

Culture and Displacement: Continuity, Protest and Change

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INTRODUCTION

Anthropological research on displacement and rehabilitation has mainly centered around the political, economic, and emotional issues emerging from and affecting the entire process. The primary concern of the studies on involuntary resettlement revolved around the issues of economic vs. social cost, the local antagonism towards big dams, the state policy on displacement and rehabilitation and the macro-level evaluation of the large dams. These studies either emphasised the state's insensitivity towards the alarming issue of displacement or highlighted the immediate effect of dislocation. Such a trend threw little light on the intricate relationship between social life and displacement. This paper highlights the 'other' but very important side of displacement debate relying heavily on two empirical cases from South Orissa. Taking certain core concepts of social anthropology the present paper seeks to contextualize the processes of social disarticulation and re-articulation among the Parajas, an uprooted tribal community of highland Orissa. Secondly, another situation of displacement has been analysed from the same area against the backdrop of emerging protest movements. Besides doing so, attempt has also been made to delineate the nature of studies on involuntary resettlement conducted by anthropologists and other social scientists to highlight the differential flavor which they generate.

ON DISPLACEMENT

Understanding the impact of displacement and rehabilitation on the social structure of the displaced community has been a challenging task for anthropologists. They have also explored the different shades of meaning associated with the concept of "Development". For the economists, development is an increase in growth rate or per capita income, for politicians it is the acquisition of some symbols of modernization and progress, for administrators it is achieving the targets of social planning and for social anthropologists it is the enhancement of quality of life or standard of living or satisfaction of basic needs, aspiration level and happiness (Dube, 1988; Mathur 1989). There is a growing realization that development can no longer be understood in terms of statistical indices, political symbols or economic param-

eters. For an integral development of a community, the developmental strategies should be formulated in accordance with the locally-felt, culturally-conditioned individual and group needs.

But unfortunately our experiences with the issue of development have been far from satisfaction. After independence the Government of India introduced the five year plans which envisaged two major components, the poverty amelioration programmes and installation of modern and heavy industries. The poverty alleviation programmes were meant for the economically backward communities, the major chunk of which comprised Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Though these programmes had tribes and other backward communities as their target groups, they were never formulated in accordance with the felt needs of the individuals and cultural nuances of the group. As a consequence, these programmes were mostly rejected or at best evoked lukewarm response (Dube, 1958; Vidyarthi, 1963; Bhandari, 1988; Chaudhury, 1993).

The other component of our planning involved installation of heavy industries most of which were located in inaccessible tribal areas. These programmes were elitist in their approach catering to the needs of industrialists, rich farmers and educated middle and upper class. The needs of the local populations and their problems were never considered in designing and implementing such projects. Such projects (heavy industries and big dams) became the symbols of modernization and development primarily due to the advocacy they received from the political leaders. Though these projects were envisaged for the welfare of the entire society, they affected the local population in an adverse way, unleashing devastating consequences for them. Installation of heavy industries required a vast tract of the land to be colonised, thus leading to the displacement of the local populations, the logical entailment of which was rehabilitation of uprooted communities. The Government machinery never paid adequate attention to such issues, as a result of which the local communities suffered the most. Displacement of these people has affected their social structure. The so-called development (for a particular section of the society) brings out destruction for these communities virtually resulting in the breakdown of social network and creation of a cultural dysphoria.

After independence, the late Prime Minister

Jawahar Lal Nehru ordained high dams as India's 'secular temples'. India, seeking to realize Nehru's vision, has become the world's greatest dam builder (Morse, 1992). These dams have created large scale displacement of the local population. Several studies have been conducted to assess the impact of displacement and rehabilitation in different areas. These studies were primarily conducted either by the social geographers or economists (Sawant, 1985) or by voluntary activists and social workers as mentioned later in this paper. They have confined themselves either to the discussion of infrastructural facilities, or to the cost-benefit analysis, or they have challenged the very idea of building big dams. Therefore the ethical issues along with the political ones occupied a central place in such studies. They either condemned, in an emotional way, the Government's insensitivity towards the alarming issue of displacement or they have highlighted the immediate effect of dislocation. Most of these studies treated the displaced people as homogenous and thus ignored the cultural variability amongst them, as a result they produced studies of shallow depth throwing little light on the intricate relationship between social life and displacement.

This is not to deny that social anthropologists have not studied issues pertaining to displacement, rehabilitation and social structure. What is argued here is that very few studies have been conducted in this regard. Studies of displacement and rehabilitation were started by anthropologists as early as the 1950s (Scudder, 1973:48), but could not become an enriched field of inquiry even after four decades. The studies of displacement and rehabilitation are still a relatively new and emerging area in anthropology: "It is an area which is relatively unexplored not only in Indian anthropology but also in anthropology anywhere" (Beteille, 1990:12).

