

**DEVELOPMENT, DISPOSSESSION AND DEMOCRACY:
A CASE STUDY ON THE DISPOSSESSED POPULATION OF ROURKELA**

**DEVELOPMENT, DISPOSSESSION AND DEMOCRACY:
A CASE STUDY ON THE DISPOSSESSED POPULATION OF ROURKELA**

*Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy in Applied Economics of the Jawaharlal
Nehru University, New Delhi*

John Kujur

M.Phil Programme in Applied Economics
(2015-17)

Centre for Development Studies
Thiruvananthapuram-695011
June, 2017

I hereby affirm that the work for the dissertation "*Development, Dispossession, Democracy: A Case Study On The Dispossessed Population of Rourkela*" being submitted as a part of the requirements of the M. Phil. Programme in Applied Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University was carried out entirely by myself. I also affirm that it was not part of any other programme of study and has not been submitted to any other university for the award of any degree.

June, 2017

John Kujur

*Certified that this study is the bona fide work of **John Kujur**, carried out under my supervision at the Centre for Development Studies.*

Dr. J. Devika

Associate Professor

Prof. Sunil Mani

(Director)

Centre for Development Studies

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although words alone can hardly suffice to acknowledge one's gratitude for the guidance, help and cooperation, even so I must express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Devika J., under whose guidance I was able to complete this thesis. She provided me with necessary maneuverability and freedom to work. Working with her has been a rich experience and shall always be a pleasant memory. Her consistent inspiration, penetrating criticisms and timely clarifications not only sustained my interest in the study but also benefitted in improving the quality of the thesis immensely. I also must thank Dr. Vinoy Abraham who helped me in preparing the questionnaires for my field survey and imparted valuable ideas to me despite being heavily burdened with his own academic pursuits and engagements. He also helped me in tabulation of the field survey data and his valuable suggestions helped me to derive resourceful information from the tables.

I am also deeply indebted to Dr. Rajan, Dr. Mallick, Dr. Praveena, Dr. Sunanda, Dr. Parameswaran, Dr. Agarwal, Dr. Mishra, Dr. V. M. Pillai, Dr. Ritika, and Dr. Srikanta for their fruitful teaching during the course work and valuable advices from time to time. Moreover, I gratefully acknowledge the help I received from CDS administration as well as the competent library and computer staffs. Mention must be made of Sir Sriram who helped me tremendously in searching for really obscure references.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to the people of Jhirpani, Jaydega and Lachhada, who extended their warmth and hospitality to me without fail. Special mention must be made of Victoria Soy and her family who treated me as one of their own and took great care of me. I also must express my gratitude to the Sarpanch of Jhirpani and Ex- Sarpanch of Jaydega without whom it would have been very difficult to conduct survey there. It would be highly unjust if I do not mention the name of the person who helped me during my whole field survey period. I am highly indebted to Fr. Celestine Xaxa who imparted the knowledge and information on the displaced tribal people of Rourkela. He also helped me to meet many resource social activists from whom I gained insightful and valuable information regarding the displaced people of Rourkela.

It is unvarnished truth that the field work would have never been materialised in the absence of constant support and encouragement which I received from my family. Their encouragement to bring forth the insight stories of the Adivasis, heightened my zeal to work on Adivasi issues.

I also profusely thank Sir Siba and Ma'am Manjari for their encouragement and advice and imparting knowledge and ideas time to time.

My special thanks to my most lovable senior Suravee, for providing untiring help at various stages of the study. Her encouragement and constructive suggestions helped me a lot in improving the quality of the thesis.

Special thanks to Sanjay, Pankaj, Mijo, Madhusudan, Shraddha, Namrata, Libitha, Kavitha, Sona, Parijata, Arathi, Akhil, Yadu, Sandeep and Chandrasekhar who helped me to learn many things and provided their guidance whenever I needed it. I also thank them for making my stay in CDS a memorable one.

Nevertheless, I also want to thank my pals Himanshu, Kashif, Mahesh, Sachu, Rajesh, Krishan, Sourish and Arya with whom I shared my joys and sorrows. Their cooperation and help are much acknowledged. They always inspired me to work hard. I would also like to thank the CDS folk for their understanding and cooperation.

Finally, I would like to record my gratitude to all those who have helped and supported me in this academic endeavour. I duly acknowledge my sincere thanks to all of them.

John

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

DEVELOPMENT, DISPOSSESSION AND DEMOCRACY: A CASE STUDY ON THE DISPOSSESSED POPULATION OF ROURKELA

John Kujur

M.Phil in Applied Economics (2015-17),
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
Centre for Development Studies

The term “Development” has become a fascinating word during post-independence period. A common belief which prevails is that greater the exploitation of natural resources, greater would be the development. However, the exploitation of natural resources through development projects led to the forced displacement of many from their land and habitat. The forced displacement is not only immediately disruptive and painful but also has a serious long-term risk of becoming poorer than before. Hitherto the vulnerable sections of society, particularly the tribal community have been the most victims and least gainers of the development initiatives. Aiming at the welfare of the locals as well as the nation the Government of India established steel plant at Rourkela, the first integrated steel plant in the public sector in Sundargarh District, a Scheduled District of Odisha during the Nehruvian period. However, the tribal population who were largely displaced have witnessed pauperisation. The National Commission for Scheduled Tribes (NCST), 2015 also reports about the deprivation of the tribal oustees of Rourkela even after six decades of displacement. Based on the above anecdotal evidence the objectives of the study are first, to assess the long-term impacts of displacement and government entitlements on the population of two resettlement colonies such as peri-urban and rural resettlement colonies differently, since once they shared same socio-economic environment, but after displacement they were relocated to different areas; secondly, to assess the special constitutional provisions for the tribals and state’s role in the protection of constitutional rights during and post-displacement period; thirdly, to analyse the inter-generational social mobility to trace the transition in their socio-economic life throughout the six decades.

The comparative analysis of the long-term impacts of displacement on the social and economic profile of the population of two resettlement colonies i. e. peri-urban resettlement colony and the rural resettlement colony was undertaken through a field survey. The study reveals that the displaced population of the both resettlement colonies have been marginalised but affected differently from the impoverishment risks based on the three factors such as geographical location, population composition and availability of the opportunity. While analysing the socio-economic condition, the study discusses the violation of human rights and special constitutional provisions for the tribals through analysing the role of the state in the process of evacuation, resettlement and providing entitlements to the displaced. The study also analyses the inter-generational social

mobility to trace the changing socio-economic condition of the displaced tribals. Three broad indicators such as educational attainment, occupation and assimilation into the mainstream culture were taken into consideration to analyse the inter-generational social mobility. The study reveals that the population of both resettlement colonies more or less attended horizontal mobility in occupation. Over the three generations both literacy and educational attainment level of the population of both resettlement colonies has increased substantially, but its impact on the mobility was minimal. Through analysing the assimilation into the mainstream culture, the study reveals that the population of peri-urban resettlement colony are undergoing downward cultural mobility due to gradual loss of traditional cultural values and delinking of social relationships as a result of the influx of outsiders.

Keywords: Development, Displacement, Tribals, Marginalisation, Nehruvian Period, Long-Term Effect, Constitutional Rights, Inter-Generational Mobility.

