

Big Dams and Rehabilitation Issues : Who Shares the Sorrows of Oustees

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ABSTRACT The paper drawing information heavily from secondary resources has tried to analyze critically the relationship between the investments made on major irrigation projects in the country and the impacts these projects have had brought on the lives of several Lakhs oustees, particularly tribals. The author further argues that in order to restore social Justice for the project affected people, it is very much need of the hour that every irrigation works should be legislatively authorized with public participation in decision making process.

INTRODUCTION

Construction of dams in India is not a new phenomenon. The pages of history reveal that the major irrigation projects were started way back in 1700 with the Jaismand Tank near Udiapur (in Rajasthan). However, modern irrigation projects began in 1930's. Large dams were considered as technological innovations in modern era with twin objectives (i) as a measure to control devastating flood and (ii) to arrest run-off water going unnecessarily to sea, for productive use in agriculture, generation of electricity, and requirements of domestic consumption. In the post-independence period several large irrigation projects were constructed, viz. Hirakud, Bhakranagal, Nagarjunsagar, Pong, etc.

To accelerate the pace of development of industries and growth of agriculture, efforts were made in the successive plan periods to divert large amount of budget for the development of water resources – major, medium and minor – irrigation projects. The growth of agriculture was the need of the hour as to meet the increasing requirement of food for teeming millions of people and moreover irrigated agriculture could create additional employment opportunities. Table 1 reveals the total invest-

ment made through different plan periods for construction of major, medium and minor irrigation projects in the country. More than 65 per cent of total budget has been spent on the construction of major and medium irrigation projects. Table 2 reveals the total irrigation potential created through various irrigation projects. It can be seen from the data that irrigation potential created through major and medium irrigation projects stands in order of 33.10 million hectares, which is less than half of the total irrigation potential created in the country. If one looks at the utilization figure and compare it with the irrigation potential created and its utilization among minor irrigation, then one could definitely arrive at a conclusion that the country should go more for minor irrigation projects as it involves less cost and more efficient in management.

The aim of this present paper is very much limited. I do not want to indulge at this moment in the ongoing debate small *vis-a-vis* major irrigation projects. In this paper I would like to discuss some of the issues related to rehabilitation pertaining to major and medium irrigation projects. The facts/data presented in this paper have been derived from secondary resources, of course substantiated by the author's personal visit to some of the resettlement colonies.

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Dams of major and medium irrigation projects are invariably located in the hilly terrain and elevated areas full of natural resources, where majority of our indigenous tribal population have been living for centuries. These are the people who belong to powerless class and they represent to common tragedy group. Table 3 presents data regarding major irrigation projects, completed during the period between

Table 1 : Investment through Plan Periods in Irrigation (Rs. in Crores)

Plans	Major and medium irrigation	Minor Irrigation			Total (2+3+4)
		Public sector	Institutional finance	Total (3+4)	
1	2	3	4	5	6
I Plan (1951-56)	380	66	Neg.	66	446.00
II Plan (1956-61)	380	142	19.15	161.15	541.15
III Plan (1961-66)	581	328	115.29	443.29	1024.29
Annual Plans (1966-69)	434	326	234.74	560.74	994.74
IV Plan (1969-74)	1237	513	661.06	1176.06	2411.06
V Plan (1974-78)	2442	631	780.24	1411.24	3853.24
Annual Plans (1978-80)	2056	497	490.40	987.40	3043.40
VI Plans (1980-85)	7516	1802	1437.55	3239.55	10755.555
VII Plans (1985-90)	11107	3115	3311.91	6426.91	17533.91
Total	26133	7420	7050.34	14470.34	40603.34

Note : Out of total investment of Rs. 14470.34 crores under Minor Irrigation, it is roughly estimated that the investment for ground water schemes is Rs. 9000 crores, i.e. 63 per cent of total investment.

