

## *CHAPTER – II : REVIEW OF LITERATURE*

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## CHAPTER - II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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This chapter is about the PAFs of SSP with an attempt to view and understand PAFs in R and R sites from social and psychological frame of reference. The focus of this chapter is to explore and search for analysis of human and social impacts of displacement. This chapter will attempt to identify some of the recurring and predominant trends in the experience of displacement and rehabilitation as a result of big dams all over the World.

Large number of people are displaced by development projects, such as irrigation, industries, mines, defence, transport and communication. Though the exact number of such oustees is generally not known, it should certainly be very large. At the project preparation stage it is based on estimates which turn out to be too low. One of the many neglected costs of the big dam, some of the grave are the social and human consequences of displacement. Thus, 'Resettlement' and 'Rehabilitation is a complex issue with several dimensions and players; each with it's own limited resources and interests. For thorough and indepth understanding of R and R, the viewpoints of all the players need to be considered. Thus, the review of literature comprises of literature pertaining to various dams world over and resultant displacement based on -

1.1) A review of submissions and country papers along with relevant literature on the subject by Petercoles – British – Journalist specializing in scientific and environmental issues, The UNESCO Courier – April 2000.

1.2) International River Network (IRN) – Patrick McCully (Web – [www.irn.org](http://www.irn.org)) which includes –

- Three Gorges Dam, Yangtze River, China
- Bakun Dam, Balai River, Malaysia
- Bujagali Falls Dam, Nile River, Uganda

- Llisu Dam, Tigris River, Turkey
- Lesotho Highlands Water Project, Sengu River Lesoto
- Nam Theun Dam, Theun River, Laos and others

1.3) Thematic Review of Displacement, Resettlement, Rehabilitation, Reparation and Development – A working paper prepared as an input to the (WCD) World Commission on Dams by Leopoldo Jose Bartolome, National University of Misiones, Argentina Chris de Wet, Rhodes University, South Africa, Harsh Mander, Indian Administrative Service, India, Vijay Kumar Nagraj Freelance Researcher, India as part of its information gathering activity. Knowledge base consists of seven case studies, two country studies, one briefing paper, seventeen thematic reviews of five sectors, a cross check survey of 125 dams, four regional consultation and nearly 1000 topic-related submissions.

**Case Studies (Focal Dams) :**

- Grand Coulee Dam, Columbia River Basin, USA
- Tarbela dam, Indus River Basin, Pakistan
- Asiantas Dam, Ceyhan River Basin, Turkey
- Kariba Dam, Zambezi River, Zambia/Zimbabwe
- Tukurui Dam, Tocantins River, Brazil
- Pak Mum Dam, Mun-Mekong River Basin, Thailand
- Glomma and Laagen Basin, Norway
- Pilot Study of the Gariep and Van der Kloof
- Dams – Orange River South Africa

**Country Studies :**

India

China

**Briefing Paper**

Russia and NIS countries

### **Thematic Reviews**

- TR I (1) : Social Impact of Large Dams : Equity and Distributional Issues
- TR I (2) : Indigenous People and Vulnerable Ethnic Minorities
- TR I (3) : Displacement, Resettlement, Rehabilitation, Preparation and Development
- TRII (1) : Dams, Ecosystem Functions and Environmental Restoration
- TRII (1) : Dams, Ecosystem Functions and Environmental Restoration
- TRII (2) : Dams and Global Change
- TRIII (1) : Economic, Financial and Distributional Analysis
- TRIII (2) : International Trends in Project Financing
- TRIV (1) : Electricity Supply and Demand Management Options
- TRIV (2) : Irrigation Options
- TRIV (3) : Water Supply Options
- TRIV (4) : Food Control and Management Options
- TRIV (5) : Operation, monitoring and decommissioning of Dams
- TRV (1) : Planning Approaches
- TRV (2) : Environmental and Social Assessment for Large Dams
- TRV (3) : River Basins. Institutional Framework and Management Options
- TRV (4) : Regulation, Compliance and Implementation
- TRV (5) : Participation, Negotiation and conflict Management : Large Dam Projects

The objective of this Thematic Review were to review recent practices relating to displacement, resettlement, rehabilitation and development of people negatively affected by the construction of dams.

Some of the key findings which emerge from the review of submissions and country papers are as follows :

- a) Displacement or the involuntary and forced relocation of people has come to be acknowledged as among the most significant negative impacts of large water resources development projects such as dams. It is estimated that nearly 60 million people have been displaced worldwide due to the reservoirs created by large dams

(McCully, P. 1996). A World Bank review of 192 projects worldwide for the period 1986 – 1993 estimated that 4 million people were displaced annually.

- b) There is no legal framework that governs the process of displacement itself.
- c) In the absence of legal safeguards to ensure accountability on the part of the State, resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) entitlements promised often by executive order have rarely been implemented in their entirety covering all affected people.
- d) In several countries, the indigenous and tribal people displaced by large dams seem to have experienced higher levels of landlessness, unemployment, indebtedness and hunger.
- e) By and large, there was adverse impact of displacement on women and children. Only situations where loss of land and access to natural resources were replaced with sustainable resources women had opportunities to recover their social and economic worth and respect.

## **II) National Level :**

### **II) 1. Studies on Rehabilitation :**

Dam as a source of irrigation though dates back to centuries in India, the 1930's were the beginning of the big dams.

Studies on rehabilitation – world over by social scientists are but a few. Their number is fewer in India. These studies have mainly been carried out by sociologists and social anthropologists e.g.

- Irawati Karve – A survey of the people displaced through Koyna Dam, Poona, Deccan College, 1969, Gadchiroli dist. Of Maharashtra State, Pune, Tribal Research and Training Institute, 1983.
- B.L.Joshi, Displacement and Rehabilitation, Aurangabad, 1982
- Vyas, Tribal Research and Training Institute, Sociological survey of the Area under submergence under Joint Inchampali Project in Sironcha Tahsil of Gadchiroli Dist of Maharashtra State, Pune.

- Tribal Research and Training Institute, 1987, Centre for Social Studies (CSS) Surat, has carried out two post-facto studies of rehabilitation, examining the condition of oustees and the ecological aspects were in Naswadai Taluka And some in Chhotaudepur Taluka of Vadodara district CSS has studied each submerging village in detail and monograph for each village is published.

Observations and studies about various dams and projects in India, sourced from (a) contributing paper on Dams, Displacement, Policy and Law in India, prepared for thematic Review co-authored by Ravi Hemadri Bislapur Bandh Samanvay Samiti, India, Harsh Mander, Vijay Nagarj (Independent Experts India). This paper seeks mainly to establish some benchmarks for policy in India by looking at the actual experience of displacement due to big dams in India in 50 years. (b) Contributing paper on Dams and Tribal people in India, prepared for thematic review by Amrita Patwardhan, Independent Expert, India.

Table 2.1: Dams and the displacement of tribal people :

Name of Project*	State	Population facing displacement	Tribal people as percentage of displaced
Karjan	Gujarat	11,600	100
Sardar Sarovar	Gujarat	200,000	57.6
Maheshwar	M.P.	20,000	60
Bodhghat	M.P.	12,700	73.91
Icha	Bihar	30,800	80
Chandil	Bihar	37,600	87.92
Koel Karo	Bihar	66,000	88
Nahi Bajaja Sagar	Rajasthan	38,400	76.28
Polavram	A.P.	150,000	52.90
Maithon & Panchet	Bihar	93,874	56.46
Upper Indravati	Orissa	18,500	89.20
Pong	H.P.	80,000	56.25
Inchampalli	A.P.-Maharashtra	38,100	76.28
Tultuli	Maharashtra	13,600	51.61
Daman Ganga	Gujarat	8,700	48.70
Bhakra	H.P.	36,000	34.76
Masan Reservoir	Bihar	3,700	31.00
Ukai Reservoir	Gujarat	52,000	18.92

Source : Satyajit Singh, Taming the Waters, OUP 1997 and Government figures

Note : Projects are either under construction or have been planned.