CONTENTS

	Title	Page No.
	<i>List of Tables</i>	x
	<i>List of Figures</i>	xi
	<i>Abbreviations</i>	xii
Chapter 1	Introduction	1-30
	1.1 Motivation and Statement of the Problem	1-7
	1.2 An Overview of the Literature	7-21
	1.3 Analytical Framework	21-23
	1.4 Objectives of the Study	23
	1.5 The Study Area	23-28
	1.6 Sampling Method	28-29
	1.7 Limitations of the Study	29
	1.8 Chapterization	29-30
Chapter 2	Displacement and Resettlement in Peri-Urban and Rural Settings	31-66
	2.1 Introduction	31-34
	2.2 Tribals of Chotanagpur	34-37
	2.3 Homogeneity to Differentiation in the Contemporary Tribal World	37-38
	2.4 Displacement and Resettlement	38-50
	2.5 Impact of Displacement	51-63
	2.6 Discussion	63-66
Chapter 3	Social Mobility among the Displaced	67-106
	3.1 Introduction	67-69
	3.2 Educational Attainment	69-76
	3.3 Occupational Diversification	76-83
	3.4 Educational Attainment and Occupational Diversification	83-97
	3.5 Employment in the Rourkela Steel Plant	97-100
	3.6 Mobility through Marriage and Assimilation into the Mainstream Culture	100-105
	3.7 Discussion	105-106
Chapter 4	Conclusion	107-115
	4.1 Major Findings and Summary	107-113
	4.2 Policy Suggestions	113-115
	<i>Bibliography</i>	115-133
	<i>Appendix I</i>	134-150
	<i>Appendix II-Field Survey Questionnaire</i>	151-157

LIST OF TABLES

Table no.	Title	Page no.
1.2.1.1	Displacement of tribals by a few major dams under construction or planned in different States of India	11
1.2.1.2	Displacement and resettlement of tribal population (Dam projects)	12
1.2.1.3	An estimate of displacement by various projects in Jharkhand (1951-90)	13
1.2.1.4	Total number of tribals displaced in Jharkhand (1951-95)	13
2.4.1	Resettlement Colonies	41
2.4.2	Compensation rates for land and crop	42
2.5.2.1	Change in type of house	53
2.5.2.2	Change in Availability of Latrine to the Houses	54
2.5.2.3	Change in the dependence on sources of drinking water	54
2.5.2.4	Change in the dependence on the source of lighting	55
2.5.2.5	Change in the dependence on the source of cooking	56
2.5.3.1	Change in landholdings by the households	57
2.5.4.1	Occupational diversification in both resettlement colonies	58
2.5.5.1	Changes in possession of livestock and poultry by the households	59
2.5.6.1	Healthcare accessibility by the households	60
2.5.7.1	Changes in the dependency on the source of credit by the households	61
3.2.2.1	General Educational Attainment among the population of three generations of both Resettlement Colonies	70
3.2.2.2	Vocational Educational Attainment among the population of three generations of both RS Colony	71
3.2.3.1	Gender-wise general educational attainment	73
3.2.4.1	Gender-wise vocational educational attainment	74
3.3.1	Occupational diversification among the generations	78
3.3.2.1	Gender-wise occupational diversification (Peri-urban resettlement colony)	80
3.3.2.2	Gender-wise occupational distribution (Rural resettlement colony)	82
3.4.1.1	Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 1)	84
3.4.1.2	Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 2)	85
3.4.1.3	Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 3)	86
3.4.2.1	Educational Attainment and occupational diversification	87

	(Rural RS Colony, Generation 1)	
3.4.2.2	Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Rural RS Colony, Generation 2)	87
3.4.2.3	Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Rural RS Colony, Generation 3)	88
3.4.3.1	Educational Attainment and Occupational distribution among the male population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 1)	89
3.4.3.2	Educational Attainment and Occupational distribution among the male population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 2)	89
3.4.3.3	Educational Attainment and Occupational distribution among the male population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 3)	90
3.4.3.4	Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 1)	91
3.4.3.5	Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 2)	91
3.4.3.6	Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 3)	92
3.4.3.7	Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the male population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 1)	93
3.4.3.8	Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the male population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 2)	93
3.4.3.9	Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the male population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 3)	94
3.4.3.10	Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 1)	95
3.4.3.11	Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 2)	95
3.4.3.12	Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 3)	96
3.5.1	Employment of resettled population of both resettlement colonies in the RSP	98
3.6.1.1	Christian Missionary managed schools and students enrolled in Gangpur (up to 1947)	101
3.6.1.2	Christian Missionary managed schools in Rourkela Diocese, 2004	102
3.6.2	Households affected due to cross culture assimilation	104

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure no.	Title	Page no.
1.5.1	Map of Odisha (Mines and Minerals)	26
1.5.2	Map of Sundargarh District	27
1.5.3	Map of Resettlement Sites	27

ABBREVIATIONS

ARMP	Ash and Red Mud Pond
ASHRA	Adivasis for Social and Human Rights Action
BPE	Bureau of Public Enterprises
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BSP	Bhilai Steel Plant
CPR	Common Property Resources
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DSP	Durgapur Steel Plant
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HAL	Hindustan Aeronautics Limited
HSL	Hindustan Steel Limited
IAY	Indira Awas Yojana
IGH	Ispat General Hospital
IRR	Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction
ITDP	Integrated Tribal Development Projects
LAA	Land Acquisition Act
LDP	Land Displaced Person
MADA	Modified Area Development Approach
MFPs	Minor Forest Products
MoUs	Memorandum of Understandings
MSME	Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises
NALCO	National Aluminium Company
NCST	National Commission for Scheduled Tribes
NSFDC	National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation
NTFPs	Non-Timber Forest Products
OAP	Old Age Pension
OBCs	Other Backward Communities
OPHWC	Odisha state Police Housing and Welfare Corporation

PDS	Public Distribution System
PESA	Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PTGs	Primitive Tribal Groups
RFCTLARRA	Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act
RS	Resettlement
RSP	Rourkela Steel Plant
SAIL	Steel Authority of India Limited
SC	Scheduled Caste
SHG	Self Help Group
SMPT	Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks
ST	Scheduled Tribe
TDA	Tribal Development Agencies
TRIFED	Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation
TSP	Tribal Sub-Plan
TSTP	Talcher Super Thermal Project
UN	United Nations
UNPFII	United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 MOTIVATION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Development is “a multi-dimensional process involving reorganisation and reorientation of entire economic and social system of the nation and its people. It is also a process of improving the quality of human lives or raising peoples’ living standards, that is through improving income and consumption, medical services and education through relevant growth process” (Rajunayak, 2015:254). In other words, it is the process of expanding human freedoms or increasing individual capabilities to avoid deprivation due to starvation, under-nourishment, morbidity and mortality (Sen, 1999). So, development is a human right which removes human sufferings. The United Nations (UN) Declaration on the right to development in 1986 also proclaimed that “development is a right that belongs to everyone, which means everyone is entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realised”. In the process of development, the state plays the important role, because its policy determines the nature of development.

In a large democracy like India, the state is bound to respect and ensure the protection of the human rights such as the right to live, right to equal opportunity and right against exploitation. Therefore, the state has to protect citizens from all types of natural and human-made catastrophes while following the development process, and also it has to ensure that development would be participatory, decentralised and sustainable. However, India’s development process has been marked controversial and faced severe resistance from the bottom section of the society. Because like other countries, India’s development process is also based on the mantra ‘No development without displacement’ in which the above three desired characteristics (participatory, decentralised and

sustainable) are consistently found missing. The problem with such process is 'developers'¹ think that because the mantra makes good sense to them, it ought to make equally good sense for 'developees'² (Baxi, 2008).

Dispossession in India became a topic of interest in the 1990s, the period of economic liberalisation when the state transformed itself into land brokers for private capital through the commodification of land. The state's decision to liberalise the private investment and diminish the public sector role in the economy spurred private demand for resources for industrialisation and infrastructure-building including land for urban expansion. A series of policies were also introduced by the Central Government for the development of infrastructure to attract the private investment in power (1992), roads (1997) and ports (1997) through Public-Private Partnership (PPP) (Levien, 2015). The state governments also played a crucial role in providing land to private companies. The state governments contrived their land acquisition policy to ease the acquisition of land for the private companies.