Anthropological research on development related rehabilitation issues is on up coming field. Development anthropology is a young sub-discipline of social anthropology and anthropology of displacement and rehabilitation is still younger one. The emergence of this field, is primarily grounded in the development experiences of third world countries and has attracted the attention of scholars from all over the world. Most of the works done in this field was mainly by the people of world Bank or other international agencies funding development projects. In some cases persons from local NGOs responsible for spearheading the protest movements against local displacement have also published articles highlighting the major issues around which the protest movement is organized (Das, 1995). However, such articles do not reflect on the core issues which can be

of great interest to sociologists and social anthropologists. For example why a particular community is able to cope up with the adversities of displacement and rehabilitation while others fail to do so. Also why in some cases uprooting leads to organized movement and why in some other case the tribal uprising dissipate in no time? What are the factors that act as catalyst in precipitating and sustaining such movements. The present paper seeks to compare two different situations emerging out of uprooting of local communities in similar ecological zone. In the first case a tribal community (the Parajas) was displaced as early as 1987 from its traditional habitat (village Paraja Pandi of Koraput) and shifted to Batasana rehabilitation colony located at a distance of nearly 70 kms from their original habitat within the same district. During displacement the people resisted and the district administration has to use physical force to evacuate them from traditional villages. Some of them escaped to the nearby hill tops and preferred to stay under the tree for month together rather than going to the rehabilitation colony. These people have used various adaptive strategies to cope up with the new and alien environment prevalent in the rehabilitation colony. Attempt has been made to understand the changes that have taken place in the institutional frame work of the Paraja society in due course of time.

The second case examines a situation of protest movements organized by the local tribals of Kashipur block of Rajagada, a district adjoining Koraput. The people of Kashipur do not want the virgin land to be leased out to Indian Aluminium Company (INDAL) which would displace them from their home land. The protest movement became organized due to the participation of Agramee, a local NGO workign in the area. These two cases have been discussed elsewhere (Patnaik 1999, 2000). this paper is a modified version of the earlier ones. In addition this paper also attempts to provide a comparative account of two different empirical situations.

IMPACT OF RELOCATION

In the first case we shall examine the social implication of rehabilitation in case of the Paraja, a hill tribe of South Orissa with special reference to the institutional structure studied by me (Patnaik 1996). The construction of a multipurpose hydro-electric dam on river Kolab, a tributary of Godavari, was the reason for their displacement. Approximately 14,00 persons coming from nearly 3000 families have been displaced from these villages. With the construction work underway, a small town emerged, which is

called Kolab Nagar; bringing new cultural items and ideas to the tribal areas. Since the Project required a vast tract of land to be colonised, the government created an apex body-Rehabilitation Advisory Committee (RAC) - to coordinate the programmes of displacement and resettlement. The working of RAC suffered due to the lack of coordination among various departments/agencies in charge of displacement and rehabilitation. Absence of a well formulated and clear-cut policy for rehabilitation further worsened the situation.

Rise and Fall of Local Uprising

Uprooting a society can not go without evoking some kind of collective reaction from the local population. Sometimes the reaction of local people takes the shape of an organized protest movement but at some other time it mainly remains in form of unorganized sporadic protests. In either case, the project authorities find it difficult to exercise their will on the people at least during the initial periods of protest. In this case the authorities have developed their own method of handling the situation - divide and displace.

On reaching of the first news of dislocation the villagers organized protest movement under the leadership of the village chief who led a delegation of more than 100 people to the district collector to register their reluctance to move out of their village at any cost. Every time the Government officials visited the village, the people used to retaliate by blocking their ways, scolding them and even throwing stones. The resentment continued to mount and the Government found it difficult to convince the people. In such a situation the officials started alluring few literate Parajas whom they promised special offer in terms of cash and kind. It created a rift in the so called people's movement and few families agreed to move to the resettlement site even at the cost of the annoyance of their village mates.

The Government officers adopted to unscrupulous methods such as bribing the influential Parajas who were reluctant to go to rehabilitation colonies, and use of physical force to evacuate the poor and helpless tribals. Such an approach of the Government Officials has created a serious psychological damage among the displaced Paraja. Collective frustration, trauma and the utter disgust and mistrust towards the *sarkar lok* were expressed in terms of concrete activities of protest, which mainly remain sporadic, unorganized and consequently fruitless.

The Paraja have been in a continuous process of adapting to the new environment by bringing out sev-

eral changes in their social life and belief system. Some dimensions of the Paraja social structure have been severely affected though other dimensions have remained unaffected to that extent. In a nutshell, displacement had a differential impact on the organisation of the community studied. Any displacement essentially involves a change in territory and since a village is the territorial organisation, it underwent several perceptible changes due to displacement. The other dimension which underwent marked changes is the relationship of the Paraja with neighbouring communities. New relations have emerged, some of which are detrimental for the well-being of the community. There are also many frustrating experiences pertaining to formal education and the associated activities. We shall now discuss these changes in detail.

Ecology, Economy and Women

At Paraja Pandi the economic activities were characterised by great diversity. In addition to cultivation, the villagers were engaged in secondary occupations such as fishing, basket making and making of leaf plates, ropes, collection of fuel wood, making charcoal out of such wood and selling them in the market. In Paraja Pandi fishing was an important alternative source of livelihood. The people used to fish and sell them in the nearby Koraput town. The income from fishing supplemented the household budget which periodically is affected by decreasing production or crop failure. After dislocation, the nature of physical environment and availability of limited economic opportunities in the rehabilitation colony has acted as a constraint on their economy. The fishing nets became redundant because there was no opportunity to use them. The Paraja who had learned and developed the skill of fishing over generations have been suddenly thrown out of this occupation. They nostalgically remember the good old days - when they could fall back on fishing at the time of contingency.