The Table 2.1 depicts the fact that the vast majority of tribal people are displaced by big projects.

Table 2.2 : Independent estimates of total persons displaced by dams during 1950-1990 (In lakhs)

No.	Category	Number (lakhs)	%
1	Total number persons displaced	164	100%
2	Total number resettled	41	25%
3	Backlog	123	75%
4	Total number of tribal persons displaced	63.21	38%
5	Total number of tribals resettled	15.81	25%
6	Backlog	47.40	75%

(Source : *Fernandes and Paranjapye, 1997* – in “Draft Report Development Induced Displacement in Gujarat 1947 – 2004”, 2007 Centre for Culture and Development, Vadodara)



Large numbers of people are displaced by development projects such as irrigation, industries, mines, defence, transport and communication in India. Though the exact number of such oustees is generally not known, it should certainly be very large. Irrigation and power projects are estimated to have displaced over one million persons in India. The four steel plants in Bhilai and coal mines belonging to four subsidiaries of Coal India Limited displaced another 33,000 families. As against this, as stated in Report of the Committee on Rehabilitation for displaced tribals due to development projects, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, 1985, the claim that 18 projects in M.P., Orissa, Gujarat and Maharashtra have together displaced only about 75,000 families appears questionable. It is more than likely that the total number of oustees due to irrigation projects is also underestimated. Even when forced relocation of people on mass scale takes place due to the construction of a reservoir or a missile testing range or other such projects, the exact number of oustees is unknown.

As stated by Central Board of Irrigation and Power that prior to 1947, water resource development works in India comprised mostly of diversion weirs or small earth dams not exceeding 15 to 20 metres in height, mainly in the form of small tanks and bunds with localized networks of canals. In fact there were only 30 dams that were 30 metres or more in height before the onset of Independence. However, many of these systems involved extensive and sophisticated modes of water harvesting, sometimes with massive canal systems, and involving creative application of indigenous technologies.

With the adoption of policies for planned development after freedom in India, a major priority for policy makers was the harnessing of the country's water resources for irrigation and power.

As stated by Ravi Hemadri, Harsh Mander, Vijay Nagraj – Independent Expert, India) in a contributing paper – Dams, Displacement Policy and Law in India, a contributing paper submitted to World Commission on Dams.

“Large storage works such as the Bhakra, the Hirakud, the Tungabhadra and the Damodar Valley dams were amongst the earliest projects undertaken in the post Independence period in the country. Construction of high dams for hydropower generation was also taken up, essentially in peninsular India, and this included schemes such as the Machkund, Pykara and the Kundah hydro-electric projects.

The national plans also attempted to incorporate wherever possible a multi-purpose orientation to dam projects, including hydro-power, flood control and navigation, in addition to irrigation. Some 3,300 big dams have been constructed in India in the last 50 years. Budget provisions for major irrigation projects outstrip most other sectors, including health and education, in the annual plans of many state governments. These are also far in excess of financial allocations for establishing or strengthening decentralized irrigation schemes.

- A formidable body of independent empirical research into many of these large dams has established how their social, human and environmental costs have been ignored or grossly understated in the planning of these projects.

“Of the many neglected costs of the big dams, some of the most grave are the social and human consequences of displacement”. Pt.Nehru, India’s first Prime Minister, while laying the foundation-stone for India’s first major river valley project, the Hirakud Dam in Orissa in 1948, said to the tens of thousand facing the grim prospect of displacement. In fact that there are no reliable official statistics of the (fig.) numbers of people displaced by large projects since independence. Many researchers place their estimates between 10 and 25 million. In an influential 1989 study, Fernandes, Das and Rao provide an estimate of some 21 million displaced persons (Fernandes 1991). Scholar, administrator and currently Secretary of India’s Planning Commission Dr.N.C.Saxena, places his estimate of 50

million persons displaced by big projects since 1947 which is nearly double this figure – 50 million. This is also the figure quoted by celebrity writer Arundhati Roy in a recent essay ‘The Greater Common Good ‘The Human Cost of Big Dams’.

Reports in the case of the Ukai dam confirm that the rehabilitation policy consisted of about 20 different resolutions made by various departments of the Gujarat state government over a period of five years. The Andhra Pradesh government in the early 1960s had a project-specific rehabilitation policy. In the case of the Nagarjunasagar Project in 1960, the state government declared its willingness to take the responsibility for the full rehabilitation of the dislocated. In the case of Pochampad in 1965 and Srisaïlam in 1977 the Andhra Pradesh government did away with the practice of an elaborate rehabilitation policy. Instead it was replaced by departmental memos and orders to suit the need of the hour. Rehabilitation of the people uprooted from their lands and homes is a delicate matter and requires a good deal of understanding and dedication. The socio-cultural patterns of the oustees, the level of economy, their cultural ethos and psychological make up and all such other aspects need to be studied and understood before any scheme for their resettlement could be thought of. In the context of the Bargi project, the then Divisional Commissioner of Jabalpur Division is reported to have said : that rehabilitation is grossly under-financed, it is only in recent years that thus the neglect of rehabilitation assumes the gravest aspect when seen in relation to older projects, particularly those that commenced or were concluded in the first three decades after Independence. The influential Citizens’ Fifth Report (1999) published by the Centre for Science and Environment documents, for instance, the plight of about 12,000 Biranchi families in the Rengali dam area of Orissa, displaced in 1973, who continue to have no land for cultivation, no drinking water and no health care. Oustees from the first

major river valley project in free India, Hirakud, in the absence of any rehabilitation plan, occupied whatever open lands they could locate. These lands are still not legally theirs, and they are harassed to vacate these lands by forest officials. Similarly Parasuraman documents vividly the fiasco of the Upper Krishna Irrigation Project : able to recover or even improve upon the standards of living they had enjoyed prior to displacement. The Dalits and other low-castes groups who were originally landless or owned very little land, suffered more. They could not buy land due to a lack of resources and were eventually pushed into the category of migrant labourers and construction workers. Displacement aggravated poverty in this group. Lokayan in 1982 documented the trauma undergone by the 21,094 families in the 100 villages submerged by Srisailem project in Andhra Pradesh, the reports states : The government has conceived and executed the Srisailem project..... Without into consideration the human problem seriously. The disbursement of compensation (in cash) did not encourage plans for resettlement. In the disbursement of compensation there appears to have been widespread corruption. Large and rich farmers managed to receive compensation, for both house sites and land lost, at reasonably competitive terms; people with low economic and social status did not get fair compensation for the property lost”.

- Chakraborty (1986 : 34) cites the instance of Srisailem, where the average land-holding size of the oustees declines between 53 per cent and 63 per cent for all categories. This is indicative of the economic marginalization of the oustees, this is one of the impoverishment risks discussed by Cernea.
- In the case of the Hirakud Dam, to take an early instance, it is reported that only one-third of compensation claims had been disbursed and 11,341 arbitration cases were pending when in March 1956 people were displaced without compensation, rendering them homeless as well as resourceless. In Bargi, five model villages were established at considerable cost, but because no cultivable land was made available and there were no livelihood prospects in the

vicinity, people migrated in droves, reducing the model villages almost to ghost towns. Starvation deaths were alleged in the 'model' village of Gorakhpur (Roy 1999).