Source : Navalawala (1992 : 38)

Table 2 : Development of Irrigation Potential through Plan Period

Plans	Major and medium irrigation		Minor irrigation		Total irrigation	
	Pot.	Utl.	Pot.	Utl.	Pot.	Utl.
Pre-Plan	9.70	9.70	12.90 (6.5)	12.90 (6.5)	22.60	22.60
I Plan (1951-56)	12.19	11.00	14.06 (7.63)	14.06 (7.63)	26.25	25.06
II Plan (1956-61)	14.33	13.30	14.75 (8.30)	14.75 (8.30)	29.08	28.05
III Plan (1961-66)	16.57	15.20	17.00 (10.52)	17.00 (10.52)	33.57	32.20
Annual Plans (1966-69)	18.10	16.80	19.00 (12.50)	19.00 (12.50)	37.10	35.80
IV Plan (1969-74)	20.71	18.70	23.50 (19.80)	23.50 (19.80)	44.21	42.20
V Plan (1974-78)	24.72	21.20	27.30 (19.80)	27.30 (19.80)	52.02	48.50
Annual Plans (1978-80)	26.61	22.70	30.00 (22.00)	30.00 (22.00)	56.61	52.70
VI Plans (1980-85)	30.01	25.33	37.33 (27.80)	35.25 (26.20)	67.57	60.58
VII Plans (1985-90)	31.52	27.77	46.60 (38.95)	43.12 (32.50)	78.12	70.89
Annual Plans (1990-92)	33.10	29.21	50.29 (42.05)	46.49 (35.46)	83.39	75.70

Note : Figures within brackets indicate the creation of potential/under utilization underground water.

Source : Navalawala (1992 : 39)

1957 and 1986, its location, area under submergence and the displacement of total population. It can be seen from the table that four major irrigation projects like Hirakud, Ukai, Srisaillam and Mainthan have displaced a lakh or more than a lakh of population each while four other projects have displaced more than half a lakh population. If one looks at the figure on displacement of tribal population under a few major projects which are at various stages of development, the situation is alarming. Out of 20 projects, the facts are available only for 16 projects. There are 10 projects in which the displacement of tribal population constitutes more than 75 per cent. For another four projects, the displacement of tribals constitutes more than 50 per cent (Table 4). The above facts are suffi-

cient to prove that preponderant number of tribals have been displaced from their native habitat not only in some of the ongoing projects but also in the several hundreds of large and medium irrigation projects already commissioned for which exact figures are not available. In India, it is estimated that more than 20,000,000 people might have adversely affected by water resource (and other) development programmes over the last four decades (Mankodi, 1989). Another conservative estimate reveals that who have been displaced but not rehabilitated is over 11.5 million. This comes to approximately 1.45 per cent of country's total population (Fernades et al., 1989). As already revealed, the concentration of displacement is very high among the tribals followed by schedule caste population

Table 3: Displacement by some major dams completed in India (1957-1986)

S. No.	Name	Year of Completion	River	State	Area under submergence(ha.)	Population displaced
1.	Maithan and Panchet of D.V.C.	1957	Damodar	Bihar	10,719	93,900
2.	Hirakund	1957	Mahanadi	Orissa	73,900	1,01,000
3.	Panchet	1959	Damodar	Maharashtra	15,327	10,000
4.	Koyna	1961	Konya	Maharashtra	11,555	20,000
5.	Rihand	1962	Rihand	Uttar Pradesh	65,000	52,000
6.	Bhakra	1963	Sutlej	Himachal Pradesh	16,629	36,000
7.	Ukai	1972	Tapi	Gujarat	64,200	1,01,800
8.	Pong	1974	Beas	Himachal	30,364	80,000
9.	Nagarjuna Sagar	1974	Krishna	Andhra Pradesh	28,480	28,000
10.	Tawa	1975	Tawa	Madhya Pradesh	20,236	38,600
11.	Jayakawadi	1976	Godavari	Maharashtra	39,833	65,300
12.	Balimela	1977	Sileru	Orissa & Andhra Pradesh	17,516	6,600
13.	Kadana	1978	Mahi	Gujarat	17,722	65,300
14.	Srisailem	1982	Krishna	Andhra Pradesh	43,289	1,00,000
15.	Upper Kolab	1986	Kolab	Orissa	9,067	9,000
Total					4,63,837	8,07,500

Source : Thkuril (ed.) (1992 : 70 & 71)

Table 4 : Displacement by a few major dams under construction or planned in different state of India