The brunt of the nexus between government and private developers was borne by the poorest and least powerful sections of the society, who were often dispossessed of their land and homestead. In the tribal dominated regions in India such as the state of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha conflict arose between state and the tribes over resource control. The liberalisation policy, on the one hand, transferred the resources from tribals to the private companies and on the other it is characterised by increasingly privatised, decreasingly productive and less labour-absorbing production process (Kohli, 2012) left them destitute. Moreover, the antagonism or conflict between state and the dispossessed or would be dispossessed due to use of state coercion to dispossess the population and government's determination of the fair market value of land despite the absence of voluntary transaction has

¹ Baxi (2008) refers to elected and unelected policy makers, and their normative cohorts, including specialists and experts within and outside governments, media persons and related opinion makers, and a diffuse range of those who primarily and variously stand to benefit from development interventions and projects.

² All those peoples displaced and adversely affected by development interventions and projects.

turned the silent valley into the red corridor zone. This antagonism between the dispossessed and the state has been witnessed in many places in contemporary India, such as Nandigram, Singur, Raigarh, Kalinganagar, Niyamgiri, etc. The killing of unarmed Adivasis in Nandigram and Kalinganagar and quelling of their voice with police force by the state transcended the injustice towards these indigenous people. The struggle of Adivasis in Bastar against the forceful acquisition of land and forest and the use of coercion by the state and converting them into ecological refugees for the sake of two private companies, Essar group and TATA Steel has added a new chapter in India's black history (Guha, 2007).

However, the problem of dispossession is not a recent one; it did occur in colonial India and during the Nehruvian developmental phase i. e. 1950s to 1980s as well. The colonial regime in India dispossessed large section of the population from their land for the construction of railroads and natural resources extraction for the benefit of metropolitan capital, but the dislocation they caused was minimal as the land was in abundance. However, it was intensified during Nehruvian regime as the state dispossessed the people especially tribals for public sector industries, large dams and infrastructure (Levien, 2015). The post-independence national development was largely equated with economic growth and surplus, and the centralised industries and irrigation projects became the symbols of development. The immediate outcome of this post-independence developmentalism was massive displacement. It is ironical that there are no reliable official statistics of persons displaced by the development projects since independence (Fernandes, 2008; Roy, 1999). It is some independent researchers in their study provide some clue about the number of displaced persons. For instance, Kothari (1996) in his study reveals that since independence the development projects of five-year plans have displaced about five lakh persons each year.

The development projects which dispossessed the people in Nehruvian India, ostensibly for public purposes, did not serve all people alike - its impact was differentiated precisely because of the vast existing inequalities that characterised most Indian society before and during the Nehruvian phase. The acquisition of

land for these public projects disproportionately benefited the industrial bourgeoisie, dominant agrarian classes and public sector elites (Dwivedi, 2006). In short, these projects were distributionally regressive as they came at the cost of the impoverishment and proletarianisation of a large section of rural people who were typically already among the country's most poor and marginalised as they remained mostly uncompensated for the enormous losses they suffered in the process (Fernandes, 2008; Levien, 2015).

Interestingly, this tortuous transition took place under the famous term 'development induced displacement', a new ideological construction of the state to plunder the land from the poor. Many communities and individuals were forced to sacrifice their homes and homelands for the purpose of national economic development, which was believed to be achieved through the establishment of infrastructure thought to be capable of augmenting national productivity. However, it was tribal communities of India who lived in symbiosis with nature was the most affected of the disastrous effects of displacement (Padel and Das, 2008). In this process of development, the displaced tribal communities entitled only a limited monetary compensation and vague promises. The devastating effects of displacement on the tribal population were not stemmed as they were never and ever able to re-establish their lives and ecology. The desolation of both tribal livelihood and ecology discloses that the appropriation of their lands was not for any farsighted socio-economic development rather it was for the transfer of resources from the vulnerable communities to the social elites. This very act of resource transfer has been evidenced through the acts such as the senseless exploitation of natural wealth, the height of corruption in the administration level, and the bankruptcy of the public sectors (Ekka, 2011). Hence, for tribal people, the Nehruvian era meant nothing but disaster and 'state-investment-induced displacement.

The Nehruvian vision of development was challenged much later in the 1970s and 1980s by some anti-dispossession movements such as; 'Narmada Bachao Andolan', and this pioneered the anti-dispossession politics in India. However, the combination of coercion and ideological appeals (post-colonial

developmentalism) strangled the wave of the political movements and eased the dispossession of the population (Levien, 2015). The anti-dispossession movements brought into national attention the fact that appeals to 'national interest' or 'development' that uproots the whole community and livelihoods and deprives the entire population of fundamental human rights and it serves the interest of capital.

From Nehruvian period to at present, in the process of development and dispossession the role of the state in protecting the tribes, the most disadvantaged group as they share 40-50 percent of the total displaced (Fernandes, 2008) can be questioned. Because the tribal people not only have been deprived of the benefit accruing from the development projects but also they lost their habitat for the sake of development projects which turned them into destitute. The state which abdicated its duty and responsibility of the protecting tribal people's right and providing welfare services to them becomes even more passive when it comes to the protection of the dispossessed particularly the tribes because all these happen with the explicit policy decisions and legal sanctions of the state. The loss of livelihood and socio-cultural system in the post displacement period shows the complete violation of human rights of the displaced by the state as it fails to guarantee life after displacement. In other words, the development projects are obsolete and undemocratic for the tribals (Ekka, 2012). In fact, the development projects are just the instruments to transfer the resources from vulnerable communities to the rich.

In the wake of the Second Five Year Plan, the major steel plants such as Rourkela Steel Plant (RSP), Bhilai Steel Plant (BSP) and Durgapur Steel Plant (DSP) were described as the 'Temples' to India's industrial future and secular modernity by then prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru. However, the effects of tribal dispossession are most visible precisely in India's steel towns. These public sector steel towns provided relatively high quality of employment to tens of thousands people, including many of those whom they displaced (Parry and Struempell, 2008). Even though they were resettled and many got employment, they remained dispossessed because of the loss of social, economic, and cultural

autonomy from the oppressive mainstream Indian society. These projects resonated with the Nehruvian vision of national development that had widespread legitimacy in the post-independence year. This legitimacy was inextricably linked to the fact that the dispossessed people thought that they would receive jobs in these public sector industries (Parry, 1999; Parry and Struempell, 2008). However, soon after the establishment of these public industries, most of them realised that they had been transformed into the proletariats, and subject to caste. The steel towns also witnessed the ethnic wars that were between tribes and non-tribes as the tribes became the most disadvantaged group in case of socio-economic as well as political life after dispossession, unlike the other groups. This ethnic war in contemporary India has taken the new form of war between the tribes and the state. The saddest fact is that these so-called 'Temples' of modern India has reduced a sizeable population into ecological refugees, and mineral extraction which was seen as a building block of modern India have put tribal life at still greater risk through the further destruction of their societies and economies.

This dissertation is mainly about such experience of tribal people around the Rourkela Steel Plant (RSP) especially, where the tribes largely dispossessed have witnessed pauperisation. The dispossessed tribes in Rourkela who shared the same environment and same socio-economic life before dispossession were resettled in the peri-urban belt as well as in rural belt. Communities resettled in peri-urban locality came into contact with alien cultures entirely different from their socio-economic life (Kapoor, 2014). The economic opportunities and the access to social sectors sometimes provided them relatively decent living conditions, but the loss of socio-cultural values due to the assimilation of non-tribal community practices and norms degraded their social identity and made them subject to the regressive mainstream social inequalities. The resettled tribal communities in rural may be economically backward, but they more likely reorganise and recreate their society and self-sustenance livelihood and maintain their socio-cultural practices as less influenced by outside forces.