The economic ventures based on food and general fuel collection have also experienced a set back because of rehabilitation. Traditionally the Paraja women engaged themselves in collection activities, such as *piri* and *balni* (grass for making brooms), fuel wood and edible roots. They also burn the wood to make charcoal and sell them in nearby market. Thus women in the traditional village could generate little funds for buying certain personal items such as jewellery, cosmetics, hair bands, ribbons for themselves. They never depended on their husbands who usually resisted such moves. But in the rehabilitation colony such little incomes by Paraja women were

virtually absent. As a consequence the relative economic independence of Paraja women was affected. The women started using some portions of their household funds for their personal consumption. Diversion of funds has often led to misunderstandings between the couples.

A number of cases were recorded where the crux of conjugal conflict lay in the relative dependence of women on men. When women could earn independently, no one had any right over their income; they could spend it in the way they desired. Once the source of these incomes ceased, the women had no option but to ask for money from their husbands, or irregularise the household budget. Because of this, the conjugal discords became an everyday affair. If the men scolded women for fancying personal items, the women retaliated by drawing attention to habits - such as drinking liquor - to which their men were enslaved. The Paraja women feel that the upper Kolab Project has been detrimental to the relative freedom they enjoyed in the past.

In the resettlement colony the Paraja are finding it difficult to maintain and repair their *basa* (houses). In the traditional village, the houses were usually repaired after every three to four years. Repairing involved changing of the roof along with the bamboos which supported them and minor alterations in the mud walls which would strengthen the existing structure. Since the Batasana Rehabilitation Colony was an uninhabited forest land, the area was full of termites and other insects which caused great damage to the roof which required replacement every alternate year. For building the rehabilitation colony, soil was brought from nearby upland areas and the ground was made even. Since this activity took place only a year before the actual shifting, the ground was not ready to sustain the weight of the structures like houses. As a result it was often noted that some portion of the houses sank downwards causing unevenness in symmetry and in height. This in turn also affected the longevity of the roof. Thus, the Paraja had to rebuild the walls and roof of the houses every year or at least every alternate year which was resulted in wastage of money and manpower.

Another area where a lot of money and manpower were needed was converting the allotted barren land into cultivable land. It needs to be mentioned here that even though the rehabilitation policy entails some additional payment for the act of first ploughing, the people never received it. So to make the land cultivable most of the people sold out some of the household goods and cattle. Since the land is not very fertile and moreover it involved heavy initial expenditure, agriculture has not remained a very

profitable economic activity during the time when fieldwork was conducted.

Kinship and Marriage

Displacement and rehabilitation have differential impact on the institutions of kinship and marriage. The rule of patrilineal descent has provided the solidarity to various kin groups, such as: *kuda*, *bauns* and *kotar* (lineage, clan and the domestic group respectively). These groups were usually dispersed over the region, but the members used to meet one another on periodic *kuda* rituals. These rituals latently served the purpose of reinforcing and renewing the *kuda* solidarity. It needs to be mentioned here that one should live within a reasonable geographical distance for a comfortable participation in such rituals. Uprooting of the village implied severing of its kin ties with the neighbouring villages. The displaced villagers suddenly found themselves in an environment, to a great extent, devoid of the broader kinship space relations. The village became cut off from the wider kinship network. It is not argued that the kinship ties which were over flowing the territorial boundaries of the village ceased to exist. Ideally speaking, these relationship existed in the normative cognitive plane but empirically speaking they lost their meaning. Traditionally the *kuda* relations were characterised by mutual cooperation which are fast changing in the resettlement colony, understanding and extension of help at time of emergency. Dislocation of the village has resulted in weakening of kin ties, if understood in this perspective. There has been a close association of Paraja kinship with territory. *Kuda* is a patrilineal local group. It is territorially defined. Members of the same *kuda* occupying a particular territory (a geographical space which can be easily travelled) constitute a local group. Local groups are the most important ones in the consideration of marriages. Displacement has effected these local groups and thus has deeper consequences for the institution of marriage. The institution of marriage has become a costly proposition in the rehabilitation colonies. The neighbouring communities of the villages surrounding the rehabilitation colony belong to different tribes. Therefore matrimonial alliance with them was ruled out. The displaced Paraja had to travel a long distance to seek a spouse.

Domestic Group and Agricultural Labour

Another important change perceptible within the domain of agricultural cycle is the employment of hired labour for cultivation during the initial period

of ploughing. The institution of hired labour was not completely absent in the traditional villages where the rich farmer used to hire labour and employ them in his agricultural field. The payment used to be always in kind: either two full meals a day or a fixed amount of food grain per harvest. These labourers could be from the same community/village or from the neighbouring community or village. In case of the Batasana Rehabilitation Colony it was observed that even the poor farmers were taking the help of hired labourers to cultivate the land. It seems quite surprising that how a family which could not feed itself with the existing resources could afford to go for hired labour. It needs to be mentioned here that the Paraja men found it difficult to cultivate the barren land with the available labour force existing within the family. Labour was never in short supply in the traditional Paraja society where the members used to rely on the labour force available within the domestic group. The domestic group usually comprised four or five nuclear families tied by the bond of patrilineal kinship. A bigger kin group was definitely more functional for exploitation of natural resources including cultivation of land. When the Paraja were enumerated in Paraja Pandi, the individuals with their own nuclear families were included in the list of beneficiaries. And when they were shifted it was observed that there was a perceptible dispersion of the members which often comprised one domestic group. Some of the nuclear families belonging to the same domestic group preferred to stay back on the hill tops of Paraja Pandi. These individuals engaged themselves in cultivation of those lands which were never submerged.