There are other health risks as well. Sunil K. Roy (1987) in his paper on the Tehri Dam quotes Dr. Ramalingaswami, an expert on public health : water impoundments will increase favourable vector sites at times of the year when they were previously scanty. A majority holds that real economic returns from water resource development projects may be seriously compromised by enhanced disease transmission of vector-borne diseases. The states of Punjab and Haryana have now become endemic for malaria on account of these factors, as also the Raichur district of Karnataka state after Tungabhadra damming and canal network development (Roy 1987 : 68). It has been documented, for instance, that as a direct result of the lack of coordination between the multiplicity of irrigation, thermal power and coal-mining agencies in Singrauli, most oustees have been displaced at least twice, and some three or four times in a matter of two or three decades and with each displacement the villagers were progressively pauperized (Lokayan and Environmental Defence Fund 1987 quoted in Ganguly Thukral 1989)

- Fernandes (1989) estimated that between 1950 and 1989, 16.5 million persons have been displaced of whom only 4 millions have been rehabilitated. Further, as stated in India's Environment report 1984-1985, the villages in Meerut district which were in close proximity to canals were found to have more malaria cases as compared to those in Gargaon district which were away from canals.

- The few studies of development – projects on dam displacement and health indicate that there is a serious impact on health and well being of the oustees. Most studies focus on lack of implementation of proper health care services, accentuating impoverishment and risk. The major health issues are communicable and non-communicable diseases, injuries malnutrition; and stress.

In Tamil Nadu villages on the banks of South Ponnaiyer river, the villages within 5 km alongside of the river, which were free from malaria for 20 years have been found to have

the heaviest concentration of malaria. The malaria institute of India had pointed out that perennial irrigation projects in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Sind have resulted in increased incidence of malaria (India's Environment, 1982).

## **2.2) A brief review of rehabilitation policy in India :**

2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Monitoring and Evaluation Report titled R and R : S.S.P. on the Narmada mentions that -

At the outset, it should be mentioned that there is no rehabilitation policy as such for the country as a whole. Except in Maharashtra and M.P. there is no Rehabilitation Act in any state. Most of the states have passed Government Resolution (GR) or Government Orders (GO) and have undertaken welfare measures to meet exigencies of local situations. These GRs or GoS have evolved a pattern indicating the Government's approach to rehabilitation. Earlier the Government was unresponsive towards the problem and treated it primarily as an administrative issue. Of late, it has shown concern towards the problems of oustees and has viewed the rehabilitation issue as a human aspect. It is only after their compensation account has been fully settled and their house in the old village has been dismantled, that they move to the R and R site, where they gradually build a new house. Sometimes even after this some members of the household go back to the old villages, where they may build a temporary shelter and stay for varying period of time in order to tend their livestock which is often left behind due to fodder and grazing land scarcity in the R and R site or in order to be nearer to the dam site where employment is more easily available than in the R and R sites.

The Government has still a long way to go in formulating a comprehensive rehabilitation policy fulfilling its constitutional obligations towards the deprived sections of society. In order to acquire private land for public purposes the British government enacted the Land Acquisition Act in 1894. The state did not make any legal provisions to

provide alternative sources of livelihood to those whose land was acquired by the state, except for giving them compensation. The colonial legal administrative provisions continued in post-independent India. Only recently Government of India has realized that years old Land Acquisition Act was not adequate to cope with the development of displaced persons. In 1982, the union home ministry issued guidelines to the states relating to rehabilitation of the tribals displaced by development projects.

The Maharashtra Act of 1976 has many interesting features as a policy governing rehabilitation. Apart from having statutory force as a legislative act, it provides for the resettlement of displaced persons by the grant of land in an area likely to benefit from the project. The land required for resettlement sites may be acquired by the Government. The Act also stipulates the administrative machinery for resettlement and provides for the collection of detailed information required to facilitate resettlement.

The rehabilitation policies of other states adopted in the respective Government resolution also offer several positive features besides the recognition that in the case of public works entailing displacement of people, it will not suffice to merely compensate legal owners for property acquired.

Among the positive features of policies adopted by various state government are the grant of land in lieu of acquired land, concession to oustees in government employment, the provision of transport, housing sites, public amenities, grants, subsidies training and protective discrimination in favour of the neediest.

The policies adopted by the state governments of Orissa, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan are based on precise definitions of an oustees and a family. These definitions also cover those who are displaced by

development projects without their necessarily being owners of property, a trend which is a welcome departure from the tendency to consider only those as and oustees who are liable to claim compensation for assets acquired – a tendency which continues to shape policies of some central agencies like the National Thermal Power Corporation. Other state governments rely only on the framework provided by the awards of the tribunals set up for resolving disputes among riparian states.

The rehabilitation policies of some state governments have been evolved in the context of specific projects e.g. the SSP in Gujarat and MP or the Mahi Bajai Sagar Dam in Rajasthan, whereas those of other states like Tripura are shaped entirely by central Government recommendations. States like Gujarat, Orissa, Maharashtra or Karnataka have evolved uniform policies governing resettlement of oustees from any project. This is another welcome departure from the tendency of various departments of state governments to take adhoc decisions to deal with the exigencies of particular projects.

However, a comparison of the policies adopted by various state governments shows several differences pertaining to the rates of compensation, the area of alternative agricultural land – if it is to be made available to oustee agriculturists in the first place and the provision of alternative housing sites, basic amenities, grants, subsidies, credit, health and educational assistance. Some state governments follow resettlement policies wherein the aims of rehabilitation and administrative and regulative machinery for implementation of rehabilitation programmes are more clearly stated than in the case of others. While Maharashtra Act provides a model policy in some respects, the policies of states like Gujarat and Orissa also provide for communal, relocation in a site of the oustee choice and maintenance of or improvement in their standards of living and special protection of tribals or other under privileged oustee



group. Other states have yet to evolve resettlement policies which are in consonance with the recommendations of the central Government especially for the rehabilitation of tribals. Though the policies of some states visualize the resettlement of oustee on forest land, this is no longer possible due to decision of the Department of Environment of the Central Government prohibiting resettlement of oustees on forest land in view of the critical depletion of forest cover.

### **2.3) Rehabilitation policy in Gujarat with special reference to Sardar Srovar Project**

“The Government of Gujarat has launched and completed several major, medium and minor irrigation schemes, so as to make river water available for agriculture and power. At the beginning of fourth five year plan, irrigation was provided to 4.40 lakh hectares of land by means of various projects. At the end of 5<sup>th</sup> plan it reached 9.24 lakh hectares. Some of the major irrigation schemes completed during this period are Mahi, Uai, Kakrapar and Dharokoi.

Ukai dam displaced around 16,000 families. The Government issued a number of resolutions relating to the oustees of Ukai between 1963 and 1968. These resolutions were adhoc calculated to meet the emerging exigencies due to displacement of the tribals. The overall approach to the problems of the oustees of the Ukai was short-sighted and the implementation of the various GRs was inadequate (Kashyap Mankodi and Tanushree Gangopadhyay). There was no monitoring of the programme and hardly any inbuilt corrective mechanism. As a result, the tribal oustees were not only uprooted from their socio-cultural surroundings but also further pauperized.

In the case of S.S.P. most of the affected area lies outside Gujarat state. Only 19 villages will be submerged in Gujarat, 36 in Maharashtra and 182 villages in Madhya Pradesh will be submerged. The dispute over the right

to the submerged areas in the riparian states was referred to a tribunal set up by the central government under the Interstate Water Disputes Act (1956) on 6<sup>th</sup> Oct 1969. The tribunal decided in 1972 that it had the jurisdiction to give directions to Gujarat for rehabilitation of displaced persons.