The displaced tribal people of Rourkela who were resettled in peri-urban areas and those of them who were resettled in rural areas present an interesting case to examine the differential effects of urban/rural environments on the resettlement of tribal communities. This is the chief concern of this dissertation.

Rourkela has been witnessing the ethnic violence and land war between tribes and non-tribes since the 1950s (Parry and Stuempell, 2008). Many media reports and the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes report (NCST, 2016) reveal about the injustice that happened to the displaced population of Rourkela during the post-displacement period. There have been also many reports of job scam in the Rourkela Steel Plant (RSP); which raises the allegation that many impersonators faking as land oustees landed jobs at RSP and that many of them have retired (The Indian Express, 19 Nov 2016). The NCST Report (2016), on Rourkela's displaced population finds that the administration has neglected the displaced tribals in compensation, employment and livelihood supports. Even now the displaced tribals struggle for their rights. In 2006 a massive general strike and an indefinite economic blockade cutting off road and rail traffic to Rourkela by the angry tribals armed with bows, arrows and axes was held against the administration. Because the surplus land acquired for RSP was not returned to them, and many promises remained unfulfilled (Times of India, 11 Jan 2006). The special legal provision for the tribals such as the provision of Fifth Scheduled Areas and Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act are also reportedly violated in Rourkela (Chakravarty, 2015).

These reports suggest that even after six decades, anger and dissatisfaction among the displaced tribals are well and alive, and this gives good reason to assess the government's measures to alleviate the trauma of displacement in that area. Moreover, since the Rourkela Steel Plant has been established in Fifth Scheduled Area, it is quite interesting to see is there any encroachment of special constitutional provisions for the tribals.

1.2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature on issues related to dispossession of the tribal population has secured an important place in the development discourse in India as well as all over the world. A wide range of studies has been done on tribal issues such as development-induced displacement, the impact of globalisation on tribals, naxalism and tribals, democracy and tribals, tribal economy, tribal socio-cultural life, etc. This section provides a brief overview of the issues examined in this study.

1.2.1 ECONOMIC GROWTH AND INCLUSIVITY

Recent literature in economics and other social science disciplines indicates that the phase of economic growth in India has not generated human development. It also appears that this growth is accompanied by a worsening of the condition of the weakest section of the society, including Dalits, Adivasis and Muslims.

The GDP growth rate between 1960 and 2010 is averaged at 5.04 percent per annum³. Virmani (2005) in his study on economic growth and government failure and entrepreneurial success explains that the nation could achieve higher economic growth which has been mostly driven by continued growth in the service sector and improved performance of the industry, but the performance of government in providing quasi-public goods and alleviating poverty is unsatisfactory. The standard of living of the marginalised depends upon the government provision of health, education and other social security schemes. He states that the improvement in social indicators has not kept pace with economic growth. India's relative ranking in education and health is much worse than in poverty and income distribution. India's rank is 84th in infant mortality rate, 87th in life expectancy at birth and 100th in adult literacy rate among 108 countries⁴. Despite of extensive government initiatives, poor spend a substantial fraction of their income on health, and much of this is wasted on unqualified medical practitioners, quacks and faith healers. He shows in his study that if fund spent on poverty alleviation by the Central and state governments had properly

³ Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy, 2009-10, Reserve Bank of India

⁴ World Bank, World Development Indicators, 2005, CD ROM

channelized, the poverty could have been eliminated. Similarly, the poverty reduction during the 1990s was challenged by Sen and Himanshu (2004) and claimed that the poverty ratio fell at most by three percentage points between 1993-94 and 1999-2000 and it is likely that the number of poor increased over this period. Their study also shows that the economic inequality increased sharply during the 1990s and poverty reduction deteriorated markedly despite the higher economic growth.

Sengupta et al. (2008) also to assess how the economic growth process has impacted on the marginalised sections of the society examine their socio-economic profile in different periods of time since the early 1990s. Their study reveals that despite the higher economic growth more than three-fourths of Indian is poor and vulnerable and among them, the proportion of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is much higher. In 2004-05 the poor and vulnerable (extremely poor, poor, marginal and vulnerable) contained about 88 percent of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people in India which was a small reduction of two percentage points from that in 1999-2000. Moreover, their study reveals that the incidence of unorganised work status in 2004-05 is higher i. e. 95 percent among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as well as among Muslims, among OBCs it is 94 per cent and 85 per cent among the remaining population groups. They found that a person who is SC/ST or Muslim is likely to be more in the poor and vulnerable category than a person belonging to the higher social status group. For instance, 90 percent of SC/ST with only up to the primary level of education in 2004-05 belonged to the poor and vulnerable group compared to 67 percent for the group 'Others' representing upper caste Hindus, Christian and Sikhs.

1.2.2 TRIBALS, THE VICTIMS OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

A significant share of scheduled tribe population lives in the rural area in India. Census of India (2001) shows that a meagre 2.4 percent scheduled tribe population lives in the urban area. They live in forest and hilly areas, the resource-rich areas (water, forest and land). Therefore, whenever any development project is proposed, the tribal population is more likely to be

affected than the other communities. Secondly, for the establishment of development projects, mostly the tribal lands are targeted, because the government finds it cheaper to acquire their lands. It is now well evidenced across the country as it has been found in many literatures and many scholarly studies that the tribal community has become the sacrificing community for the national interest.

Kothari (1996) states that the largest source of displacement and destruction of habitats are the hydroelectric and irrigation projects. Other primary sources are mines (mainly open-cast mines), super thermal and nuclear plants, industrial complexes, railway and roads, military installations, the notification and extension of reserved forest areas, sanctuaries, parks, etc. Since independence 1600 major dams and tens of thousands of medium and smaller dams have been built for which around 100-120 lakh people have been forcibly displaced. Another estimate places this number closer to 120 lakhs by these development projects between 1951 and 1985. The astounding is that a significant number of these displaced are tribals and the rural poor who depend on the commons for their sustenance. He quotes the 29th Report of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission which reveals that even though the tribal people are roughly 7.5 percent of the population, over 40 per cent of the displaced belong to these communities.

Similarly Singh (1997) in his book "*Taming the Waters*" has explicitly drawn out that it is the tribal community who are mostly the losers from the development projects. Their share in the displaced is higher compared to the other communities. He took a few major dams to look at the tribal displacement. He concluded that the proportion of tribal population displaced in case of Lalpur, Karjan, Sardar Sarovar, Icha, Upper Indravati, Chandil and Koel Karo dams can be as high as 80 per cent of the total population; and it is lowest, at about 18.30 and 18.92 per cent of population in case of Hirakud and Ukai dams respectively. The average is as high as 61.63 percent.

While quoting the report of the Scheduled Area and Scheduled Tribe Commission, 1960-61 he states that a large proportion of the oustees are tribals

and not all of them were resettled on land and the amount of land they got is paltry in comparison to their old settlements.