S. No.	Name	River	State	Area to be submerged (ha.)	Population to be displaced* (closest 100)	% of tribal
1.	Lalpur	Heran	Gujarat	4,500	11,300	83.20
2.	Daman Ganga	Daman Ganga	Gujarat	7,544	8,700	48.70
3.	Karjan	Karjan	Gujarat	3,677	11,600	100.00
4.	Sardar Sarovar	Narmada	Gujarat	7,469.61	10,400	98.94
		Narmada	Maharashtra	6,683.63	7,500	99.92
		Narmada	M.P.	14,148	247,500	51.64
5.	Narmada Sagar	Narmada	M.P.	91,348	170,000	20.00
6.	Maheswar	Narmada	Maharashtra	4,856	6,200	60.00
7.	Bansagar	Sone	Maharashtra	51,648	127,000	NA
8.	Bodhghat	Indravati	Maharashtra	12,250	12,7000	73.91
9.	Icha	Kharkai	Bihar & Orissa	4,268.29	NA	NA
			Orissa	8,536.59	30,800	80.00
10.	Upper	Indravati	Orissa	NA	18,500	89.20
11.	Chandil	Subarnarekha	Bihar	17,683	37,600	87.92
12.	Koel-Karo	Koel-JKaro	Bihar	17,763	66,000	88.00
13.	Masan Reservoir	Masan	Bihar	4,498	3,700	31.00
14.	Polavaram	Godavari	Madhya Pradesh (M.P.) and Andhra Pradesh (A.P.)	44,513	150,00	52.90
15.	Inchampalli	Godavari	Andhra Pradesh (A.P.)	71,000	38,100	76.28
16.	Bhopalpatnam	Indravati	Madhya Pradesh (M.P.)		8,800	50.00
			Maharashtra	20,000	NA	NA
17.	Tultuli		Maharashtra	5,420	13,600	51.61
18.	Mahi Bajaj Sagar	Mahi	Maharashtra	14,340	38,4000	76.28
19.	Gosi Khurd	Wainganga	Maharashtra	NA	65,200	Nil
20.	Tehri	Bhagirathi	Uttar Pradesh (U.P.)	5,200	85,600**	NA
Total				4,17,346.85	11,69,200	50.13

* Most of these figures are from the 1971 census. The number would have increased by over 30 percent by now.

** The density here is very high (1,646 per sq. km.) because the whole town of Tehri will be submerged.

Source : Thkuril (ed.) (1992 : 84 & 85).

and other backward castes.

The schedule tribe population forms only 7 per cent of the country's population but the proportion among those displaced by development projects is as high as 40 per cent (Singh, 1985). Even the figures arrived at or published by the respective state governments in respect of displacement can hardly be taken for granted. Viegas who studied the progress of rehabilitation made in the Hirakud dam project after thirty years of its commissioning had to say something substantial. He stated that not only land under submergence was underestimated but also the people would be affected by the project construction was undersurveyed and hence, the figure arrived at was highly speculative (Viegas, 1987). This reflects on the engineering bias of planning to have a dam first with little concern for human beings, his society, his economy and his environment. Prof. Cernea comments in a lighter vein citing a case of project planning from Pakistan which reinforces the facts. The non-inclusion of social experts – sociologists, demographers, human geographers, anthropologists – in the planning teams is a sure recipe for socially underdeveloped programmes. The new "Kalabagh dam being considered in Pakistan provides a telling illustration: an international team of consultants produced a detailed feasibility report in nine thick volumes (three feet high in total) for this dam, yet this report skipped over the displacement of some 80,000 people. One wonders how serious the cost-benefit calculation of the entire project was if it did not include the cost of such massive displacement and resettlement" (Cernea, 1990 : 5).

III

The first prime minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while inaugurating foundation laying ceremony of the longest dam, *i.e.* Hirakud, in his speech told to the villagers that "you are to suffer, you should suffer in the interest of the country" (The Bombay Chronicle, 1948 : 5 month of April). Exactly that has been happening amongst all the development projects, may be projects related to exploitation of natural resources, or construction of several irrigation projects. The tribals and the weaker sections of