According in 1978 when the Award of the Tribunal was declared, declared directions regarding land acquisition, payment of compensation and rehabilitation were given to Gujarat State. It was for the first time that mandatory guidelines for rehabilitation were set up for a project implemented by Government of Gujarat. Several interesting features of the award are - It defines an oustee not just as one whose property would be submerged, but as a person who since at least one year prior to the publication of the notification under section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act has been ordinarily residing or cultivating land or carrying on any trade, occupation or working for gain in the area likely to be submerged. The definition of oustee thus includes landless labourers and others who would be affected by submergence even if they don't own any land. In defining the family of oustee, the award stipulates that every major son will be treated as a separate family.

The Tribunal directed that Gujarat would bear all the costs, expenses including establishment charges for the rehabilitation of oustees and oustee families from all the three affected states. Every oustee family was to receive a house site measuring 60 feet by 90 feet free of cost. Every resettlement site was to be linked to a main road and certain civic amenities were to be provided for every group of oustee families resettling there. These include a drinking water well and a platform for every 50 families, a primary school for every 100 families and Panchayat ghar, dispensary, seed store, children's park and village pond for every 500 families. One of the most important directives of the tribunal pertained to

the allotment of agricultural land. Every displaced family from whom more than 25% of its land holding had been acquired was entitled to and was to be allotted irrigable land to the extent of land acquired from it, subject to the prescribed ceiling in the concerned state and a minimum of 2 hectares per family. 50 percent of the price of the land was to be adjusted against the compensation payable to the oustee family as an initial instalment and the balance was to be recovered in 20 annual instalments, free of interest.

The government's policy regarding the acquisition of land, payment of compensation and rehabilitation of displaced persons and its implementation as of 1983 caused considerable anxieties. These were reflected in the activities of organizations among the oustees probed by the judiciary and the press, public demonstrations around the project site, subsequent changes in the policy itself. Several voluntary organizations became interested in the issue of the displacement of tribal oustees and sought to pressurize the Government to change its policy. It was pointed out that the oustee population was totally dependent on land for their survival and that since landholdings tended to be joint due to various reasons, the average size of holdings didn't reflect the extent of dependence of oustee families on land.

During 1984-85, after a series of meetings, discussions, requests and applications by voluntary organizations had failed to bring about any changes in the government's rehabilitation policy and its implementation by concerned officials, the campaign to pressurize the government was intensified by public demonstrations on 8<sup>th</sup> March 1984 and 15 January 1985. In the first of these several thousand protestors marched from the dam site to the project colony at Kevadiya. These were widely reported in the regional and national newspapers and also attracted the attention of international organizations active in human rights issues.

The Chhatra Yuva Sangharsha Vahini issued a series of statements in both Gujarati and English during this period which were entitled Narmada Project and the tribals. "Don't let them drown in Despair" (25<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1984). A tale of twisted logic "Vadgam – on the path of Satyagarh" they also distributed handbills in Gujarati to mobilize oustees to participate in public demonstrations early in 1984, Anand Niketan Ashram of Rangpur, which had successfully led a struggle against the construction of Lalpur Dam, also took some interest in the issue.

These developments were widely publicized by national dailies and news magazines like The Times of India, The Indian Express which carried articles besides reporting agitations near the dam site. Scholarly or other journals both in India and abroad, like the economic and political weekly, Gandhi Marg and the Ecologist carried articles of developmental projects in the Narmada Basin and the adverse impact on tribal populations. The issue was taken up by survival international which also issued a booklet on the Narmada Dam project in May 1985. The issue also continues to be discussed in workshops and seminars organized by various academic or activist organizations.

Thus to sum up, it can be said that a definite rehabilitation policy did not evolve prior to the Narmada Project and its irrigation schemes. Yet, compensation of land had been granted to oustees in accordance with the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894. The Government dealt with individual owners of the land but never with an entire village. In this light, the programme of rehabilitation and resettlement of an entire village was viewed as almost impossible (Joshi, 1991 : 53). It must be noted that individually government would have taken many years to vacate the plots and pieces of land and it would have proved to be a major bottleneck to the whole process.

Further, it needs a specific mention that there is no rehabilitation policy as such for the country as a whole till date. Except cases like Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, no other state is known to have a Rehabilitation Act operating in the State. Most states seem to resort to issuing Government Resolutions (GR) or Government Orders (GO) and have undertaken welfare measures in order to meet exigencies of local situations. These GRs or GOs in

operation seem to evolve a pattern that focuses upon the Government's approach to rehabilitation. Earlier, the government was almost non responsive to the problem and treated it primarily as an issue related to administration. However, recently the government has developed concern towards the problems of the oustees and views rehabilitation as a human issue rather than a mere administration one. It seems to have realized that shifting (not rehabilitating) people from one place to another is an act that in no case ignores the socio-cultural dimensions. The government has still a long way to go in formulating a comprehensive rehabilitation policy honouring its constitutional obligations towards the deprived sections of society. Once the status of the policy is reviewed, a brief review on the efforts put in by various state governments as well as the Government of Gujarat with regards to the rehabilitation of displaced persons would help further explain the policy.

In order to acquire private land for public purposes the British Government enacted the Land Acquisition Act in 1894. According to this act, the state did not make any legal provisions to provide alternative sources of livelihood to those whose land was acquired by the state, except to give them compensation. The colonial practice with such legal administrative provisions was continued by the government of Independent India. The Government of Maharashtra evolved a policy in 1976 to address to the acute need of rehabilitation arising out of many large-scale projects of public welfare. As a legal part of the policy it formulated an act called the Maharashtra Act of 1976. The act has various interesting features as a policy governing rehabilitation, besides being a statutory condition as a legislative act, it provided for a resettlement of displaced persons with a grant of land in an area that was likely to benefit from the project.

Other states adopted the rehabilitation policy in respective government resolutions, with several other positive features. The policy recognized that the case of public works entailing displacement of people, it would be sufficient to merely compensate legal owners for property acquired. Among the positive features of the policy that various states governments adopted was to grant land in lieu of the acquired land, as well as concessions to oustees in government employment, provision of transport, houses, public amenities, grants, subsidies, legal protection, training and protective discrimination in favour of the neediest.

The policy adopted by the state governments of Orissa, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan had as its base precise definitions of an oustee and a family i.e. it refers to those people who are not necessarily owners of property. This trend was an appreciative departure from the earlier tendency, in that the policy was in consonance with the recommendations of the Central Government and meant specifically to ensure the rehabilitation of tribals (Report No.2 & 3, Centre for Social Studies : 15-16). As observed earlier, it was presumed in the Land Acquisition Act that the tribal oustees would be able to buy land from the open market with the help of the compensatory amount that they would receive from the government, thus, rehabilitating themselves. The studies carried out at earlier irrigation schemes, however, present a grave picture that the compensation that the oustees received got squandered away. The outcome was that the poor and illiterate tribal oustees could not rehabilitate themselves by purchasing land for themselves.

In the case of the dams so far constructed, no definite policy was conceived on the rehabilitation of the oustees. The policy emerged and developed only in connection with the Sardar Sarovar Project. The Governments of M.P. and Maharashtra raised objections on certain matter, one the rehabilitation of the oustees of M.P. and Maharashtra. The Government of India set up the Narmada Water Dispute Tribunal (NWDT) and all the issues of dispute over the Narmada waters were referred to the tribunal. The tribunal gave certain directions to the Government of Gujarat which formed the very base of the first ever rehabilitation policy in India.

