total length of 21 km. The reservoir formed by the dam is 743 square km covering parts of Sambalpur and Raigarh district. The maximum height of the masonry dam is 200ft while that of the earthen dam is 195 ft, permitting a gross storage capacity of 6.6 million acre feet. The live storage capacity is 4.72 million-acre feet.

The dam has two canals- the Bargarh canal and the Sason canal. The canals have spread over 10 community development blocks in Sambalpur district and 3-community development block in Bolangir district. Out of these 13 blocks, 9 are intensively irrigated and 4 are partly irrigated. In all the Hirakud Canal system irrigated 611 villages (partly or fully) in Sambalpur and Bolangir districts and the gross command area is 3,20,000 acres and 2,20,000 acres in Sambalpur and Bolangir districts respectively (Govt. of Orissa, 1968).

Submergence

Land for Hirakud reservoir was acquired under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. All land below River level (RL) 632 was acquired. According to one report, out of total 1,67,376.83 acres of submerged land 1,15,127.97 acres was good agricultural land (Govt of Orissa, 1968). Covering a vast area of 743 square km, this reservoir submerged 249 villages in Sambalpur district alone and in the adjoining Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh, 36 villages were submerged (Govt. of Orissa, 1968). According to this report 22,144 families were affected i.e. a population of about 1.1 lakhs population out of which 18.34% were ST (Das, Fernandes and Rao, 1988) i.e. 1636 families are ST (Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribe Commission. VI, 1960-61).

Compensation

Land acquired from private landowners was compensated in cash payments. To enable a fair assessment of the land acquired, it was classified into 22 different types on the basis of rental and market value. The former was calculated as 192 times the deduced rent of each class of land and the market value was calculated by sending officials to each area to assess the prevalent local price on land (Viegas, 1992). Although the landowners were aware of that the evacuation

of the land was based on the criterion of the type or, grade of land, they were still confused about the uniformity of the process of evaluation.

Rehabilitation Policy

Even after independence, the Orissa government did not have any well-formulated rehabilitation policy. Just before the plan of constructing the Hirakud Dam developed through five-year plans, the problems of rehabilitation assumed a historical importance. The seriousness of this problem can be observed by the fact that as many as 22,147 families in 249 villages in Orissa besides affecting 36 villages in Madhya Pradesh were affected. In order to allay the fears of the agitated would-be evacuees, the Government of Orissa announced its rehabilitation policy as early as 1946 (Construction of the dam commenced in April 1946). The policy includes both the methods of cash compensation and physical rehabilitation. Each household willing to accept compensation in money would be paid the value of the land and house lost; and those who are willing to accept land and house in lieu of the land and houses lost would be provided land and houses. The government promised that the resettled villages would be provided with modern amenities like water, electricity and the re-settled evacuees would be vested with the proprietary right on the lands allotted to them (Tripathy and Nanda, 1987).

The total number of colonies established for rehabilitation has been twelve for 28 villages. The total number of households re-settled therein was about 11% of the total households displaced and the total land reclaimed for their rehabilitation was no more than 5% of the land acquired for project from them (Ibid. pp.5).

However, the promises made by the government were not kept in many instances. Besides, many shortcomings in the implementation of rehabilitation policy of the government were pointed out. Some of them are

- (i) Underestimation of the number of the displaced persons;
- (ii) Inadequate compensation (Rs. 125-200) per acre;
- (iii) Those who are deposited money for land have been asked to take the money back without allotting land;

(iv) Living conditions in the re-settled colonies are unsatisfactory.

In the context, we may quote the lead article of the Oriya Daily 'Samaj' (27th May 1953), "In the case of Hirakud It was noted that the Government had promised to provide all facilities to the displaced people. In the outskirts of Sambalpur, one model colony was established to resettle the people. Had there been sincere efforts to fulfill the assurance made earlier, there would have been no discontentment among the people. The government had ample time for establishing such colonies. However, It has not been possible to rehabilitate people properly until now" (Ibid. pp. 30-31).

2. Rengali Dam Project (1973-93)

The Rengali dam, one of the largest multipurpose river valley projects of Orissa, is built on the river Brahmani. The river Brahmani rises near village Nagri in Ranchi district of Bihar at an elevation of around 600 metres. After flowing for about 258 km. inside Bihar it enters into Orissa. In Bihar it is called South Koel. After falling another tributary Sankh in Rourkela, Orissa it is known as Brahmani and falls into Bay of Bengal, travelling a length of 799 km. In Orissa the total drainage area of this river is 22,620 square km. It passes through Sambalpur and Dhenkanal districts after crossing Sundargarh district. The Brahmani enters its delta at Jenapur and bifurcates there to form Brahmani and Kimiria. Down below they reunites at Indupur (30 km down) and flows as Brahmani upto the sea. The major tributaries of this river are Koel, Kuradhi, Mankara, Samakoi, on the left and Karo, Sankh, Rukura, Gohira, Tikra, Singdajor, Nigra on the right.