Table 1.2.1.1 Displacement of tribals by a few major dams under construction or planned in different States of India

Name of Project	State	Population to be displaced (closest 100)	Percentage of Tribals
Lalpur	Gujarat	11,300	83.20
Daman Ganga	Gujarat	8,700	48.70
Karjan	Gujarat	11,600	100.00
Ukai	Gujarat	52,000	18.92
Sardar Sarovar	Gujarat	10,400	98.94
	Maharashtra	7,500	99.92
	Madhya Pradesh	247,500	51.64
Narmada Sagar	Madhya Pradesh	170,000	20.00
Maheswar	Madhya Pradesh	6,200	60.00
Bodhghat	Madhya Pradesh	12,700	73.91
Bhopalpatnam	Madhya Pradesh	8,800	50.00
Icha	Odisha	30,800	80.00
Upper Indravati	Odisha	18,500	89.20
Hirakud	Odisha	110,000	18.30
Chandil	Bihar	37,600	87.92
KoelKaro	Bihar	66,000	88.00
Masan Reservoir	Bihar	3,700	31.00
Maithon&Panchet	Bihar & West Bengal	93,874	56.46
Bhakra	Himachal Pradesh	36,000	34.76
Pong	Himachal Pradesh	80,000	56.25
Polavaram	Madhya Pradesh & Andhra Pradesh	150,000	52.90
Inchampalli	Andhra Pradesh	38,100	76.28
Tultuli	Maharashtra	13,600	51.61
Mahi Bajaj Sagar	Maharashtra	38,400	76.28

Source: Singh (1997:192)

Table 1.2.1.2 Displacement and resettlement of tribal population (Dam projects)

Projects	No. of ST Families Displaced	Area from which ST Families Displaced (acres)	No. of ST Families Settled on Land	Area on which ST Families Settled (acres)
Maithon Dam (Bihar & West Bengal)	3,296	13,138	464	2,286
Mayurakshi Dam (Bihar)	2,910	7,215	–	2,082
Panchet Dam (Bihar & West Bengal)	1,916	1,931	–	–
Hirakud Dam (MP & Odisha)	1,636	11,116	300	–
Machkund Hydro-Electric Project (Odisha)	1,500	13,750	450	2,250
Mandira Dam (Odisha)	817	4,225	447	1,696
Total	12,075	51,330	1,661	8,314

Source: Singh (1997:193)

Table 1.2.1.3 An estimate of displacement by various projects in Jharkhand (1951-90)

Type of Project	Total Displaced	No. of rehabilitated	Persons not rehabilitated	Percentage of displaced not rehabilitated
Mines	2,550,000	630,000	1,920,000	75.29
Dams	16,400,000	4,100,000	12,300,000	75.00
Industries	1,250,000	375,000	875,000	70.00
Wildlife	600,000	125,000	475,000	79.00
Others	500,000	150,000	350,000	70.00
Total	21,300,000	5,380,000	15,920,000	74.74

Source: Kujur (2011:146)

On the similar ground Kujur (2011) in his study on the development, displacement and rehabilitation of the tribes in Central India' provides some estimation of the population displaced by various projects in Jharkhand during 1951 to 1990. He also provides the estimation of the population not rehabilitated. He found that about 74.74 percent of the displaced persons have not been

rehabilitated between 1951 and 1990 in Jharkhand. He also reveals the total number of the tribal population displaced in Jharkhand between 1951 and 1995. He shows that tribals are the worst sufferers, who share 41.27 percent of the total displaced population in Jharkhand.

Table 1.2.1.4 Total number of tribals displaced in Jharkhand (1951-95)

Project name	Total displaced	Scheduled Tribes	Percentage
Water resources	232,968	175,127	75.2
Industries	66,087	22,473	34.00
Quasi-industries	21,809	7,415	
Mining: Coal	268,588	79,568	29.6
Mining: Non-coal	134,294	3,975	
Defence establishment	264,353	237,147	89.7
Wildlife/National park	509,918	80,867	15.8
Infrastructure development	50,000	13,800	27.6
Grand total	1,503,017	620,372	41.27

Source: Kujur (2011:147)

Fernandes (2008) also provides evidence that tribals have not been benefitted enough from such projects, rather ended up paying the cost of all along. On the one hand, they are losing their land, which is their primary source of livelihood and on the other, they are not getting absorbed in the new industries as well. Hence, this leads to the total disruption of their livelihood and disintegration of their society and economy. According to his estimation, the tribals constitute 8.6 percent of the Indian population, but if the population composition of displaced is observed, it is about 40 to 50 percent of the displaced come from tribal communities.

1.2.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF DISPOSSESSION

Soon after independence industrialisation and urbanisation became the prior concern for economic growth and social transformation. However, it generated unintended socio-economic consequences such as involuntary displacement of population later led to the loss of traditional sustainable livelihoods, cultural

genocide of the community, marginalisation of the locals, especially the tribals, etc. These deleterious effects of the urbanisation and industrialisation have been studied extensively by many scholars.

Rajunayak (2015) in his study on the effects of development projects on Adivasis of Andhra Pradesh found that the Adivasis who bore the brunt of the personal, social and environmental costs of projects rarely shared the benefit which pushed them into impoverishment and disempowerment as they were rendered as landlessness and homelessness. In Andhra Pradesh, the Adivasis consists only seven per cent of total population, but their share in total displaced is 40-50 per cent. The displacement of the Adivasis led to a sense of insecurity such as morbidity, stress and psychological trauma. In other words, the displacement led to economic marginalisation often accompanied by socio-cultural marginalisation.

Katta (2015) while analysing the life of the displaced he states that most of the displaced become the victim of multiple displacements. Multiple displacements of the people are the successive displacement of same families from one place to another following the execution of the development projects in those areas. For instance, the displaced population of Hirakud dam who were resettled in the 1950s in the upper catchment of the reservoir faced second time displacement in 1980s due to the IB Thermal project that came up there and again in 1980-90s due to the Ib Valley coal mining project. Similarly, the people who were displaced in the 1960s due to Rihand Dam faced the displacement in 1970s for the second time because of coal mining project and again in mid-1980s due to setting up of many industries. The displaced people of Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) were relocated in the 1970s, but in 1980s they were evicted for the second time due to the execution of Upper Kolab Dam project and due to the establishment of naval armament depot and the agricultural farm they were displaced again. The multiple displacements have resulted in socio-economic instability in their life.

Fernandes (2008) in a study on the impacts of displacement on women and children reveals that women and children both feel the ill effects of displacement more than men. Due to the absence of alternatives, 56 per cent of the displaced

families in Assam and 49 per cent in West Bengal pulled their children out of school to get them to earn an income as child labourers. The women on the other have lower access to work than men after displacement as the land was alienated from them and the jobs in the post-project economy are given almost exclusively to men reduces their status in the family. The inaccessibility of work by the women reduces them to being housewives alone, dependent on husband's single salary. Even after alienation of land and forest, women's role in ensuring the supply of food, water and other family needs remains unchanged but with limited access to resources as they lose the Common Property Resources (CPRs) . It is also frequently evidenced from many development projects that in the post-displacement period the men spend much of their income on alcohol and gambling, remains a little for the family expenses. Consequently, it leads to domestic violence and also deterioration of nutritional status of women as the dominant custom of the women eating last after feeding elders, men, boy children, and girl children, in that order. Similarly, Jaysawal (2015) states that the landless displaced are trapped in vicious circle of poverty because they earn a little from wage labour and are forced to buy their food articles from the market which get them into the debt ridden.