In December 1987 the Government of Gujarat (GOG) announced the first Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) policy embodied in three civil Government Resolutions (GRs). The struggle that was launched in July 1980 for the R&R policy in the interest of oustees on account of the Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) project (SSP) ultimately bore fruits. Relatively, little is known of this struggle outside Gujarat, even less is the understanding that prevails about the nature of the policy and its true import.

The story begins with the Narmada Water Dispute Tribunal (NWDT) Award which was made public in 1978. The NWDT award broke fresh grounds for the rehabilitation of the

oustees affected by public purpose projects like the SSP. In the history of independent India it was the first time that such a radical treatment was given to the problem of rehabilitation of displaced persons. It would be worth to record that this revolutionary breakthrough was not the outcome of the fact that the disputing states were indeed concerned about the well-being and welfare of the people going to be affected by the SSP. It was more of an outcome of the rivalry amongst the contending states and the extending of politics at the time. Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh (MP) were trying their best to put hurdles as many to project as possible. The R&R issue became quite a potent tool in their hands to employ against the venture of the Gujarat State. Gujarat Government, on the other hand, was equally or even more determined to counteract these hurdles with a single mindedness and vehemence. In a bid to remove this seemingly formidable bundle of rehabilitation the GOG undertook a gamble, and accepted the total responsibility of rehabilitation of all the oustee families of Maharashtra and M.P. in the command area of the SSP. As defined in the Award for each family, the major son married or unmarried would get minimum of 5 acres of irrigable land, irrespective of the size of his individual land holding in his village, which was to be submerged. Also, the oustees had a choice to resettle in their own respective states with the same benefits and the total cost of their rehabilitation would be borne by Gujarat State.

#### **Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) :**

The NWDT was constituted in 1969 under the Interstate River Disputes Act, 1956. The NWDT did not accept when Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra argued that the terminal site for construction of Navagam dam was not geologically suitable for a big dam.

However, according to NWDT the compensation for the submerged houses and land in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra would be taken over by the Government of Gujarat. Regarding the rehabilitation of the oustees, the tribunal issued a clear and detailed direction to the Government of Gujarat that the oustees should be rehabilitated in the Narmada command area in Gujarat. Also, the oustees be provided different collective facilities like roads, school, panchayatgrih etc. These directions formed the basis on which the rehabilitation policy on the Narmada project later on evolved.

Since the issue of the rehabilitation of the Gujarat oustees did not remain a point of dispute it did not fall under the jurisdiction of the tribunal, and therefore, the tribunal did not issue any order in this regard. However, inspired by goodwill and sympathy for the tribal oustees, the Government of Gujarat passed two resolutions in 1979 for Gujarat oustees as well. The first resolution announced that the government would provide land against the land acquired by the government as compensation. It was indicated in the resolution that the land would be allocated from that belonging to the Revenue Department of the Government of Gujarat to the oustees as compensation.

The Second Resolution gives the oustees an option that those oustees who are not willing to get themselves rehabilitated on the land provided by the government would have an option to buy land from the open market for which the government would give them loans. If we look at both the resolutions collectively the second resolution would sound more effective within the prevailing force of open market.

Thus, the orders of the NWDT for the oustees of M.P. and Maharashtra are said to inspire the two resolutions of the GOG in the interest of the Gujarat oustees. Yet, the fact remains that the first ever rehabilitation policy that emerged in view of the Sardar Sarovar Project has by far remained sketchy.

There are some salient features of the resolutions, which may be summarized as follows :

- 1) The rehabilitation policy holds a purpose that the conditions of the oustees would be improved following their rehabilitation. The rehabilitation would be provided at a place of their choice. They should be allowed to dissolve into the local population as sugar dissolves into milk. Their physical and social rehabilitation would be adequate enough towards that end. They would get optimum facilities for good living.
- 2) The participation of the oustees would be encouraged sufficiently in the planning of their rehabilitation.
- 3) Every landless oustee would be rehabilitated in either agricultural or non-agricultural area. The rehabilitation would ensure that he secures a means of livelihood on



permanent grounds. It means that a land owning oustees would get compensation for the land he lost as per the prevailing market rates.

After the above resolution the Government issued another resolution on 17<sup>th</sup> December 1987 announcing that a landless oustee would get two hectares of land. Another resolution was issued on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1988 that in case of an oustee who is a village cultivator or a land owner, the major son would be given two hectares of land.

In one more resolution dated 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1988 it was announced that a major son in a land-owning family would get two hectares of land as well. Thus, a policy was formulated in such a way that all oustees of above 18 years of age would get the benefit of two hectares of land i.e. 5 acres of acres of land.

Thus, a concrete rehabilitation policy on the SSP for oustees emerged gradually. There is no doubt whatsoever that it is the most liberal policy in the Third World countries. There was further indication in the resolution that the lands belonging to the forest department would also be procured for this purpose, but the Central Government has put ban on the use of forest land for non-forest purposes. There was undoubtedly no indication in the resolution that the Gujarat oustees would be rehabilitated in the Narmada Command Area i.e. even non-irrigated land would be given to them. Thus, on the basis of these resolutions, Gujarat oustees would get rehabilitation facilities on equal ground (on the same parity at par with) as the M.P. and Maharashtra oustees.

However, the NWDT Award, the product of cynical calculations, has some salient features that provide a vital foothold for future struggle :

- 1) It defined an oustee family clearly and unambiguously. It planned decisively to work for the benefit of the oustees, especially tribals, who almost always happen to have joint land holdings.
- 2) The award was made subject to the statutory authority (status) and can be enforced through the court of law.


- 3) Each oustee family was made eligible to obtain minimum of 5 acres of irrigable land, this, in conjunction with the above two, is a truly revolutionary step forward.

#### **Liberalized Gujarat Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) Policy :**

Main features :

- 1) Land : Every oustee in the category of (a) a co-sharer of original joint holding, (b) a landless agriculture labourer, (c) an encroacher on land owned by the Government and the forest department, and (d) a major son of a family would be provided 2 hectares of land per family.
- 2) Every family would be given rs.45,000/- for the construction of a core house in addition to plot for house measuring 60 x 90ft. = 500 sq. meters.
- 3) Subsistence allowance of Rs.4500/- would be given per family.
- 4) House rectification · 1.5 point per house free of cost.
- 5) Insurance for house, death, personal accident etc. would be taken in the name of a beneficiary.
- 6) Irrespective of the number of families, each resettlement site would have a school, children's park, and dispensary to uplift the living of the oustee. This provision would be made specifically at a place where MP and Maharashtra (MH) oustees would be resettled.

#### **Model R and R Policy :**

The R&R provisions indicated in the final report of the NWDT were much more advanced than in any such previous schemes. The liberalized Gujarat policy is widely acknowledged as providing a basis of rehabilitation that takes care of the R and R provision. 

The NWDT stipulation observed that each displaced family would be offered a minimum of 2 hectares of land in the Command Area of the project. The Government of Gujarat further liberalized the package for even encroachers and landless labourers who would also get 2 hectares of land. The NWDT provided 500 Sq.M. residential plot to be allotted for building of house. The Government of Gujarat provision went beyond grant-in-aid upto Rs.7000/- to be given to an oustee to purchase productive assets. As per the latest provision of the

liberalization policy, a house of approx 45 Sq.M. at the cost of Rs.45000/- would be given to an oustee in lieu of a finished plinth and roof tiles.

It is remarkable to note that under the provision of the rehabilitation scheme of the Gujarat government, displaced families were resettled in colonies with all civic amenities like approach road, primary school, dispensary, children's park, tree platforms, drinking water facilities, electrification etc. In addition, other benefits like registration in electoral rolls, issuance of ration card, accessibility to cooperative society and arrangements for vocational training like modern techniques of farming, serving, etc. were supposed to be imparted to an oustee.