Highest flood discharge of Brahmani at the delta head is 24,246 cumecs. As per master plan it is proposed to transfer 2.99 lakh hectare metre of water from Mahanadi basin to Brahmani basin for irrigation. The catchment area at the dam site is 25,250 square km. It was commenced on June 1973 but the foundation stone of the dam was laid on 23rd December 1973. Actual construction started in 1975 and was completed in 1991. The main objectives of this dam are (i) Flood control; (ii) Power generation; and (iii) Irrigation (Govt. of Orissa, 1978).

According to the Bahumukhi Jatiya Yojana, Rengali, 1978, Department of Irrigation and

Power, Orissa, this will be done in two phases. A dam with the capacity for producing 60 megawatt of electricity will be constructed on the river to control flood in the first phase. In the second phase, a reservoir with the capacity of irrigating 12 lakhs 16 thousand acres of land will be constructed and in the next phase there are also various plans to provide irrigation to an area of around 6 lakhs acres of productive land between the Baitarani and Budhabalanga rivers.

Land Acquisition

Land for dam was acquired under the Land Acquisition Act 1894, on an act 4(1) under which government can acquire any type of private land for 'public purpose'. Hence 263 villages were either fully or, partially submerged. The details are given in table 2.

Table 2: Villages submerged in Rengali Multi-purpose Dam Project

S.No	Village Type	Numbers
1	Fully submerged village	116
2	Partially submerged village	123
3	Hardcore	24
4	Total	263

Source: Progress Report of Land Acquisition works of Rengali Dam Project on 15.01.2001

Area Submerged

The area, which was submerged due to Rengali dam project, is given in table 3.

Table 3: Area Submerged in Rengali Dam

S.No.	Land	Acres
1	Rayati Land	34,335.67
2	Govt and Forest Land	65,382.10
	Total	99,717.77

Source: Progress Report of Land Acquisition Works of Rengali Dam Project on 15.01.2001.

Displaced Households and Population

A total of 11,289 families were displaced under Rengali dam. It involves a population of 46,570 that includes different communities of people like Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste, OBC and General Caste. The details is given in the table 4.

Table 4: Displaced households and population in Rengali dam

S. No.	Community	No of families @	Popula- tion	% of population
1.	Scheduled Castes	2100	8,475	18.2
2.	Scheduled Tribes	1328	5,687	12.2
3.	Other Castes	7861	32,408	69.6
Total		11289	46,570	100

Source: Collectorate Office, Sambalpur, 1988

Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation of displaced persons due to submergence of villages is the duty of Resettlement and Rehabilitation officer assisted by zone Officer under the control Revenue Division Commissioner (RDC), North Division, Sambalpur. As per the latest estimate 11,289 families were affected due to submergence who were to be rehabilitated. Information on displacement of people due to construction of the Rengali dam project is given in table 5.

Table 5: Status of rehabilitation in Rengali dam

S. No.	Status of the Families	Caste			Total
		SC	ST	OC	
1.	Families identified for rehabilitation	2100	1328	7861	11,289
2.	Families already rehabilitated	1814	1234	3687	10,435
3.	Balance families to be rehabilitated	286	94	474	854

Source: R & R Officer, Rengali Multipurpose Project (Stage I), Sambalpur, 10.07.2000

Name of the villages where 2808 families are resettled after receiving cash compensation only is not available in government records. Therefore, the total number of families resettled by allotment of land is 7627. It consists of 1418 families rehabilitated in 22 colonies on Brahmani Right, 739 families on Brahmani Left, 643 families in 25 colonies of Gohira ayacut, 182 families in 6 colonies in Samakoi ayacut and rest families in the individual clusters.

For the displaced people, 61 number of resettlement colonies and 95 clusters villages were set up and 66% displaced families were provided with land, 22% were given cash and balance 11% families await rehabilitation both by land and cash. Civic amenities provided in colonies and cluster are- Tanks-109, Wells-207,

Tube-wells-154, Club houses-69, Schools-87, M.E Schools-19, High Schools-6. Besides, approach roads also provided. Cost of land acquisition and rehabilitation is Rs 64.95 crore of which land acquisition costs is about Rs 30 crore.