the society have sacrificed every thing at the altar of development and growth of the society during the last four decades. As a result the rich and prosperous section of the society availed maximum advantage of development cake while the poorer sections of the society have been leading a life full of utter penury and chaos. This is evident from the expression of oustees of Achpalli village of Hirakud dam even after 30 years: "The government has got whatever it wanted from us but we have not received anything from it". Refreshing their memories on submerged lands they said most dejectedly "earlier we were like lords with labourers working for us, but today we have been turned into labourers overselves and find it degrading and even dehumanizing to work under other" (Viegas, 1992 : 53). The development policy of the government with deprivation and destitution has initiated several organized protest movements against large and medium irrigation projects. 1960s and 70's saw emergence of agitation in Maharashtra against Large number of dams in the state (NCHE, 1986 : 18). This agitation paved the way for the formulation of the Maharashtra Project Displace Persons Rehabilitation Act in 1976. In 1970 oustees of pong dam in Himachal Pradesh protested at the dam site for 15 days and stopped the entire construction work. A mass movement against the Keol Karo dam and subsequent writ petition filed in the Supreme Court in 1984, the ongoing protest movement by the NBA against the Sardar Sarovar Project, the mass movement against the Tehri Dam Project led by internationally famous environmentalist Shri Sundarlal Bahu-guna are a few other glaring examples. Till today only a few states like the Maharashtra, Karnataka and Gujarat have adopted a policy framework on rehabilitation. However the central government so far has not cared to evolve a National Policy on Rehabilitation to safeguard the interest of tribals and weaker sections of the society.

Prof. Cernea, a renowned social scientist presently working with the World Bank, says that "displacement by its very nature is a disruptive and a painful process. Economically and culturally... it created a high risk of chronic impoverishment that typically occurs along one

or several of the following dimensions: Landlessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, morbidity and social disarticulation" (Cernea, 1990 : 20). In this paper I shall examine these issues citing cases broadly from Hirakud and Ukai Projects, supplemented by appropriate illustrations from other projects.

Land for the Hirakud reservoir was acquired under the Land acquisition Act 1894. Though no accurate figure on the extent of Land acquired was available, according to one report, of the total 1,67,376.83 acres of submerged land, 1,15,127.97 was good agricultural land (Govt. of Orissa, 1968 : 13). In the same report the government of Orissa claims that all the people of the submerged area were provided with "land for cultivation and a house to live in". In spite of the schedule drawn up by the government of Orissa to distribute Rs. 9.60 crores* as compensation by 1956, only 3.43 crores (*i.e.* 35.5 per cent) were actually distributed. Nevertheless people were forcefully displaced with or without compensation (Patnaik et al., 1987 : 17). Even today many of the oustees of Hirakud dam have yet to receive their compensation, partial or full. A recent study reveals that a large number of oustees have turned to agricultural labourers leading a life full of abject poverty (Baboo, 1992). Thukral conducted several studies on dams and rehabilitation related issues in late 80's. She explains her rich experiences on the issues of displacement of tribals. The displaced tribals had very little or no exposure to the outside world. The fact of their being predominantly illiterate and poor made the process of displacement even more difficult. They, therefore, accepted whatever was given to them without questioning. This was the first time in life they saw a large amount of money, as a result of which the sense of loss was mixed with some amount of excitement... the presence of petty business selling commodities like watches... made matters worse. All they were left with a few colourful trinkets and perhaps a transistor radio or a watch but nothing to sustain them in future. This has been the experience of the oustees of Hirakud in the 1950's, of Ukai in Gujarat during 1970's and of Kutku in Bihar in

1980's (Thukral, 1989).

Ukai, another large dam was constructed on Tapi river in the state of Gujarat in the year 1972. The total land area submerged was 64,200 hectares and more than one lakh population were displaced. Of the 170 villages affected by the reservoir, 100 villages were fully submerged, while remaining were partially affected. According to an official estimate, a total of 16,080 families were affected by the project. Of these, 14,148 families of 138 villages were rehabilitated in 17 groups of settlements, whereas remaining 1,932 families moved away on their own after receiving the adhoc compensation. (Mankodi, 1992:88). Regarding the land given as compensation to the oustees, Mankodi observes that the compensation offered was totally inadequate considering the quality of land acquired. The acquired land was mostly fertile, enriched as it was by the silt deposited on the river banks. Moreover, the soil was well drained and capable of yielding multiple crops even without irrigation and application of fertilizer. The land holding size was large. Against this the land offered in return was far too inadequate to be economical. Moreover, from the offered land, forest cover was removed almost overnight. Instead of being constantly enriched, the whole area was vulnerable to the ravages of outside elements and continuous impoverishment. In no case, it could be a substitute for the land that was acquired (Ibid, 1992 : 92). A survey carried out by the same author after 10 years of resettlement revealed a regular cycle of seasonal distress migration under which between half and more than three-fourths of the population of resettled villages migrated for work outside the area (Ibid, 1992:98). Another study carried out among the affected area population in the year 1980 reveals that 95 per cent of population subsist below poverty line drawn at the consumption level of Rs. 60/- per capital per month (Jain, 1980).