#### **National Rehabilitation Policy :**

Any rehabilitation policy has to carry out a purpose of improving the conditions of the oustees after their rehabilitation. The rehabilitation has to be arranged at a place of the oustee's choice, and the oustees have to be provided with conducive environment to adjust well with the local population. Their physical and social rehabilitation has to be adequate enough to fulfill these ends with adequate facilities.

The policy of rehabilitation on the Sardar Sarovar project that emerged after efforts for about a decade is the most liberal policy of the present times. It should be viewed in the light of the basic principles evolved from it that are recognized at the national level, particularly when projects like dam mining for minerals or some such projects are undertaken. The following principles should form the basis to rehabilitate all those who are affected by any project, they be landless or landowners :

- 1) Those who are likely to suffer damage of any kind should be rehabilitated. The work of rehabilitation should be considered a part of that particular developmental project.
- 2) Those who are likely to be displaced should be compensated on the principle of minimum dislocation and adequately rehabilitated in adjoining areas.

Intellectuals and activists have made an effort to ensure that a national policy of rehabilitation is formulated on the same grounds as the national policy on environment. The

policy of rehabilitation and resettlement is based on studies of rehabilitation conducted by experts in different disciplines (Joshi 1991 : 26 & 71).

#### **Summing Up :**

Thus broad overview of the available evidence from empirical research experiences relating to the affected people and various issues which emerge from the Indian experience of displacing and resettling tribal communities reveals that –

- a) One of the appalling facts is the absence of reliable data base on the performance and impacts of large dams.
- b) Major and medium irrigation projects have consumed almost all the irrigation budget in independent India, which is over Rs.80,000 crores.
- c) Even when India has invested enormous capital effort and resources in building large irrigation projects; there is total absence of systematic evaluation to ascertain if the investment is justified, if dams have delivered what they initially promised? How efficiently? At what cost?
- d) Official database is dismal in terms of reliable number of people who have been displaced by dams, which is indicative of the lack of concern of the state towards displaced people and it reflects dominant attitude of neglect.
- e) Impact of displacement on tribal people affected by large dams has been overwhelmingly negative in India.

It can be summarized by quoting the statement made by McCully (1996) (Patrick McCully IRN – International River Network) “In almost all of the resettlement operations for which reliable information is available, the majority of the oustees have ended with lower incomes, less land than before, less work opportunities, inferior housing, less access to resources, worse nutrition and physical and mental health”.

- f) Huge backlog of those who have not been rehabilitated – A large majority of people almost 75% of those displaced have not been rehabilitated.
- g) Lack of appropriate national policy and serious problems at implementation level.

## Part III

Review of the literature pertaining to Sardar Sarovar Project and affected families and people includes review of –

**(I) Books titled**

- 1) Joshi, V. (1989) “Submerging villages – Problems and Prospects” – Based on participant observation in 19 submergence villages as a part of study assigned to centre for social studies, Surat (an autonomous Research Institute) by Government of Gujarat.
- 2) Joshi, V. (2000) “Rehabilitation is possible”
- 3) Dreze J., Samson, M. and Singh, S. (1997) “The Dam and the Nation – Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley”
- 4) Hinal Pandya - “Sardar Sarovr” – Hope and Reality -

**(II) Papers :** Papers presenting view points of scholars, activists and Government officials presented at the Narmada Forum; a workshop convened at the Centre for Development Economics and the Institute of Economic Growth in December 1993. Papers regarding

- a) Critical assessment of R and R policy of the State
- b) Politics of Resettlement
- c) Anthropological and sociological perspectives on displacement and resettlement.

**(III) Case studies / Reports :**

Case studies / reports based on an independent investigations commissioned by World Bank mainly in response to conflicting reports about the achievements and failures of resettlement policy. Three (3) papers based on independent investigations for three states namely –

- a) Maharashtra by TISS
- b) Gujarat by CSS
- c) Madhya Pradesh by World Bank appointed Independent Review Team. Each of these studies is based on Extensive field work.
- d) Report by Independent Researcher and activist like Bela Bhatiya.
- e) Report by Sah D.C. (Centre for Social Studies, Surat an expert on R and R Monitoring and Evaluation) on his study on integration with the host community.

**Books :** The book titled “Submerging villages – problems and prospects by Joshi Vidyut (1989) gives an instructive account of and describes thoroughly life and living of the people in submerging villages of Gujarat as they were in presubmergence phase. It states that –

- a) All the people displaced in Gujarat are tribals.
- b) Economy – They are engaged in mixed economy, cultivating land, rearing cattle; collecting forest – produce and fishing.
- c) The resources most evident are wood and bamboo.
- d) Agriculture – is traditional, devoid of modern techniques and irrigation, away from seed and fertilizer technology. There are low yields and little surplus. They are unfamiliar with intricacies of market.
- e) There is poor access to health care, child welfare and educational facilities.

An inference derived is that socio-economic system is characterized and sustained mainly because of mutual cooperation and self sufficiency. It remains to be explored that liberal R-R package can compensate for loss of forest river; land which is intricately woven in the socio-cultural and religious practices of community.

Joshi, V. (2000) in “Rehabilitation is possible” critically and exhaustively addresses the focal issue of national debate “whether rehabilitation is possible or not”. Also discusses the

issue of displacement admitting its inevitable consequences wherein displaced people (project affected people) get uprooted from their socio-economic milieu and face problem of adjustment in new sites; economic insecurities, ultimately resulting into mental strain. Thus it highlights human – aspect of the entire problem. Further, he has mentioned people's opinion on rehabilitation mainly on three lines – First opinion is that history tells us that the rehabilitation work has not been carried out satisfactorily so far, S.S.P. can't be an exception. Rehabilitation is impossible, so let us oppose big dams. Second opinion is that rehabilitation does not take place on its own; but only through – institutional intervention it is possible. Third view is that of hardcore developers who worry only about dam and not about rehabilitation. Based on his live contacts in the field and use of secondary data, at the end – he firmly concludes that with – the institutionalized intervention, the unique experience at SSP suggests that Rehabilitation is possible". While describing – the scenario at 'new sites' the author states that –

- PAFS from subsistence farming are exposed to market orientation; wherein they face lack of access to market (mainly due to lack of knowledge of its working, default in repayments and less organizational abilities).
- Fuel and fodder problem
- PAFS are certainly better off compared to submerging villages so far as availability of basic amenities like education, health, drinking water, electricity, road is concerned.

The author has not undertaken any survey to find out possibility of rehabilitation. This book is written based on some live contacts in the field and use of secondary data. The present study makes an attempt to study psycho-social conditions of Project Affected Families which is qualitative aspect of living and vital indicator of Quality of Life and rehabilitation.

"The Dam and the Nation" – Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada valley – the book edited by Dreze Jean; Samson Meera and Singh, Satyajit (1997) focuses the issue of displacement incorporating important questions relating to the economic returns; environmental impact. It presents a detailed investigation of the issue of displacement and resettlement. In the said book paper written by Parsuraman S. (Head of Unit for Rural

Studies, TISS, Bombay) titled “The Antidam movement and Rehabilitation Policy”, as a part of author’s work at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, as Senior Research Fellow, throws light on government approach to Resettlement and Rehabilitation; its drawbacks and evolution of antidam movement. It acknowledges R and R policy of Government of Gujarat for its livelihood provisions in terms of giving irrigable agricultural land, adequate support measures during transition period and assistance to settle at the resettlement site. It also acknowledges the role of NGO’s in planning and implementing development projects as well as R-R program and more specifically forcing the Government and funding agencies to incorporate human and environmental dimensions into developmental project.