Compensation

Agricultural lands in the submersible villages were classified into 7 categories. Compensation has been given on the basis of market value as per the annual harvest, geographical position, productivity etc. The amount of compensation per acre for all kinds of lands varies from Rs.500 to Rs.4500. For homestead land Rs.4500 was given (Bahumukhi Jatiya Yojana, Rengali, 1978). The detailed is given in table 6.

Table 6: Compensation for agricultural land

S. No.	Type of Land	Compensation per Acre (Rs)
1.	Bahal or, Low Paddy Land	4,500.00
2.	Berna or, Medium Paddy Land	3,800.00
3.	Mala or, Upland for Paddy	3,300.00
4.	Goda Aula or Upland for Ravi crops (Category-1)	2,500.00
5.	Goda Sayam or, Upland for ravi crops (category-2)	2,000.00
6.	Goda Sayam or, Upland for Ravi crops (Category-3)	1,500.00
7.	Patita or Fallow (Waste Land)	500.00
8.	Homestead Land	4,500.00

Compensation for houses in the submergible villages was paid to individual owners. For the purpose of assessment all the houses were classified into 12 different categories on the basis of material used, the quality of construction and the present condition. The rate of compensation varied from Rs. 190.91 to Rs. 24.78 per square meter of the plinth area, and the people did not have much to complain about it.

For payment of compensation, wells were classified into 4-types, and the payment varied from Rs. 176.78 to Rs. 5.42 per square meter. The evacuees were not happy with this rate. They alleged that it was too low. They solicited that the calculation be made as per cubic meter, but this was not accepted. Similarly, compensation for tanks and ponds were paid to their owners at the rate of Rs. 322.80 per square meter and the

evacuees were unhappy over it.

Compensation for perennial fruit-bearing trees such as mango, jack fruit, coconut, orange, *bassia latifolia* etc were paid on the basis of the girth of the trunk of trees. If the girth was less than one foot, compensation was Rs. 5.00 and if it was above 6 feet the rate was Rs. 100.00 per tree. The oustees were very unhappy with the sort of calculation, because for some, a fruit-bearing tree was not of economic value but also involved emotions and sentiment.

Rehabilitation Policy

Land for land is the basic objective of Rengali Dam. The first resolution of Irrigation and Power Department No. 3504 Dated 6.12.1973 provides that each family whose land has been acquired for the project would be allotted 3 acres of reclaimed irrigated land or 6 acres of reclaimed un-irrigated land in the ratio of 1:2. The cost of reclamation will be borne by the Government subject to a maximum of Rs. 600 per acre. The above land will be allotted free without any charge payable to Government; but 50 percent of the reclamation cost subject to a maximum of Rs.300 will be recovered from the oustees in whose favor the land has been allotted. It is never possible for the oustee to bear the burden of reclamation since he is always the loser by sacrificing his fertile land. Secondly, forestland allotted in his favor cannot be equal in fertility to his original land. The above resolution has been amended by another Resolution No. 4161 dated 13.2.1975 as under:

No reclamation cost will be recovered from the landless people to be displaced from the submerged area. 50% of reclamation cost subject to a maximum of Rs.300 per acre will be recovered from others to the extent of their lands being submerged for which they get compensation in each case i.e. where the submerged land comes to 2 acres only, the person will be liable for paying reclamation cost for 2 acres only, even if he is allotted more than 2 acres of land for resettlement.

According to Resolution No. 38089 dated 8.11.81 they the reclamation cost may be disbursed to the oustees at the rate of Rs.600 per acre so that they can take up reclamation themselves to expedite completion of rehabilitation programme in Rengali Project. Further, in their order No. 6412 dated. 18.2.82 the

State Government also agreed to disburse Rs. 200 per acre to the resettlers towards the cost of first ploughing of the agricultural land allotted in their favour. Government of Orissa in their resolution 13169 dated 20.4.1977 restricted the allotment of 6 acre of un-irrigated or 3 acre of irrigated land by putting a condition of having 3 acre or more land in un-affected/or partially submerged villages. Resolution 318888 dated 21.8.1990 tried to restrict allotment of agricultural land by dividing the oustees into two groups namely (a) those who have lost up to 4 acres and (b) those who have lost above 4 acres of land.