The only deepest dam (Nagarjun Sagar) in the state of Andhra Pradesh has constructed on the river Krishna in the year 1974. Of the 28,000 displaced families, approximately 36 per cent of population belonged to scheduled tribe, most of them were Lambada. Only 7 per cent of them belonged to scheduled caste while 45 per cent

* Roughly Rs. 36/- make one US dollar

of them were from backward castes like Mangaligands, Golas, Mutrasis, Erkalis, etc. only 18 per cent of the project affected people were from one or the other forward castes. It was on the sacrifice of land, house, economy and culture of these backward population, the massive irrigation infrastructure was developed. On the contrary the oustees were given dry land (maximum of 5 acres) as compensation and rehabilitated outside the command area. The present generation oustees, and even their in coming generations can hardly reap the benefits of irrigated agriculture to restore their past healthy economy they were living in. As a result, the land acquired in new sites could not meet just family requirements and majority of them migrated out in search of livelihood. Citing the case of Muddavat Chenna, one among the several thousands people displaced by the Nagarjun Sagar, who had been given a house plot and 5 acres of land at different locations of 25 to 30 Km away could not save the land from the local encroachers and spent the compensation money pursuing the issue in the tahasil court and finally turned out a migrant labourer. Studies on rehabilitation have revealed that displacement not only creates psychological and cultural insecurity but also takes away existing livelihood of the oustees without offering any viable means of subsistence (Singh and Samantary, 1992 : 55-78).

The Sardar Sarovar, one of the inter state mega water resources development project, is under advance stage of construction. The main dam of this project is located at Kevadia on Narmada river. Since the project size is very large, it will submerge in a total number of 245 villages, of which 193 are in Madhya Pradesh followed by 33 in Maharashtra and 19 in Gujarat. In fact, total 35,000 hectares land area will be submerged of which more than two-third area falls under the state of Madhya Pradesh. A conservative estimate places the number of persons to be displaced around 1,52,000 (about 27,000 as per government estimate). The break up : Gujarat 23,950, Maharashtra 13,500 and Madhya Pradesh 1,15,000. In addition, about 1,40,000 farmers are likely to be affected by the construction of canal and other irrigation systems. Further, people living in down stream of

the project and back water zone will be affected (Anonymous, 1993). It has been claimed that once the project is completed on schedule, it will irrigate 1.8 millions hectares of land spreading over 3393 villages of 62 talukas of 12 districts, of which 75 per cent area is classified as drought prone. Ever since the day the central government gave clearance to this project after receiving the nod from the Narmada Tribunal (specifically constituted for this purpose and clearance from the dept. of environment), the project has been landed into high altitude of controversy the country has ever seen. The matter of pro and against the project has been discussed at national and international forum. The anti-dam lobby articulates their points drawing logically the facts and figures that the rehabilitation of several thousands of tribal population is a gigantic task and complete solution to this issue is not at near sight; the entire project is not environment friendly; and the cost of the project is so high that the benefits accrued over the years can not match the cost and the latest being the demand of the Madhya Pradesh government to reduce the height of the dam from its 455 feet to 436 feet as it could save several thousand acres of land including forest under submergence. Contrary to this volcanoes of opposition from the anti-dam lobby and the withdrawal of the World Bank for funding the project (it may be mentioned that subsequently the Japanese government has withdrawn from funding the project coming under the pressure of the local environmentalists), the government of Gujarat has taken a strong vow to complete the project in time, and has displayed its readiness to face whatever challenges that may come in the way and has characterized the project as "life line of Gujarat".