Thus Parsuraman presents a critical assessment of the current R and R policy of the State which is followed by impact of antidam movement on resettlement policy. The author argues that gradual improvement in resettlement policy of Government of Gujarat has taken place first and foremost in response to pressures generated by the antidam movement.

The book written by Pandya Hinal (2004) titled is “Sardar Sarovar : Hope and Reality” is based on doctoral research with focus on R and R policy. This is based on review and analysis of the existing primary data, obtained from various sources like libraries of the universities, research institutions and Government offices. About 70 random and unstructured open-ended interviews of concerned officials of the Government of Gujarat, NGO personnel, social activists and researchers were taken. While stating observations and findings of the study pertaining to implementation of R and R policy regarding civic amenities. Land, Housing plots, Developmental activities, it is concluded that efforts have shown positive results.

D.C.Sah’s report, *Selectivity and Bias, Recent Reporting on Sardar Sarovar Project* (1999) is a case in point. Sah’s report is on the ‘oustees’ of some 19 villages of Gujarat State. The studies which are published in Monitoring and Evaluation (M & E) reports since 1981, are interlinked, hence; the need to repeat the information in all the reports. These studies are an outcome of surveys conducted for months without the help of interpreters.



The reports affirm that qualitative methods are better than anthropological, however, at the same time they do not discard statistics as methods having pluses and minuses. They all agree that statistical interference outside their social context tends to become a type of social scientific obstruction. Practices and philosophies supporting them erase any fear of subjectivity and transform local and particular experiences into general facts.

Vidyut Joshi's book, *Rehabilitation - A Promise to Keep* (1991) is a case study of the SSP in order to show how it deals with the background of the issue of rehabilitation. It begins with the background of the project, and then it dwells on various issues on the project, and then it people. It also gives the socio-economic profile of the submerging villages and demystifies certain notions of the homogeneous, stagnant, so called Indian villages. It describes in details the gradual emergence of the Rehabilitation and Resettlement policy and its practice, and further analyses the roles of different voluntary agencies which affect rehabilitation schemes. The book concludes by pointing out a need for a national policy on the issue of rehabilitation and calls for people's participation in the development programmes. On the whole, the author attempts to take a balanced view on different issues.

*The Dam and the Nation – Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley*, a book edited by Jean Dreze and others gives a due projection to the conditions of the tribals and tribal interest. It presents a gradual evolution of the R and R policy in the light of the resettlement controversy surrounding tribals in the Narmada Valley. The controversy is informed by a variety of sources like the news media, the government, the independent review team, environmental organizations and anti-dam activists. Most of these sources have their own perspectives. The book makes an attempt to reexamine the resettlement controversy in the light of the tribal people's experience.

It also dwells on the Andolan politics to examine the way in which adivasis have become a part of a large and diverse movement against the Sardar Sarovar project. It depicts the complexity of the issue which unite adivasis with other political constituencies. These issues

are situated in different social spaces and spread across the world to show how different ideological streams of environmentalism come together in practice.

The second one is the Biannual report published jointly by Dr. Hari Singh, Gaur University, Sagar and the M & E Agency of the Government of Madhya Pradesh. The report states, (a) "Majority of the oustees feel that their post-settlement socio-economic status is almost the same. However, more than one third of oustees consider post-settlement life better than the earlier life. As such, it can be concluded that in spite of short comings the oustees are happy with the present situation". (b) "One of the main reason behind their happiness is that shifting has changed their socio-economic status. Ousteas of which four settlement villages were earlier either marginal farmers or labourers. Under the compensation package each one has received two hectares of land and have become land owners". "Cultural change too has been observed among PAPs of Lilora, as Hindi mixed with Gujarati is the common language of conversation among them. Economic conditions of the PAPs are much better than that in their old village" (*Meeting the Challenges of Development*, Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Ltd., Gandhinagar, p.47).

These reports are published in a government brochure, *Meeting the Challenges of Development*, published from time to time in the interest of information to the public in general. They are significant to the purpose of the present study because they focus on vital developmental aspects of the R and R project. The first report expresses satisfaction over the facilities and infrastructure provided at the sites like Kakrana and Sugat villages of Alirajpur Tehsil. It also stresses upon the need for improved irrigation for good agriculture as the land allotted is good and fertile. Whereas, the second report dwells on the issues of socio-economic conditions of the oustees as reflected from their interviews and surveys conducted among the oustees residing at Lilora village.

Uday Shelat's unpublished article namely, "Resettlement in Narmada River Basin – Evaluation of Resettlement Policy in India" is again a remarkable contribution to the literature on R and R policies. The paper examines the problems of resettlement of people

affected by a large-scale water resources development project in India. It views that in absence of resettlement policy at the national level, the Government of Gujarat has evolved resettlement policies for the SSP on the Narmada River. It attempts to look into the policies, strategies and implementation process, i.e. efforts made by the state government to resettle the project affected people in the new habitats. Finally, the paper depicts recommendations and suggestions to strengthen the resettlement process. The main objective of this paper is to study the resettlement policies designed to help the displaced population of the Narmada basin.

A report by Bradford Morse-Berger Committee (1992) submitted to the World Bank, titled *Resettlement and Environmental Issues of the Narmada Project* categorically state that all the encroaches in 14 out of 33 villages of Maharashtra would be treated as landless with part entitlements and will face ruin after resettlement. Morse Berger committee makes such a dramatic statement not once but six times in their "Letter to the President" to achieve a desired result. Berger views that thousands of tribals oustees will face ruin and that intricate network of inter-dependent relationship between land owners and landless labourers in the rich and fertile region will be completely destroyed because of submergence.

The most important criticism of Morse Review is that the strategy of incremental changes in the R and R adopted by the World Bank has failed and that it must be abandoned. The Morse Report further claims that the Government of India's Ministry of Environment and Forest (MOEF) did not give environmental clearance to the SSP in February 1983 because the proposals did not meet the MOEF's guidelines. When the clearance was finally given in June 1987, a measures to be planned and implemented *pari-passu* with the project works. This *pari-passu* clause has been severely criticized by Morse Berger, and he states that rehabilitation would not be feasible either in Gujarat or in any other state.

The Independent Review Mission (IRM) (1992) report calls upon the World Bank to "Step Back" from the Sardar Sarovar project on the grounds that the rehabilitation is "Impossible". Human Rights, especially of the tribal population are being and must necessarily be

intrigued, and that on account of lack of water, Narmada project will in any event “not perform as planned”. The findings of the IRM report would be condemned by millions of potential beneficiaries as they include even the so-called project affected persons still subject to continued deprivation and immiserisation at a point when an opportunity, almost at their hands reached them after a decade long controversy, adjudication, investigation and mobilization (to effect a positive transformation in their lives). There are many insights and suggestions in the IRM report.

## PAPERS

(1) Paper titled “Resettlement politics and tribal interests” – by Anil Patel, Director ARCH Vahini – Action Research in Community Health and Development, Bharuch : Gujarat based NGO, extensively involved in the campaign for improved resettlement and makes an attempt to re-examine the resettlement controversy in the light of tribal people’s experience. It tries to address very pertinent questions such as what are their aspirations? Further state that, in each of the three states tribals have clear preference for good quality land and security of tenure, greater access to markets and other infrastructural facilities (such as roads, transport, electricity, schools, health services etc.) while critically analyzing R&R it mentions that the administration has succeeded in crossing the major hurdle of providing quality land of their choice to all the displaced families and got bogged down in the 2<sup>nd</sup> important phase, which involves providing standard quality civic amenities, the norms were violated and corruption took its toll. Administration decided to ignore peoples complaints. Thus it provides a different view point on the politics of resettlement, which gives thought provoking account of peoples struggle for improved resettlement. Having brought out PAF’s clearcut preference to the forefront; it develops a scope to explore fulfillment of these preferences.