In the first category where up to 4 acres of land lost, allotment was restricted to 2 acres of un-irrigated or 1 acre of irrigated land where as in the second category allotment was restricted to 4 acres of un-irrigated land or 2 acre of irrigated land, other factor like cost of reclamation and first ploughing remains unchanged. Another Resolution No. 19898 dated. 30.7.91 further reviewed the issue and informed that each displaced family including landless family will get either 2.5-acre of unirrigated land or 1.25 acre of irrigated land. Government order dated. 11.12.91 provided for cash payment in the absence of land at the rate of Rs.16, 000 per acre of irrigated and Rs.8000 per acre of unirrigated land.

3. Upper Kolab Project (1976-96)

This multipurpose project in Koraput district was constructed to harness the water potentials of River Kolab. The Project was supposed to irrigate 47,985 hectares of agricultural land for kharif and little less for the rabi crop, in addition to 22,267 hectare by life irrigation and generate electricity to a maximum capacity of 240 megawatt. The project began in 1976-77 and was completed in 1984-85 at a cost of Rs.160 crore (The original estimate was Rs.16.4 crore). The catchment area at dam site is 1630 square km. It is a straight masonry gravity type with length of 630.5 meter and maximum height of 54.50 meter from the deepest bed level.

Submergence

In this project total land submerged is 32,163 acres (Government of Orissa, 1981), out of which 21,870 acres are private land, 6,557.90 acres are

revenue land and 189.95 acres are forest. The balance is rivers, nallahs, tanks, roads and etc

Displacement

The total number of families affected due to the construction of this dam, either fully or partially were 13,095 families (50,771 persons) of which 2,127 families (8,830 persons) were dalits, 7,092 families (26,620 persons) were tribal and 3,882 families (15,327 persons) were from other caste (Government of Orissa, 1981).

Rehabilitation and Compensation

The number of families Displaced, Rehabilitated and opted for Cash Grants: Upper Kolab Project (Table 7).

Table 7: Displacement and rehabilitation in upper Kolab Project

<i>Caste</i>	<i>No. of families displaced</i>	<i>No. of families rehabilitated</i>	<i>No. of families preferred to receive cash grant</i>
ST	1,431	195	1,236
SC	435	30	405
OC	1,201	194	1,007
Total	3,067	419	2,648

Source: Office of Upper Kolab Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation, Koraput, 1988

For rehabilitating the 3,067 displaced families 9,432 acres of land was acquired separately. A sum of Rs. 6,30,23,989 was paid as compensation to the displaced persons and the project affected persons. These exclude the cost of reclamation. Out of, Rs. 5,71,81,192 was paid for land and trees and Rs. 58,43,196 for homestead

The project authorities claim that 2,643 (86.17%) of the 3,067 families did not accept land-based rehabilitation and were cash grants amounting to Rs. 3,86,77,820 as compensation. To accommodate the remaining 1,330 families 7,774.68 acres were reclaimed and developed in to 7 camps. Only 424 families were settled in the campus 4 to 7 and were allotted 675.43 acres of irrigated land, 290.11 acres of non-irrigated land and 212 acres of homestead land.

Rehabilitation Policy

According to Resolution No. 13169 dated. 20th April 1977, Govt. of Orissa, Irrigation and Power Department, Land for Land has been the objective of this resettlement over and above the payment of compensation money for land and houses, trees and etc acquired for the project. The amount of land is 0.5 acre of homestead land for habitation and either 6 acres of un-irrigated or 3 acres of irrigated land. In 1989, it was amended to provide 5 acres of reclaimed unirrigated land or, 2.5 acres of reclaimed irrigated land. It was further amended to 2.5 acres of unirrigated land or 1.25 acre of irrigated land and homestead plot of 20 decimals. In case of non-availability of required extent of land allotment will reduce.

Displaced families are allowed free transport by project authorities for shifting as well as for carrying their house building materials, which they salvage from old sites to the new settlement colony. They are also provided with house building forest material at concessional rate 60% of normal royalty.

Wherever land is not available for resettlement of the displaced families or, when the displaced families wish to make their own rehabilitation arrangements, rehabilitation grant of Rs. 14,040 at the flat rate of Rs. 2160 per acre was given (6 acres of unirrigated land + 0.5 acre of homestead land) to be allotted to them. This grant is in addition to the compensation money given to the persons towards acquisition of land and houses etc (This ceiling of Rs. 14,040 was enhanced to Rs. 20,075) in 1989 and further enhanced in 1990. Common civic amenities like schools, drinking water, wells and tanks, clubhouses, etc, are provided in the settlement colonies.