It was observed that economic factors were of paramount importance for the people and the ties of kinship could not sustain the group as a unified entity. Thus, the *Kotar* (domestic group) has undergone temporary changes at the time of displacement but it is likely that over a period of time new *Kotar* would emerge taking up the roles it once played in the social life of Paraja Pandi.

Finally, it can be said that since the *Kotar* as an economic unit is being replaced by nuclear family as an economic unit (at least temporarily) the availability of labour force within the nuclear family is scarce. As a result they go for hired labour which do not come from outside the village but the fellow villagers supply this labour. The payment is either in terms of provision of food during the agricultural cycle or a fixed amount of food grain. The relationship between the employer of the labour and the employee is marked with existence of greater degree of acquaintance, sentimental attachment, humanitarian concern and a sense of fraternity. Such elements

are absent from this relationship when the Paraja go to work as daily wage earner in the nearby urban centres and towns.

Problems of Education

Though formal education has never remained a source of attraction to many Paraja boys and girls, it did influence the social life of Paraja Pandi. There was a primary school in the village with classes upto fifth. There were two teachers. One of them was residing in the village and the other used to come from Koraput. The teacher who was staying in the village was very co-operative, committed and helpful. He was taking much pain to persuade the parents to send their children to school. He was also trying his best to convince the children of school-going age to come and attend classes. The teacher was posted at Paraja Pandi in June 1980, seven years before the actual displacement took place. During these seven years, the teacher could generate some degree of consciousness among the villagers as a result of which some Paraja boys and girls started attending the school. Arjun Deodia nostalgically remembers the concern, care and incentive provided by the teacher when he used to attend the classes. Whenever he came up with an achievement by solving a mathematical problem or answering a difficult question the school master provided reward in form of small chocolates. Once he was ill and could not attend the classes for three consecutive days. The school master enquired about his absence and when came to learn about his illness he visited him at his place.

When the Paraja came to the rehabilitation colony, they not only missed the services of a committed and caring master but also the facility of having any educational institution. Though in the resettlement plan a school building was constructed it never functioned as a school. The nearest school - Bastasana Government Primary School - was nearly four kilometers away from the colony. After coming to the rehabilitation colony most of the school going children stopped going to school as there was no facility. After two years, in 1989, two ambitious Paraja boys - Arjun Deodia with one of his friends - decided to take admission in Batasana Government primary school for their education.

It was a residential school. But they could stay there only for two days. The total number of students were nearly 30 to 40. They were mainly from Bhatra, one of the Scheduled Tribes of this region famous for the elaborate skill of bird trapping, and other caste groups.

On the first day when Arjun was attending the classes the Bhatra students ridiculed him as he could

not keep academic pace with the rest of the class. It was quite natural on his part as he never went to school in the last two years. The period from 1987 to 1989 was the period of trauma for this young boy as he saw the dispersal of his friend circle, his relatives, his classmates and close kins. He was also a silent witness to the brutal act of dismantling his house by police men and the consequent traumatic experience faced by him along with his other family members.

He did not get any kind of moral protection from his teachers against such ridicule. Since he was a committed and serious student at Paraja Pandi, the incident did upset him to some extent. However he had dinner that evening and went to bed. Next day morning the same thing again happened in the class room. In the afternoon he was playing football. He could not play well. Therefore he was subjected to more humiliation and even scolding. The Bhatra students - who were in his team scolded him by saying "You Paraja are good for nothing. Neither can you read nor play. You are inferior. You fools get lost".

He was very depressed. He told his teacher about these incidents. The teacher tried to curb the mischief of Bhatra students but they continued to harass him. Therefore, he left the school disappointed and came back.

The question arises that why Arjun Deodia and Lalit Jani, the two Paraja inhabitants of Batasana Rehabilitation Colony were humiliated. The case latently highlights the relationship between the Paraja and Bhatra. The Bhatra were superior to the Paraja in the local hierarchy. In the domain of ritual purity and pollution, they were closer to the Hindu caste as they did not eat beef. The Paraja, on the other hand, were beef eaters. It was because of this food habit the Paraja were looked down upon by other tribals and castes of the region. The Paraja of Paraja Pandi were never regarded as superior by other Hindu caste groups and tribals including the Bhatra. But the Paraja of Paraja Pandi had their own social space of interaction, their own territory of discourse with in which they led a comfortable life of dignity, free from any such social impulses which instil a sense of inferiority and indignity. Moreover, displacement from the traditional habitat and their resettlement in the new environment generated a different kind of feeling among the original inhabitants of the new region. They look at the migrants as if the latter are poor and taking the advantage of Government facilities extended to them in terms of housesite, agricultural land and compensation amount. Immigration of the new comers may lead to new kinds of problems like theft and killing of cow thereby pollut-

ing the region. Thus the Paraja new comers were never greeted locally by the Bhatra and other communities of the region.