At this conjecture, I do not want to indulge in the controversy by taking a position but wish to dwell upon the rehabilitation issues narrating my own experiences and observations. The rehabilitation policy of Sardar Sarovar is much better, if compared with several rehabilitation schemes implemented by the different state governments in the recent past. It is for the first time in the country that the SSP has promised to offer several tangible material and cash benefits to the project affected

people. The benefits to be offered are :

- (i) Every family from whom more than a quarter of its land holding is acquired will be provided irrigable land to the extent acquired.
- (ii) A minimum of two hectares of land will be given to every family including the landless who cultivated/encroached the forest/government land.
- (iii) The government of Gujarat has in principle decided to give 2 hectares of land to all major sons who have attained the age of 18 on first of January 1987.
- (iv) Every family is assured of a residential plot measuring 500 square meters.
- (v) Apart from resettlement grants, each family will be given Rs. 10,000/- for the construction of plinth, Rs. 4,500/- as subsistence allowance, Rs. 750/- for miscellaneous expenditure, Rs. 5000/- for purchase of bullock, and Rs. 600/- for ploughing the fields to make it flat. The other benefits include free transport of entire luggage and a number of civic amenities including a primary school, dispensaries, village ponds, drinking water wells, village road and tinsheets for erecting temporary sheds.

I had a chance to accompany a research team who had been given a mandate of mobilizing beneficiary farmers of Narmada command to form Village Service Area Committee for efficient management of water. As a part of this programme, a series of meetings were conducted among the three VSAC farmers. Gola Gamdi/Hareswar VSAC was one of them. In the adjoining open areas of Golagamdi and Hareswar, the oustees families of Badagam of Madhya Pradesh have been rehabilitated in three different colonies.

Besides the research team and myself, a couple of senior level officers of Narmada Nigam also attended the mass awareness camps. The following issues were discussed by the resettlement families :

- 1) During the negotiation period, it was promised that 5 acres of irrigated land will be given. But to their surprise, land allotted to them are found dry and moreover they are not sure of whether the allotted land fall under the Narmada command or they will be permit-

ted to draw water to their fields from the Narmada canal.

- 2) Although, there is provision of school for education of their children, no care has been taken by the authority to appoint teachers so far. In case of delay their children will be deprived of education.
- 3) The dugwells constructed by the government does not yield sufficient water. This has caused hardship to inmates to meet the day to day water requirement of the settlement. Since the area is dry, there is no other source available to meet the water requirement. As a result, it has already affected the cattle population. This needs immediate attention of the concerned authority.
- 4) The government has provided an electric motor to lift the water from the dugwell. The motor is lying idle for several months due to lack of electric connection. Although, electricity is available in the settlement, mere providing electric connection and placing the motor at the appropriate place have not been attended so far, due to sheer negligence.
- 5) There are several genuine complaints regarding getting compensatory allowances.

A policy can be called good, if the items envisaged are implemented with letter and spirit. We have inherited a bureaucracy of British legacy which does not work with spirit and the concept of benevolence does not exist. As a result, a good policy turns out to be bad one in many occasion. Moreover self interest is more transparent and has been become the philosophy of the day. Once Late Rajiv Gandhi made a whirlwind tours to the rural areas to assess the impact of rural development schemes on rural poor and stated that only 15 paise of a rupee has actually reached to the rural poor while 85 paise has been siphoned off in the process. This observation is sufficient to generalize and understand the prevailing condition in the resettlement colonies.

"I have been hearing about the dam since my childhood", says Mr. Govind Prasad a farmer from Bijapur, who is to be displaced by the Indira Sagar dam in Panasa. Ever since they declared that the dam is to be constructed, they have not done anything for us - no hospitals, no schools for our children, no roads and no buses

to travel (Anonymous, 1988). Resettlement against the will of people causes lots of sorrow and distress. This is evident in the case of Koyna project. Karve and Nimbakar (1969 : 63) observed that in the case of Koyna dam too, the people were completely unprepared..... there was no time to bring their household goods. The water rose so quickly that they had to run for life. On the contrary a study on Pong dam, an interstate project reveals that the families displaced from Himachal Pradesh were resettled in Rajasthan, a state having altogether different culture, environment and social life. The major problem they faced was onslaught of hostility from the host population. The displacement of people started in 1966 but during the study period 1989, it was observed that the process of resettlement was nowhere near completion. Many displaced families of Himachal Pradesh are yet to be resettled (Bhanot and Singh, 1992:103).