Reddy & Mishra (2015) in their study on occupational changes of the displaced by National Aluminium Company (NALCO), a public sector enterprise in the state of Odisha bring out a serious issue of occupational deprivation. They have explicitly shown the downward occupational mobility among the displaced or project affected persons as the majority of them turned either into wage labourers or NALCO contract employees from self-sufficient farmers. They classified the NALCO plant area as Mining core zone, Mining buffer zone, Refinery core zone, Refinery buffer zone, Ash and Red Mud Pond (ARMP) core zone and ARMP buffer zone to see the differentiation in occupational changes in differently affected areas. Their study reveals that in mining core zone, mining buffer zone, refinery buffer zone, ARMP core zone and ARMP buffer zone most of the households' primary occupation was farming in the pre-displacement period. However, in the post-displacement period majority of them are engaged in NALCO as contract or wage employee, don't have job security and receive

weekly payment. In refinery core zone area in the post-displacement period majority households are NALCO permanent employees (42 per cent) followed by wage labourers and NALCO contract employee i.e. 29 per cent and 13 per cent respectively. As many households lost their homestead area in this zone, they received this job in their compensation package. They also found the cases like many people prefer wage labour than contract employee in NALCO. They found that due to the water problem and other environmental impacts the farming is considered not a profitable occupation turning them into labourers. Importantly the exploitation by the NALCO contractors has become the main reason for peoples' preference for wage labour than the contract employee.

Padel and Das (2008) state:

For Adivasis, in particular, the displacement usually means cultural genocide since alienation of their lands and villages destroys every aspect of their social structure: their economy and identity, because their status shifts from skilled and self-sufficient cultivators to unskilled labour; their political structure because they lose control over their environment and are forced to become dependent on corporate and government hierarchies; their social structure because the ties that made them a cohesive community are frayed in many ways; their religions because their gods are destroyed along with village; and their material culture because the traditional village spatial arrangement gives way to 'colonies' of alien culture (Padel and Das 2008:137).

On the similar ground, Kapoor (2014) states that when the tribals are relocated in the urban area, the caste and tribe interaction is intensified as outsiders migrate to industrial areas to seek employment leads to the upsurge of new culture among the tribals.

1.2.4 ASSESSMENT OF THE COMPENSATION POLICY

Starting from colonial India to current period many central and state level laws have been formulated regarding land acquisition. Many studies found that all these land laws were either exclusionary or were not implemented with true spirit. The Land Acquisition Act, 1894 continued until the first decade of the twenty-first century paralysed the tribal economy and destroyed their social

relation. The new land acquisition law, 2013 came with many protective measures, however, found obsolete because many states expressed obtuseness in implementation.

Patel (1994) while examining the compensation provision in Land Acquisition Act, 1894 states it has a damaging effect on tribals since it provides a very low rate of compensation for their land. The government determination of market value of land is based on the price rate of the land the seller and the buyer fix while involving in the transaction or open bid in the free transfer zone. However, where no contemporaneous sale deeds are available the price rate fixed earlier in open bid for similar lands provided that the similarity is established through oral evidence is taken into account. But, in a tribal society, their traditional social order guides the transfer of usufructuary rights or selling of lands from tribal landholders to other tribals. Since parties, the seller and the buyer of land involve in transaction process possess very low purchasing power the transaction occurs at a throwaway price. Hence, they were entitled to receive a very low rate of compensation under Land Acquisition Act, 1894.

Ghatak and Ghose (2011: 65) while assessing the viability of Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation and Resettlement, 2011 view "The Act is well-intentioned but seriously flawed since it relies on arbitrary prices which neither will ensure the farmers are getting adequate compensation for their lost assets, nor will guarantee that a scarce resource like land will be put to its most productive use. This Act places unnecessary and severe conditions on land acquisition, such as restrictions on the use of multi-cropped land and insistence on public purpose, all of which are going to stifle the pace of development without promoting the interest of the farmers".

The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RFCTLARRA), 2013, which replaced the Land Acquisition Act (LAA), 1894, provides higher compensation for acquisition (at least four times of market prices in rural areas and twice of market price in urban areas) and makes consent of 80 percent and 70 percent of affected land

owners must for acquiring land for private and public-private partnership (PPP) projects respectively.

Despite this, there are many flaws in providing proper rehabilitation or compensation to the displaced, which eventually pushed them to vulnerable conditions that they ended up as migrant labourers and slum dwellers in destitute labour markets in towns and cities. The land is a state subject under the Constitution, but its acquisition is in the concurrent list of subjects. Different states have responded differently to the land related issues which led to different outcomes on the land acquisition process. Bedi and Tellin (2015) show that caste and political power determines the compensation policy in many states. The states like Haryana and Punjab where the farmers are mostly from dominant castes and hold political power were given higher compensation and a stake in the new projects on their acquired land unlike in Odisha, Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand, and West Bengal.

Mahalingam and Vyas (2011) by comparing India's LAA with other countries compensation policy state that LAA provides only reasonable compensation to the land owner, not the value of the land or just compensation and the process is not based on compensation. In other countries such as Peru, Singapore and Japan, the land is acquired, and compensation is determined through discussion with the stakeholders. In some countries, the compensation paid is much more than the value of the land as it disturbs the livelihood and raises costs, for example, social subsidy in Brazil and Special compensation in the United Kingdom.

Katta (2015) states that most of the mega-dams and other public projects in India are funded by the World Bank hence have considerable influence on official policy. In 1990, the World Bank developed guidelines to protect the displaced by development projects. It's involuntary resettlement policy ensures that the displaced should enjoy some of the benefit of the project and their standard of living to be improved or at least not degraded. However, the World Bank never took any proactive steps to check what the ground reality is.

1.2.5 ASSESSING THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE DISPOSSESSED AND TRIBAL RESISTANCE

Many literatures reveal that the 'development as a human right' has not been well spelt out for the tribals. It observes that tribal people often get into the development discourse from a position of complete disadvantage. The State's callousness during the acquisition of land and leaves them helpless after displacement has violated the fundamental democratic rights of the displaced tribals. The literature finds the repeated violation of tribal rights to lead to uprisings that seek to counter the state's development policy.

In other words, tribal insurrection in the hinterland is not for subjugating others or conquering other areas, but for the rights and self-dignity. While examining the tribal resistance Savyasaachi (2012) provides four aspects of the military-industrial complex which the Adivasi struggles are opposed to, such as- first, the promotion of armaments to colonialize spaces of civil society; second- the acquisition of Commons using land acquisition act which undermines their foundational position in the contemporary world view and social fabric; third- carbon colonialism or the combination of environmental climate change and carbon trade and finally consumerism and technological obsolescence.

Similarly, Padel (2010) also puts some causes of the rise of tribal militancy. He states that the terror tactics or brutal suppression of genuine, non-violent movements against enforced displacement by the security forces are the primary cause of tribal militancy. Increasing land alienation, displacement and dispossession, and pauperization in the post-displacement period and neglected by both state and corporates give rise to tribal militancy. The failure of the judicial system to deal with injustice and atrocities committed by the security forces towards the tribes also one of the reasons for the tribal insurgency.

Guha (2007) on the similar ground opines that the forced displacement accompanied with loss of livelihood is giving rise to the present tribal-led Naxal movement which has captured more than 220 districts of the country. The antagonism between state and Adivasis has put their lives into very pitiable

condition. He again states that the outsourcing of law and order and killing of unarmed Adivasis in Bastar, Nandigram, Kalinganagar has undermined the democratic rights of these people as their constitutional rights such as, right to live, right to equality, right against exploitation, freedom of speech have been transgressed. Moreover, the states that on the one hand, by not providing them with decent education and health care, the government of India has dishonoured its constitutional guarantee to provide the Adivasis equal opportunities for social and economic development and on the other hand, the policies of the government have more actively dispossessed many Adivasis of their traditional means of life and livelihood.

Sundar (2006) while studying the situation of Chhatisgarh reveals the fact how all the rules and human rights have been violated by the state to acquire the tribal land at any cost. To acquire lands for Tata Steel Plant and Essar Steel Plant, the state role in pitching tribals one against another financed by these two private companies created a civil war like situation in the southern districts of Bastar, Dantewada and Bijapur in Chhattisgarh exposes state's brutality towards the helpless population. The undeclared war by the state burnt 640 villages to the ground and displaced 350,000 tribals, half of the total population of Dantewada district followed by rape, murder and loot of their property.