4. Upper Indravati Project (1978-Ongoing)

The Upper Indravati Hydroelectric Project is a multipurpose river dam project in Orissa. It is located on the trijunction of Koraput, Nawarangpur and Kalahandi districts. This project initiated with the financial assistance of The World Bank. The reservoir formed by 4 dams and 8 dykes stretches up to an area of 110 square km. and was designed to irrigate 109,300

hectares (later revised to 1.28 lakh hectares in 1994) of agricultural land and generate 600 MW of electricity (Garg, 1998).

Though this project had been approved by the union Planning Commission in 1978 and had obtained an environmental clearance in 1979, full-fledged construction began only after the World Bank's assistance had been obtained in 1985.

Submergence

Due to the construction of this dam, 5448 families (total population of about 17,000) have been displaced from their home. A total of 97 villages (44 from undivided Koraput + 53 from Kalahandi) have been affected, with 65 villages fully submerged. Out of these villages, 31 villages from Koraput and 34 from Kalahandi. Moreover the Project acquired 32,530.87 acres of land i.e. 17,137.97 acres from Kalahandi and 15,388.90 acres from undivided Koraput district (RRU, 1995). The details of various types of land, submerged are given in table 8.

Table 8: Lands submerged under Upper Indravati Project

Land	Kalahandi	Koraput
Private Land	11,619.58 acres	8,193.26 acres
Forest Land	906.34 acres	2983.19 acres
Govt/ Revenue Land	4612.05 acres	4,162.45 acres
Total	17,137.97 acres	15,338.90 acres

(Source: RRU, 1995)

Displacement

People from the 65 fully submergible villages started evacuation in 1989. 10.68% evacuation took place in 1989, 16.85% in 1990, 21.68% in 1991, 38.02% in 1992. No evacuation and planned in 1993. Still then 9% evacuation took place in that year (RRU, 1995). Out of the total 3,725 families displaced, 1,630 families are ST, 338

families are SC, 1,557 families are general (Dalua, 1993).

Compensation and Rehabilitation

The people in the submersible area were evacuated in four phases. The R & R benefit was extended to the project displaced families in four different packages which is given in the table 9.

Rehabilitation Policy

As per the resolution, the Govt. of Orissa, that eligible to receive R & R assistance included:

- (i) A son who is more than 18 years irrespective of his marital status,
- (ii) All physically and mentally disabled persons,
- (iii) Minor orphans who have lost both parents and have nobody to fall back upon,
- (iv) Divorcees,
- (v) Widows

For resettlement, the oustees were given the option to make their own relocation site without going anywhere far from the submergence area, the people settled around the reservoir. 560 clusters were created and distributed over 19 blocks (RRU, 1995). The government provided the oustees 2.5 acres of non-irrigated or, 1.25 acres of irrigated land. Out of a total of 5271.10 acres of land, was identified for 5343 families for resettlement and rehabilitation in the command area (Behera and Patel, 1997). The displaced persons have chosen cash-based rehabilitation assistance and because of this every eligible persons were given cash to purchase agricultural land, homestead land and for house construction. Further, the project-displaced families in all four phases received a monthly maintenance allowance of Rs.500 for one year after being evacuated from submersible villages (Ravindran and others, 1998). Also the R & R

Table 9: Rehabilitation Packages for the displaced people of Upper Indravati Project

Phase	Item	Land- based program	Cash-based program	Year of displacement
I & II	Agricultural Land	5 ac unirrigated or 2.5 ac irrigated	Rs. 18,000	1989 & 1990
	Homestead Land	0.5 ac	Rs. 1,825	
	House Building assistance	House on Govt. land	Rs. 9,500	
III & IV	Agricultural Land	2.5 ac un irrigated or Rs. 1.25 ac irrigated	Rs. 20,000	1991 & 1992
	Homestead Land	0.2 ac	Rs. 3,200	
	House building assistance	House in Govt. colony	Rs. 17,000	

Source: Saurabh Garg, 1998

policy provided for certain social infrastructure facilities in the resettlement colonies like drinking water, link road and other civic amenities.