A study of the detailed project reports of most development schemes reveal that while the technical aspects of the project are worked out meticulously, the nature of displacement and rehabilitation was studied only perfunctorily. The agency put in implementing the scheme is given a time limit for completion with most economic way. The outcome of this target oriented approach has yielded maximum concentration to the hardwares, and softwares are dealt with soft options or in many occasions totally forgotten. Rehabilitation is only nominal and studies have indicated that less than 25 per cent of those displaced during the last three decades have been rehabilitated properly (Hansda, 1983:23). A similar report published by the World Bank very recently reveals that in most of the ongoing World Bank funded irrigation/thermal power projects in the states like Orissa, Karnataka, MP and Gujarat, the resettlement results were found unsatisfactory (See Appendix-A). I feel, at this juncture, it is worth mentioning the observation of Robert Jaine. He says "for the indigenous people land and blood are homologous. Their society, culture, religion, identity and their very existence are intimately linked to the land they hold. An aboriginal leader from Australia said : My land is my backbone..... I only stand strait, happy, proud and not ashamed about my colour because I still have

land. I can dance, paint, create and sing as my ancestors did before me. My land is my foundation. I stand, live and perform as long as I have something firm and hard to stand on. Without land..... we will be the lowest people in the world, because you have broken down our backbone, took away our arts, history and foundation; you have left us with nothing" (quoted from Jaine, 1978:5-6).

In Lieu of Conclusion

The above brief description tells us that the indigenous tribal and other backward population of this largest democratic country in the world, have sacrificed everything for the growth and integrity of the nation. The four decades of planned development have not yielded any tangible benefit for their economic development and betterment in life. If the irrigation projects are constructed, they remain high and dry. If industries come up, they do not get new jobs. Four decades of experience has taught us that cash or dry land is not the right amount to compensate. Hence the demand of the day is that the displaced should be given land within the command area of course with other facilities. I fully support the observation of Prof. Buxi. According to him, all irrigation works should be legislatively authorized. For each work, there should be a special legislation providing among other things, for public participation in crucial aspects of decision making, for accountability of performance, for ensuring the flow of benefits directly or indirectly to the most impoverished strata and providing a project specific bill of right for the people (Buxi, 1989 : 166).

APPENDIX-A

World Bank against funding Indian Projects

1. *Karnataka Irrigation Project (Loan completed in 1986)*: Resettlement results unsatisfactory. Insufficient understanding of magnitude/complexity of resettlement. Poorly designed, funded and executed.
2. *Gujarat Medium Irrigation Project (Loan completed in 1984)*: Resettlement results unsatisfactory. No understanding of planning of resettlement or compensation, nor to creation of new facilities or economic opportunities for affected families.
3. *Ramagundam Thermal Power Project (Loan completed in 1987)*: Resettlement results unsatisfactory.

- Households resettled in sites close to former homes with minimal social infrastructure. Few opportunities were identified for rehabilitation.
4. *Second Singarauli Thermal Power Project (Loan completed in 1989)* : Resettlement results unsatisfactory. IDA (International Development Association) - the soft loan window of the World Bank should have acted earlier in identifying resettlement problems and having them implemented by Government of India.
 5. *Farakka Thermal Power Project (Loan completed in 1988 and 89)* : Resettlement results unsatisfactory.
 6. *M.P. Medium Irrigation Project (Loan completed in 1988)* : Resettlement results unsatisfactory. Poor resettlement and rehabilitation outcome due to major institutional weakness on the part of project management.
 7. *M.P. Major Irrigation Project (Loan completed in 1991)* : Resettlement not yet completed. Resettlement plan prepared after delays. More families affected than expected at appraisal. Problems with cash compensation.
 8. *Subarnarekha Irrigation Project (Loan completed in 1989)* : Resettlement results unsatisfactory. Inadequate policies, poor planning and management. Economic rehabilitation of people even more problematic than relocation due to shortage of land and lack of policies.
 9. *Second Orissa Irrigation Project (Loan completed in 1988)* : Resettlement results unsatisfactory. Inadequate preparation. Proper implementation not followed up by government.
 10. The two projects where the resettlement results were found satisfactory are the Second Maharashtra Irrigation Project and the Karnataka Tanks Irrigation Project, both funded by the World Bank. It was found to be only partly satisfactory in the case of the Second Gujarat Irrigation project funded by the Bank.
- Source : Indian Express, dated 23.3.1993.
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