The above literature review explicitly mentions that India's economic growth is exclusionary in nature. To achieve higher economic growth many development projects have been established, and the tribals became the most victimised community. Their socio-economic life was degraded in the post-displacement period. My study on the displaced population of Rourkela also shares the same concerns as the above-reviewed literature; however, it focuses more on the long-term experiences of displaced tribal population of two different regions i. e. urban and rural where they were resettled along with the process of displacement and impoverishment. My study also tries to focus on socio-economic change with regards to availability of opportunities, the socio-economic condition of the displaced in the post-displacement period, and the

condition of the state's Constitutional obligation to protect tribal people in this area.

1.3 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Development is a human right belongs to everyone. Hence everyone is entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development. However, Development is defined and prescribed either by the state or the international financial institutions or both, often depending on the nature of the economic relations between the two (Nongkynrih, 2012). This often leads to the violation of "The Right to Self-determined Development". Consequently, its negative impacts fall on two aspects of the environment- the physical aspect and the social aspect. The physical aspects include definite territory, water, forests, soil, climate, living organisms, plants, etc. The social aspects include religious belief and practices, economy (relations, economic activities and practices, and technology); political structure and relations; and family and kinship. The interconnectedness and interdependence between the physical and social constitute environment (Nongkynrih, 2012) of symbiosis which shapes the holistic world view of the indigenous or the tribal people. However, the state's conquest for higher economic growth and expansion of market often marred the holistic world of indigenous people as it led them socio-culturally and economically marginalised. The Constitution of India provides special treatments for the tribal population in the development framework of the state. However, the state overlooked the Constitutional provisions and did not allow them to decide the kind of development they want to pursue. The state continued to decide and shape the development framework of the mainstream society in which the development framework of the tribal population remained unshaped somewhere else which often followed by the long-term risk of impoverishment.

Cernea (1997) outlined eight impoverishment risks of displacement. These are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources and community disarticulation. These are the apt lenses to view the socio-economic

condition of the displaced population. Hence, in this study, these eight impoverishment risks are used as the indicators to analyse the socio-economic condition of the displaced tribal population. The impoverishment of the displaced can be however avoided through the various protective measures which are conferred upon the state. So in this study, the process of evacuation, resettlement and the government entitlements for the displaced are critically examined.

The process of displacement and land alienation has a transformational effect on the tribal society. Displacement causes dislocation of the population, occupational change and dismantling of existing social fabric which is immediately disruptive and painful. However, often it is apparent that these unintended consequences remain generation after generation. The pervasiveness of unintended consequences among the displaced is often due to the backwardness mainly in two broad areas *i. e.* education and occupation. In the era of globalisation when the traditional occupations and knowledges are considered as obsolete, education helps to open up new opportunities. Secondly, it helps a community to adapt itself to the mainstream society and also foster the mobility. Occupational diversification that promotes upward mobility is one of the most effective signs of a displaced community's improvement. The position in the occupational hierarchy gives an account of the extent of his/her participation in reaping the benefit (suffering) of the development process (Halдар, 2011).

On the whole, tribal society as a different society with unique socio-cultural values undergoes a process of change due to industrialisation. The transformation of tribal society due to assimilation into the mainstream society can be both negative and positive. The tribal society, on the one hand, may forgo its traditional cultural values and intrude many social evils such as dowry, caste system, etc. on the other hand it may also get rid of some traditional negative practices such as infanticide, witch hunting, etc. Hence, the education and occupation; and assimilation into the mainstream culture play the crucial role in the transformation of a tribal society. Since the study mainly attempts to analyse

the long-term impacts of the displacement, it is worthwhile to look at the process of transformation or change of tribal society through inter-generational mobility by taking above three indicators.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- I. To assess the impacts of displacement and government entitlements on the displaced population and to find out how the two communities (resettled community in peri-urban and resettled community in rural areas) differ socio-economically after displacement.
- II. To analyse the Constitutional rights of the tribals and to see whether they have been deprived of their rights in the post-displacement period.
- III. To examine the inter-generational social mobility among the displaced to trace the changes in their life throughout the six decades.

Since the two communities who once shared the same socio-economic life before displacement were resettled in two different localities, that is, different in geography, population composition, and availability of opportunities, there is a possibility of these communities attaining very different socio-economic trajectories post-displacement.

1.5 THE STUDY AREA

Soon after independence, many development projects were planned for Nation-building by the Government of India. These projects were started mostly during Second Five Year Plan. Odisha was identified as a resource-rich state and two major development projects namely Hirakud Dam, and Rourkela Steel Plant were begun in this period. These were followed by many other development projects such as Rengali dam, Upper Kolab dam, Upper Indravati dam and Subarnarekha dam during the 70s and Thermal Power Station, Talcher Super Thermal Project (TSTP) and National Aluminium Company (NALCO) during 80s. All these projects were established mostly in resource-rich Highland districts predominantly inhabited by tribals and other indigenous people. This trend continued into the post-economic reform period, with the Odisha government launching massive programme for industrialisation. Of late in 2005 alone Odisha

government has signed as many as 43 MoUs with various private companies for setting up their industrial units at an investment of Rs 1,60,000 crores (Mishra, 2007). There is an estimate that around ten lakhs people have been physically displaced and 60 lakhs people have been dispossessed from their land. Displaced tribals who constitute more than 40 percent of the total displaced population in Odisha are worst sufferers (Mishra, 2015).

The district of Sundargarh was formed on 1 January 1948 merging the princely states of Gangpur and Bonaigarh. Sundargarh is one of the tribal-dominant districts of Odisha. The population is around 2,080,664. During the independence of India the tribal population in this district was more than 60 percent, but now it has come down to 51 percent (Census of India, 2011).

Forest constitutes about 40.4% of the total area of the district. It plays a major role in the tribal economy. The forests seen in the district are of the following types:

- (a) Most peninsular Valley Sal Forest
- (b) Dry peninsular Sal Forest
- (c) Dry Mixed Deciduous Forest and
- (d) Dry Bamboo Forest

The principal forest products of the district are Bamboo, Timber (*Bija*, *Asan*, and *Sal*) and *Kendu* leaves. The minor forest products like *Siali* leaves, *Myrobalans*, *char* Seeds, Broom Stick, *Kusum* Seed, *Sunari* bark; *Mahua* seed, honey, lac, *sabaigrass*, etc. are also available in the district.