Religious Beliefs and Rituals

The resettlement colony, as stated earlier, was completely devoid of any forests around it. The displaced Paraja found it extremely difficult to arrange fuel for household consumption. They had to collect dry herbs and grasses which were available scantily. The woman folk travelled long distance and had to spend almost the whole day in collecting fuel required for daily consumption. Fuel wood is necessary for many collective occasions varying from celebrations of the marriage feasts to the burning of the dead body. The Paraja cremate the dead body in *masani* (cremation ground) after which the person becomes a *dumba* (ancestral spirit). The *dumba* comes, sits near the house and watches the behaviour of his descendants. If the *dumba* is satisfied it will not cause any harm. If dissatisfied it can cause diseases like diarrhoea, blood vomiting, continuous fever, sleep disturbances due to severe anxiety, sometimes resulting in extreme weakness. The annoyed *dumba* can also create problems during agricultural operation resulting in decreased production or crop failure. The Paraja believe that the *dumba* comes and sit around the field watching the crop. The *dumba* are very closely and emotionally attached with the land which they had owned and cultivated in the remote past. The *dumba* become satisfied if the Paraja follow the customary principle of division of labour, give proper attention to the timely performances of the required agricultural operation and perform *dumba Puja* (ancestor worship) in the agricultural field before the crop is brought to the house. The people of the resettlement colony believe that the *dumba* are terribly annoyed with them because of many reasons. First of all they left those lands to which the *dumba* were emotionally attached. Secondly the *dumba* are annoyed because of the fact that the dead bodies are buried in the rehabilitation colony and not cremated. The only exception to this was father of Dasi Jani who died in the rehabilitation colony. Dasi Jani was a rich person, therefore he could arrange fuel wood from Kotpad. Dasi Jani claims to have those pieces of knowledge which a *Disari* knows. On asking he says that he could not have afforded to bury his father because by doing so his *dumba* would have been annoyed.

There are several changes in the celebration of *Chait parab* (Spring festival). Traditionally the *parab* continues for almost a fortnight. The men go on hunting expedition and women wait for them in

the village. This is also the period of merry making. In the absence of forest environment in and around rehabilitation colony, hunting has become an extremely difficult proposition. According to the Paraja the ceremonious *beto* can not go round the village. *Beto* refers to a group of hunters who moves around the village in a ceremonious way, worship the *Dongar devi* (Goddess of Mountains) and leaves the village in search of games. At present the Paraja celebrate *Chait parab* only for 3 to 4 days. The *beto* goes round the village, hunts *gundri* (locally available small birds) in the *dongar* (hilly) land and comes back. The period of merry making has also been reduced. The enthusiasm and zeal is absent to a great extent.

Tradition and Change

The changes which have been discussed in the foregoing pages clearly reveal that due to displacement and rehabilitation the social fabric of the Paraja experienced upheavals and the local people adapted by bringing out several changes in the Paraja social structure. Organisation of any society crucially involves the environment and locale as important factors in determining the relationship between human beings and nature. The adaptations which humans make in order to adjust to a particular environment are clearly reflected in all the major institutions of the society. We have seen how different critical institutions of the Paraja have been differentially affected by displacement and what implications they have for the people. It is important here to see that the relationship of the Paraja with their original territory was just not in physical or geographical terms rather their cognition and social ethos was determined by these ties with the land.

Resettlement significantly entailed a new life which is full of hardships for them. It is a struggle to adapt again to a new environment by improvising new strategies to eke out basic means of survival. The Paraja faced most important problem in terms of survival resources. Thus in order to make a living and sustain themselves they tried to make changes in certain social relationships. These changes as we have seen were made due to certain practical considerations. Therefore in place of kinship and local group affiliation, new relationships based on other consideration have emerged, may be temporarily, which are more utilitarian in nature. The Paraja have been almost thrown into a new environmental and social set up where they invariably find themselves exploited and marginalised.

However, there are rays of optimism which point toward the strength of traditions and people's belief

in traditional social relationships as the base of their social structure. Even in adversity, the Paraja are trying to revive the traditional institutions and beliefs (though in modified forms) which are of critical importance to them.

In the rehabilitation colony, the Paraja faced several hardships of varied nature. It ranged from practical problems of the lack of fuel wood and water to interpersonal problems of conjugal adjustments and selection of life partner. Ex-post facto analysis of the cases of individuals and their families reveals the ineluctable connection between various social institutions. We have also seen how various social forces existing and emerging in rehabilitation colonies have percolated down to the level of the family and the individual. A Paraja is constantly manipulating the diverse fluid opportunities and concrete difficulties so as to cope with the new social situation.

In addition to several cultural changes such as change in dress pattern, hair style and use of certain items of cosmetics, there are certain important changes in the social structure. As observed earlier there has been important changes in the observance of *Kuda* ritual, celebration of *Chait Parab*, the economic independence of Paraja women, relationship of economic dependence on money lenders and changes in the system of beliefs and rituals. Besides these, there are other structural features continuing in the rehabilitation colony such as the patrilineal rule of descent, the worship of *hundi* (village deity), belief in the existence and influence of *dumba*, existence of mechanisms of social control through the institution of *Naik*, *Challan* and *Barik*, symbiotic relationship with the Dom and the revival of *basaghar*, etc. The Paraja are still in the process of adaptation to the new setting. In the last decade there has been emerging arrangements of structural features of Paraja society. Therefore, the society is in a state of flux.