(2) The NGO movements in the Narmada valley – Some reflections by Vasudha Dhagamwar (who is Executive Director of MARG – Multiple Action Research Group – New Delhi is legal activists and investigator). This paper focuses upon two non-government organisations named NBA (Narmada Bachao Andolan) and ARCH-VAHINI, stating antagonistic interest of the two. Their campaigns reflect some of the very real needs and

aspirations of PAFS i.e. resisting displacement in case of NBA and getting better R and R in case of ARCH-VAHINI. NBA's activities were characterized by (a) obstructive attitude towards resettlement activity; (b) Gaonbandi – which turned Government officials away, (c) information leadership. NBA's campaign has been extremely important in terms of promoting government to improve its resettlement policy. ARCH-VAHINI – pioneered people's movement, interacted with project affected persons, Government of Gujarat and world bank for better R and R. To conclude the NGO Movement has brought the issue of the rights of displaced people to forefront, generating a national debate.

(3) Paper by Baviskar Amita (who is Teaching Staff at the Dept. of Sociology, Delhi School of Economics) titled "Displacement and Bhilala Tribals of the Narmada Valley" based on a larger work "In the Belly of the River : Tribal conflicts and Displacement in the Narmada Valley", Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995. Focuses Bhilala Adivasis in Alirajpur Tehsil of Jhabuwa District, Madhya Pradesh, living in submergence zone of SSP. This paper gives an account of the life of Bhilala tribals in the Valley. Some aspects of politics of and also discusses development in light of Tribal culture.

(4) Resettlement and Rehabilitation in the context of 'Vasava' culture. Paper by Hakim. Roxanne as a part of post-doctoral research in resettlement site in Gujarat aims to provide an insight into the culture of Vasava people and how R-R is viewed by the community. Thus the predominant concerns are economic while the prospects of some change in kinship ties, diet, rituals, dress. Her account of tribal concerns presents a fairly pragmatic outlook.

## REPORTS :

- 1) The report by Tata Institute of Social Sciences – Bombay summarizes the findings of 6 years of work by the TISS in its capacity as Monitoring and Evaluation Agency for Maharashtra submergence villages of S.S.P. The report presents the teams perspectives on the rehabilitation of the displaced, based on analysis of their own data in 33 villages, these experience are documented in 19 reports. As documented by these reports their overall position has actually deteriorated in both economic and social dimensions.

- 2) R & R in Gujarat – paper is based on Monitoring and Evaluation Reports of the CSS (The authors are Lancy Lobo, Kashyap, Mankodi, Amit Mitra, Arjun Patel, D.C.Sah, Ghanshyam Shah, Paramjeet Singh and Jaishree Soni). The World Bank Commissioned CSS (1981) to undertake socio-economic survey of the people to be displaced by the SSP. The study was confined to pre-rehabilitation status of 19 villages of Gujarat. The data were collected through survey.
- 3) “Forced evictions in the Narmada Valley” by Bela Bhatia (An independent researcher and activist) based on a larger report submitted to Gujarat High Court in July 1993) based on case studies of five submerging villages and eleven resettlement sites visited in March-April 1993). Bela Bhatia’s careful investigation of the actual process of displacement and resettlement in some villages of Gujarat and detailed discussion by her reveals that the actual practice of the resettlement policy stands in sharp contrast with the official promise and guidelines. The author concludes that ‘forced evictions’ are a central failure of current – resettlement practice even in Gujarat.
- 4) The report by Sah D.C. (an expert R-R, Monitoring and Evaluation) based on his study in 5 villages (Ambavadi, Chindiapura, Khadagada, Tentlav and Parveta) on Integration with the host community writes on the issue. One of the important objective of R and R is that PAFs shall promptly after their displacement be fully integrated in the community to which they are resettled. While dealing with the socio-cultural aspects, he writes that-
  - Some of the village level socio-religious organizations are lessening their importance.
  - PAFs of more than one village have settled in one site.
  - Interaction in social spheres between the PAFs and host village is affected by physical distance.
- 5) Series of Monitoring and Evaluation Reports : Resettlement and Rehabilitation : SSP on the Narmada” submitted by C.S.S. (Centre for Social Studies, Surat) to SSNNLL, Gandhinagar :

5.1) 8<sup>th</sup> biannual report on M & E (March 1989) of R-R of oustees of S.S.P., based on analysis of data collected through household schedules on two settings i.e. (1) households in three submerging villages and (2) households in 21 new sites. This report attempts to describe social and demographic characteristics, living conditions and perceptions of PAFs. It reveals that living in submergence villages is characterized by –

- a. low level of literacy, more so in case of females.
- b. small and marginal land holdings
- c. three major productive assets bullocks, ploughs, buffalos or cows.

Thus, the living conditions of PAF's in submergence villages were not good. A sizeable number of working population was dependent on casual labour. The report further states that the living conditions of PAF's at the new sites are characterized by –

- a) considerable school attendance among school going, however literacy is low among PAF's.
- b) cultivation of their own land as main occupation.
- c) more productive agricultural land
- d) decline in availability of fuelwood and grass for animals.

5.2) Review of the 9<sup>th</sup> semi-annual progress report (Sept. 1989) household which is based on analysis of household data collected in two settings i.e. 3 submergence villages and 21 new sites reveals – consumption patterns. Specific changes become evident in two settings such as –

- a) use of bamboo or bricks with roof tiles (more than 90%) against bamboo as material used for house construction.
- b) reduction in cow, buffaloes, goats and sheeps owning

5.3) Review of the 14<sup>th</sup> M & E report (April-Sept. 1992) which attempts to examine socio-economic conditions of oustees in 14 submerging villages states that the submergence villages have remained outside the purview of development process, road and transportation, school and health services haven't reached this area.

5.4) 24<sup>th</sup> M & E Report (Oct.96 – March 97) brings out the fact that agriculture remains to be the most significant economic activity as well as major source of income after relocation. It also further states that over the years, the proportion of population engaged as labour has reduced. The reduced importance to labouring activity is not because of lack of opportunities but because own agriculture is able to provide for family needs adequately. There is substantial improvement in the yields, from about 95 kg per acre in submergence villages to about 160 kg in case of maize and jowar and over 300 kg in case of paddy and wheat. The increased productivity of land is major reason for improved purchasing power of the households after relocation. Even households allocation for asset formation has improved from 6% to 11% because of overall increase in income.

5.5) 25<sup>th</sup> M & E Report of R & R program for S.S.P. (March 31, 2000) is composite report covering ten reports 15<sup>th</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup>. It provides assets and level of living conditions of PAF's upto 1995-1996 and progress made in production enhancement. This consolidation of reports reveals that though relocation of PAF's has been achieved quite successfully, their rehabilitation is long drawn process.

The objective of M & E report is to examine what the Government has done and what it has not done in the direction of 'rehabilitation' of the PAPs. The reports raise a number of issues such as first generation problems of relaxation amenities, land related problems, relations with host villages, and second generation problems of rehabilitation. Finally, the CSS assumes that 'tribal' societies in their very constitution lack 'modernity' and 'development'. The tribals of submerging villages of Gujarat are not a homogeneous group so what the scattered groups perceive need not at all be considered as their voice.