IV CONCLUSION

Land is acquired in these four projects according to the Land Acquisition Act 1894, which was passed by the colonial government to make it possible for the state to acquire private land for 'public purpose'. Albeit this, the term 'public purpose' that figured in this act is not defined properly. In fact, the absence of an explicit and proper guideline, which defines the term public purpose, makes the application of the whole act an arbitrary one. The basic features of this Act are to compensate a person who is losing the property in the process of acquisition of land. It does not go into the question of a person who is losing his source of living due to the forceful acquisition of the land in which he was making a living by hiring his labor. Thus, land acquisition has a legal standing, rehabilitation has no legal standing. A person who has been deprived of his means of livelihood has no legal remedy for rehabilitation (Rao, 1995). These projects have destabilized the material base of the tribals, have dethroned them from their habits and marginalized them. Thus capital penetration for the matter, "development" has not integrated the marginalized section into the capitalistic framework but has alienated them from it (Nath, 1998).

The foundation stone of Hirakud Dam was laid in 12th of April 1948. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his speech promised to the people of the area that land for land and house for house would be given and nobody would be made destitute. In 1948 government of Orissa passed a Special Act (Act 18 of 1948) in accordance with the Land Acquisition Act 1 of 1894 in order to expedite the process of acquisition of land from Hirakud Dam Project. If the fertile land of a person is acquired and he does not get good land in lieu of the land acquired from him or, gets land where productivity is less he will be given some money over and above the land (Proceeding of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, Dated 11.12.1948).

However the reality was something different. The incredible rate of payment of compensation came to light when the first land acquisition

started in the village 'Jamanda' for the Hirakud Dam workshop on an area of 27 acres and 76 decimals with a total amount of compensation amounted to Rs. 519.50 or Rs. 18 per acre (Question No. 11, Dated 11.10.1949, Proceeding of the Orissa Legislative Assembly). It was learnt that the possession of the land was taken on 2nd April 1948 and after one year the payment of compensation was made on 14.4.1949 at the above rate. Again the government kept no promise of land for land and house for house. 24 families from Jamanda did not get adequate compensation, nor did they offer land elsewhere. As a matter of fact not a single square inch of land was reclaimed till February 1949 (Question No. 690, 16.12.1949, Constituent Assembly Proceeding, Orissa).

By utilizing Land Act 1948, in Orissa the upper class people could able to get whatever benefit was accruing to them. Most of them also could fight with the state in legal battle and have owned certain concessions. The net losers were the vulnerable sections of the society i.e. the tribal people. A large proportion of those displaced due to this project were tribal (i.e. 18.34%). The impact that cash compensation had on people's behavior, in most cases was more serious than the loss of property. They suddenly entered into a monetary economy. Gambling and drinking increased to an unprecedented level. Some people who had started business, due to lack of previous experiences, they ended up losing in the venture.

In Rengali Dam Project, experiences show that when the people are uprooted from their habitat and get relocated in new site, they have not been able to restore their pre-displaced condition. The 5,687 tribal families displaced in this dam, mostly depended upon common property resource and shifting cultivation for their sustenance. But Ota's (1996) finding shows that the total area of land coming under shifting cultivation, prior to displacement was 792.48 acre, which comes down to 203.37 acre after displacement. Earlier the forest was easily accessible to the scheduled tribe families whose primary source of income was collection of minor forest product. Now after displacement, the accessibility has been restricted. Apart from this, the 6 acres of land allotted for firming is highly infertile and unproductive. Out of this 6 acres of land only 1 to 1.5 acres is cultivable. After displacement the condition of the people are very much

miserable.

In both Upper Kolab and Upper Indravati projects, maximum percentages displaced were tribals. The tribal economy is closely linked with the forests. The subsistence agricultural economy has largely been substituted through the collection of forest products. The establishment of projects has caused rampant destruction of forests and large-scale submergence of forested areas. The people are resettled in plain lands reclaimed from forests and thus they are deprived of free access to forests. The economy of tribals, which once made on forests, can no longer rest on it for substituting the livelihood of indigenous population.

In the tribal districts of Kalahandi, Nawarangpur and Koraput, the forests are an important source of food, fuel, fodder and other household items of daily use. Earlier the people bartered the product, which is not possible in the new settlements. Collection of forest products used to be a regular feature. Except during the rainy season, women used to regularly visit the forest for collection of fuel wood, seasonal fruits, roots and green leaves. Most of the product collected was domestically consumed while the surplus was sold.

But there has been a sharp decline in forest produce collection due to involuntary settlement. The percentage of people collecting fuel wood has come down from 97.18% to 93.06%. For collection of minor forest produce from 96.48% to 87.20% and other commercial items from 31.44% to 6.92% in case of Upper Indravati Project (Ravindran et al., 1998). The main reason for the above is the sharp decline in forest.

There is overwhelming incidence that the displaced people have been pushed lower level of economic status compared to their pre-displacement situation.

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