EMERGING PROTESTS

One of the important components of our national planning involved installation of heavy industries most of which were located in inaccessible tribal areas. These programmes had different target groups and did not favour the local population. Such projects became the symbol of modernization and development primarily due to the advocacy they received from the political leaders. Though these projects were envisaged for the welfare of the entire society, they affected the local population in an adverse way, unleashing devastating consequences for them. Initially, the local people protest against such projects but

standing on a precarious platform. This paper discusses one such instance from Orissa.

In early 1990s the Government of Orissa permitted a few private foreign companies to explore and extract bauxite from the interior and inaccessible virgin forest and hill tracts of Kashipur block in Rayagada district and Thuamul-Rampur block in Kalahandi district. The two private sector companies started prospecting and testing in these areas in 1993-94. The otherwise inaccessible areas witnessed constant and rapid inflow of outsiders busy in collecting information setting up drilling rigs and other machineries and taking soil and water samples. One project is being planned in Kucheipadar panchayat of Kashipur block and the other in Kalyansinghpur in Rayagada district.

Utkal Aluminium International Pvt. Ltd. Company (UAIP) which is a consortium of Indian Aluminium Company (INDAL), TATA and Hydro-Aluminium of Norway, plans to build an alumina refinery in Kucheipadar of Kashipur block. The initial estimated investment is Rs.2400 crores. Kucheipadar is located on the bank of Ghodagado river, a tributary of the river of Indravati at a distance of 20 kms. from Kashipur. It is quite near to the Tikri railway station, located on Rayagada-Koraput rail route. The bauxite ore will be transported by conveyor belt from the Baphlamali plateau which is located at a distance of 24 kms from Kucheipadar. This plant, initially of 1 million metric tonnes capacity, is to be subsequently expanded to 3 million metric tonnes capacity. The UAIP factor will release its industrial waste in Ghodagado river which subsequently connects to Indravati river.

Similarly, Larsen and Toubro (hereafter L&T) in collaboration with ALCOA of USA is planning an initial investment of Rs.1500 crore and proposes to have its refinery in Kalyansinghpur in Rayagada district. This project will process bauxite from Kutrungmali plateau in the bordering Kalahandi district. Other areas like Sijimali are also being prospected. L&T company has established a camp office in Sunger village of Kashipur where nearly 100 workers, mainly from outside Orissa, are staying to do ground work and preliminaries. They are also travelling into the areas of Kashipur in project jeeps, collecting informations and conducting the survey work. The L&T aluminium company will release its industrial waste into the river Nagavali.

The Ecological Consequences

The proposed projects for mining of bauxite and aluminium are purely export based units along the border area of Rayagada and Kalahandi districts in-

habited mainly by the tribal populations. These projects will lead to extensive deforestation and would render the fragile ecosystem more vulnerable. Further, the projects envisage mining of ore from the plateau through open-cast mining. On Baphlamali plateau the bauxite bearing area is estimated to be about 10 sq. kms. Then the ore will be transmitted via a conveyor belt system to the alumina factory. It is estimated that the projects would require atleast another 1,500 ha. of land for the factory, the red mud or the bauxite residue ponds, the ash pond (from the captive power plant), the township and the conveyor belt.

It needs to be mentioned here that in bauxite mining the land and resources for livelihood would be adversely affected within the impact area which extends upto a radius of ten kilometres. The process of bauxite ore extraction produces huge quantities of dust; the subsequent operations of transportation, grinding and granule metric shorting will add to the atmospheric pollution. The water run off from the ore pile carries toxic elements that are likely to mix in surface and ground water. The factory would discharge huge quantities of red mud sludge, which is the waste product of bauxite processing. It is estimated that to produce 1 tonne of alumina at least 7 tonne of waste has to be generated. An area of 250 ha. has been earmarked for the disposal of this waste. Such a huge quantity of red mud will contaminate the ground and surface water. This red mud would be pumped into the ponds dug specially for this purpose. This red mud which is a pollutant has to be kept in especially dug pond for longer time, so that it does not get mixed up with the surroundings. Once these ponds fill up other sites would have to be found out which will lead to deterioration of forest and natural wealth. The UAIP factory will contaminate the river of Indravati and consequently, the Indravati reservoir. The industrial waste would also have adverse effect on the concrete dam of Indravati hydro-electric project. The government has not paid any attention to such a danger. Pollution of the Indravati river will effect the numerous tribal villages located on its bank. Similarly, the L&T project will contaminate the Nagavali river thereby adversely affecting several tribal villages located on its bank in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

The evil effects of aluminium projects have become quite perceptible in other areas of the state. For example, the National Aluminium Corporation (hereafter NALCO) in Anugul has created considerable hardship for the local population. The industrial waste has polluted the Nandira and Brahmani rivers to such an extent that the animals suffer painful symptoms including loss of teeth and ultimately

death by drinking the polluted water. The local villagers complain that the skin diseases, which were unheard of in the area, have become quite rampant. The groundwater has also become severely contaminated thus making it unusable by the local population. Most of the villages on the bank of Brahmani river were not having any well or pond. They were mainly dependent upon Brahmani river for irrigation and drinking water. Usually, the village women dig a small hole on the sandy banks of the river so that fresh filtered water can be obtained. This is how they used to collect water for drinking and cooking, but after the establishment of NALCO, this traditional method of obtaining filtered water has become redundant. The villagers suffer from gastroenteritis, loose motion and other kinds of stomach diseases which has created panic among the villages. In 1994 several villages such as Kaliahata, Sanakamar and Kirtarpur witnessed the spread of such diseases which took away lives of several children. In these villages a new kind of skin diseases has come up which were unknown to the villagers. Therefore, the traditional method of curing was not equipped to deal with such kind of diseases. Considering the gravity of the situation, the government and NALCO have arranged portable water to these areas by trucks and tankers. But the question arises that how long can the government supply portable water regularly. And moreover, whether portable water would satisfy everybody's need.

According to metallurgy and chemical experts, generation of aluminium requires enough electricity, bauxite and other chemicals. To generate 1 tonne aluminium in large quantity (6.95 tonnes) of Industrial waste is generated as by product. The most toxic is the red mud which will be nearly 1.2 tonnes. This red mud has to be kept in specially constructed ponds otherwise it will spoil the underground water.

The Rise of Protest Movement

The local tribals remained silent spectators of such activities for almost 2-3 years. According to one source, the first protest by the local people surfaced in Kucheipadar village on 17th February, 1995. The people of Sunger gram panchayat and the neighbouring villages assembled in large number and blocked the traffic by digging a ditch across the road. They took vow not to allow any vehicle on the road until some clarification regarding the project is made. The local activists claimed that even though there was no prior information regarding this protest movement, people from 40 neighbouring villages gathered through the traditional method of commu-

nication. In this area drum beating and blowing the trumpet are the methods by which messages can be sent to different villages, urging the people to assemble at one place. The tribal men and women from Sunger gram panchayat, Kerpai and Nakarundi gram panchayat of Thuamul-Rampur block and few NGO activists, assembled together. The tribals have organized the *Anchalika, Suraksha Parishad* which was given the responsibility of protecting the whole region. Spontaneous protest from the local people has resulted in destruction of some government machinery. The entire block has come under siege. In the neighbouring areas people have also become suspicious of constant intrusion into their lives by strangers and alien technology. On this day, they prepared a memorandum which was submitted to local tehsildar on 22nd February, 1995. Despite repeated attempts by various officials and elected representatives including the district collector and the local MLA, they refused to budge unless their demands are met. Few representatives of *Anchalika Suraksha Parishad* met the local tehsildar and submitted a memorandum stating the following demands:

1. It is heard that two Alumina plants are being installed with an investment of Rs.5,000 crore but so far the government has kept all the information quite confidential and has not allowed the people to know its impact on the natural resources and the life styles of the local people. The government must clearly and in no ambiguous terms state what is to be the effect of these projects and the mining on the local area.
2. The government must make public the terms and conditions agreed upon between the companies and itself for the setting up of these projects.
3. Thousands of local tribals have been surviving primarily depending on the natural resources such as forest, land and water of the region. The proposed alumina projects will take away their rights over the natural resources. If the local tribals are going to be evicted what alternatives government has thought of them.
4. The government must clearly inform the benefits that will accrue to the people of Kashipur and Thuamul-Rampur.

On 25 February, 1995 the *Anchalik Suraksha Parishad* organized a protest march against the alumina projects. Nearly 2,000 men and women from Kashipur and Thuamul-Rampur area participated with full enthusiasm. The way in which the local people are organized and participating in such activities leads one to expect a very strong and powerful protest movement to come up against

the alumina projects. This has also raised apprehension about the future projects.

In other areas also several activities in form of protest march, meetings, pamphlets and brochure have come up quite rapidly. Recently the villagers once again took to protest action in Kucheipadar village. They stopped the survey work going on in the village Ranibeda. When some of them were arrested and taken to Tikri, more than a thousand men and women gathered outside the police station till the arrested people were released.

Due to such protest movements, the companies are losing time and money and government is hard pressed to honour its commitment to them. If the companies lose few months, they are going to be late by one year because it is very difficult to conduct land survey and other preliminary work during monsoon.

The government authorities believe that the protest movements are not spontaneous, rather they are instigated ones with ulterior motives. The Kashipur of Raygada comes under the operational area of an NGO called Agramee. The Agramee thinks that if this area becomes developed and prosperous they will have no role to play in this region. Therefore, they are spreading rumours and tension in the mind of the people against the government and local administration. However, such a logic given by the authorities seems to be far fetched from the reality.

According to intelligence report, the Agramee activists, clad in tribal dresses participate and organize the local protest marches. Even though the Agramee is directly involved in such instigating exercises, they have never admitted their involvement in this, they always claim that it is a spontaneous reaction, and natural culmination of people's anxiety and apprehension about the proposed alumina projects. The district police sources said that the activities of Agramee in instigating the local people definitely have an ulterior motive and, therefore, they do not mind in even creating problems of law and order.

According to Agramee sources, the people of this region especially of Raygada have become aware of their rights. However, no doubt Agramee has a definite role in bringing out this awareness among people due to its continuous untiring activities for the last decade and that is the role which can be attributed to Agramee. And, therefore, it is a very indirect association with such movement for which the organization cannot be held responsible. As far as any direct involvement or direct instigation is concerned, Agramee has no role to pay.

Concluding Observations

The undivided district of Koraput has a history of highly lopsided development. Government, in its every effort to develop this backward district, have ignored or at best paid very scarce attention to the interest of local tribals. In the upper Indravati dam project, which is nearly 50 kms away from proposed INDAL mining site in Baphlamali, people from 65 villages have been forced to evacuate. Some of them have come to Kashipur Block and are struggling with various problems in new settlement. But unfortunately, they will now have to move again for the alumina refineries (Das, 1995).

In the NALCO project, (Damanjodi) the blasting of mining severely affected the rehabilitation housing located around 7 km from the mining site. Several streams around NALCO have either dried out or changed their course due to disturbance in the watertable caused by blastings. The story of sufferings of the oustees of the upper Kolab river dam project in Kotpad is also well known (Patnaik, 1996). Thus the development efforts of government have always confined to the corporate interest and thus making the original inhabitants refugees in their own land. The activists of the local NGOs feel that a lot of money seems to be exchanging hands and the local people's representatives who were once with the people in their quest have subsequently changed their stand. The local media also seems to have forsaken people indicating that the resistance of the people is a non-issue. The process is highlighting that impact of mining could be minimal and displacement would be limited to 100 families from 4 villages. The local administration and companies have dismissed the people's protest as sporadic instigation by the local voluntary organization. But the government is not coming up with the information regarding the waterways that would be affected, the land around the mining sites and even the area required for water disposal. Further, it is also difficult to explain why the government has entrusted ALCOA which is one of the big aluminium companies with foreign operations throughout the world, and is facing a series of law suits against its Monopolistic and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP). Both the projects under consideration are completely export oriented, targeted at only to feed corporate interest of the elite and the rich in Europe and North America. The government can no longer afford to cater to the needs of multinationals at the cost of the sufferings of its own people who are already marginalized from the mainstream society and economy.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The works on dislocation and resettlement conducted by social scientists other than anthropologists generate a distinct flavour with special reference to the nature of the study, its focus and methodologies used. While the anthropological studies have taken into account the social institutions, the idea of ethnic groups and its relationship with other neighbouring communities, highlighting the emic point of view and contextualising them within the organisational framework of the society, other studies have chosen either to ignore these issues or to deal with them at a very superficial level. Important anthropological techniques such as life histories, genealogy and extended case study method have rarely been used in the studies of former kind. Longitudinal studies of the rehabilitation colonies taking a diachronic perspective of social life are rare. Some of the studies, at best, have remained dual synchronic in nature, where the pre-displacement and post displacement scenario has been compared. Usually a re-visit is made to study the rehabilitation colonies to find out the changes that have occurred after displacement. However, these studies have rarely focused on the processes of social adaptation which finds concrete manifestation in various survival strategies adapted by the displaced community. Further the core anthropological issues such as the changing identity of a community due to a change in habitat and changing relationship with neighbour, change in economy, social life power structure, beliefs and rituals etc. have not been taken into account.

The conceptual frame work to handle the issues of displacement and rehabilitation have always derived its impetus from the political-economy model. The exploitative role of the state in relation to the marginalised local communities has been highlighted. In addition to this anthropologists have been greatly benefited by two important theoretical models to handle the issues of displacement and rehabilitation. They are (i) the temporal model of resettlement phases by Scudder (1973) and (ii) the impoverishment model of Cernea (1993). Scudder identified four stages through which a resettlement process generally undergoes. The first stage is characterised by general planning, initial infrastructural development and settler recruitment. The second stage is a transitional one in which the resettlers are averse to any risk taking, they favour continuity to change. The third stage is the stage of economic and social development and the people are prepared to take any risk and ready to invest for future development. The final stage is characterised

by handing over the responsibility to the community and incorporation of the second generation to take over the responsibility. Though Scudder realised the variability of these stages he never commented on the duration of these stages and the socio-economic and psychological factors which might effect the duration. If Scudder's model emphasized on the entirety of rehabilitation process and the manner in which it unfolds in temporal axis, Cernea's model mainly discussed eight major risk factors or sub-process associated with the total process of displacement as found in different geographical and cultural space. Though Cernea was quite clear that all these sub-process might not be present in a specific case, he identified them as the general risk factors. Some of the risk factors might be quite pronounced in one case where as the others might be absent all together.

In 1990 Cernea talked of seven risk factors and in 1993 he added another one - social disarticulation. However, Cernea's model is silent on certain significant area which are quite vulnerable in case of displacement. They are education, community life, leadership, the rituals and community festivals which provide meaning of existence, the relocation and re-emergence a new identity, neighbourhood relations etc. (Patnaik 1996). Later on other scholars (Mahapatra, 1999) have also come up with similar observations. Understanding of rehabilitation scenario should take into account these variables besides being comparative in approach.

KEY WORDS Displacement. Rehabilitation. Culture. Protest. Continuity. Tradition and Change.

ABSTRACTS Making a departure from the established trends of rehabilitation studies, the present paper examines the intricacies of cultural processes around the issness of social disarticulation, re-articulation and peoples responses towards them. Taking two cases from South Orissa the paper attempts to develop a comparative perspective on rehabilitation scenario against the existing socio-cultural back-drop.

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