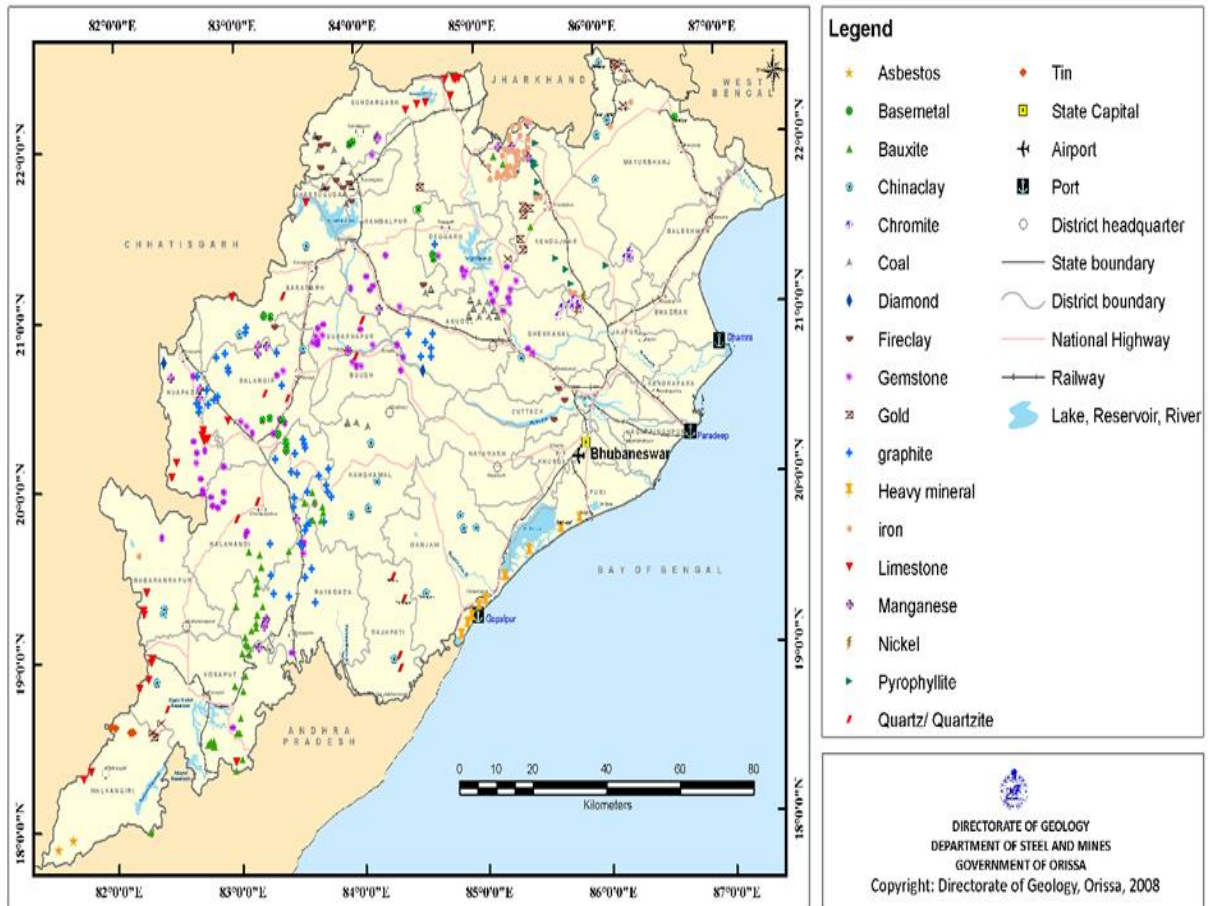
The district occupies a prominent position in the mineral map of India. Most essential minerals such as Iron Ore, Manganese Ore, Lead Ore, Limestone, Dolomite and Quartz were found in this district. Other valuable minerals like fireclay, coal and bauxite are also found in the district. The district has six industrial areas such as Rourkela, Commercial Estate, Kalunga, Mandiakudar, Rajgangpur and Sundargarh. The district has 11,171 total industrial units, out of which only 4,182 are registered one. Moreover, among the large and medium scale industries only 75 are registered one (Ministry of MSME, 2016). There is

a total of 605 mining leases in Odisha. The largest numbers of mining lease i. e. 130 (21.5 per cent of total mining leases) are in Sundargarh covering an area of 20,017.210 ha (Murty and Rao, 2006). Besides all these the district also has five medium and four small dams. Rourkela is situated on the banks of river Koel and Brahmani in this district. The population of the city is around 5.36 lakhs (Census, 2011). Rourkela Steel Plant is the first integrated steel plant in the public sector in India. It was set up with West German collaboration with the capacity of 1 million tonnes in the 1960s. Now it is operated by Steel Authority of India. Mandira Dam was also constructed over the river Sankh to meet the water requirement of Rourkela Steel Plant.

The study is based on intensive fieldwork conducted in Jhirpani (peri-urban resettlement colony), Bisra Block and Jaydega (rural resettlement colony), Kuanrunda Block of Sundargarh district, Odisha, during the months of November 2016 to January 2017. A pilot study was done in the month of May 2016 and based on this the study areas were selected. Jhirpani is nearest to the city i. e. 7 km away from Rourkela and the displaced tribal people of this resettlement colony are more in contact with the other communities or outsiders. Jaydega is 30 km away from Rourkela, the nearest urban site was selected as it is one of the rural resettlement colonies and on the basis of the preponderance of tribal population. While selecting the rural resettlement colony the availability of public transport system was also taken into account since the time constraint and cost occupy a significant role in the field survey. Earlier Lachhada, Gurundia Block, one of the remotest resettlement colonies had been selected for field survey. Only a few households were covered in the survey due to lack of public transport and Maoist influence. However, an interview and discussion with the people regarding their problems and government's entitlement were successfully conducted. An observation study was also successfully done by visiting the availability of basic facilities such as the source of drinking water, educational institution, medical care, etc. and source of their livelihood. So, even though the Maoist threat made it impossible to cover the hamlet for the survey, it was possible to take stock of the condition of people's livelihoods and the facilities they have in Lachhada. I, therefore, treat it as a special case of an extremely

remote colony and through this it can be judged that how far the government has been able to reach to the people of remotest and maoist influence area⁵.

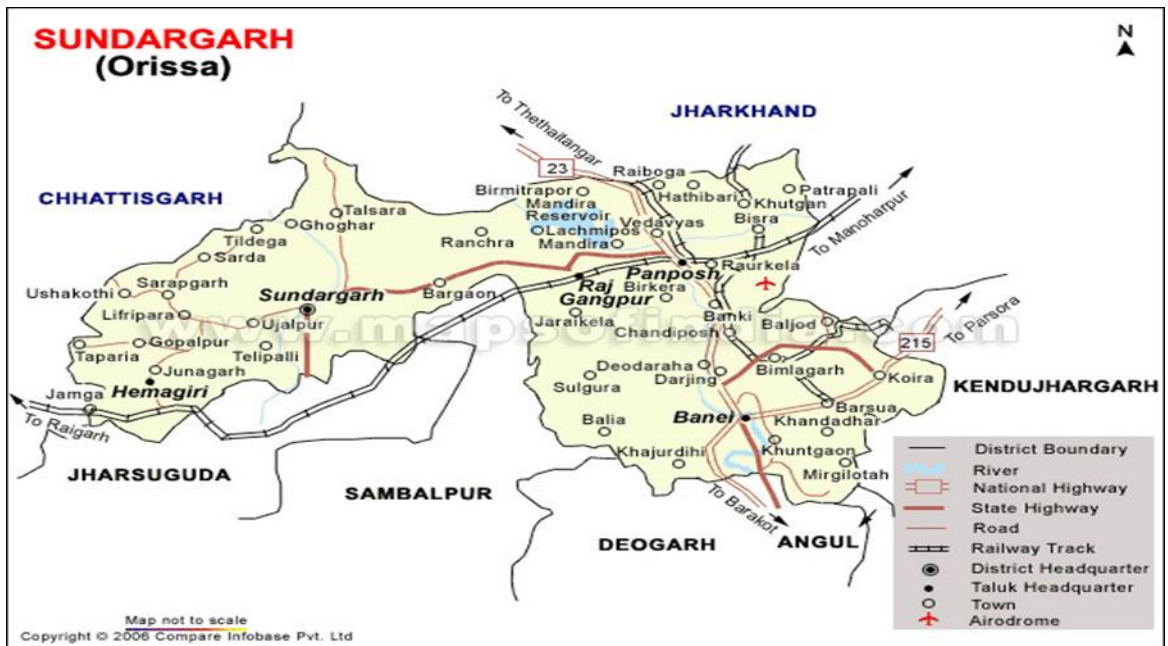
Figure 1.5.1 Map of Odisha (Mines and minerals)



Source: Directorate of Geology (2008)

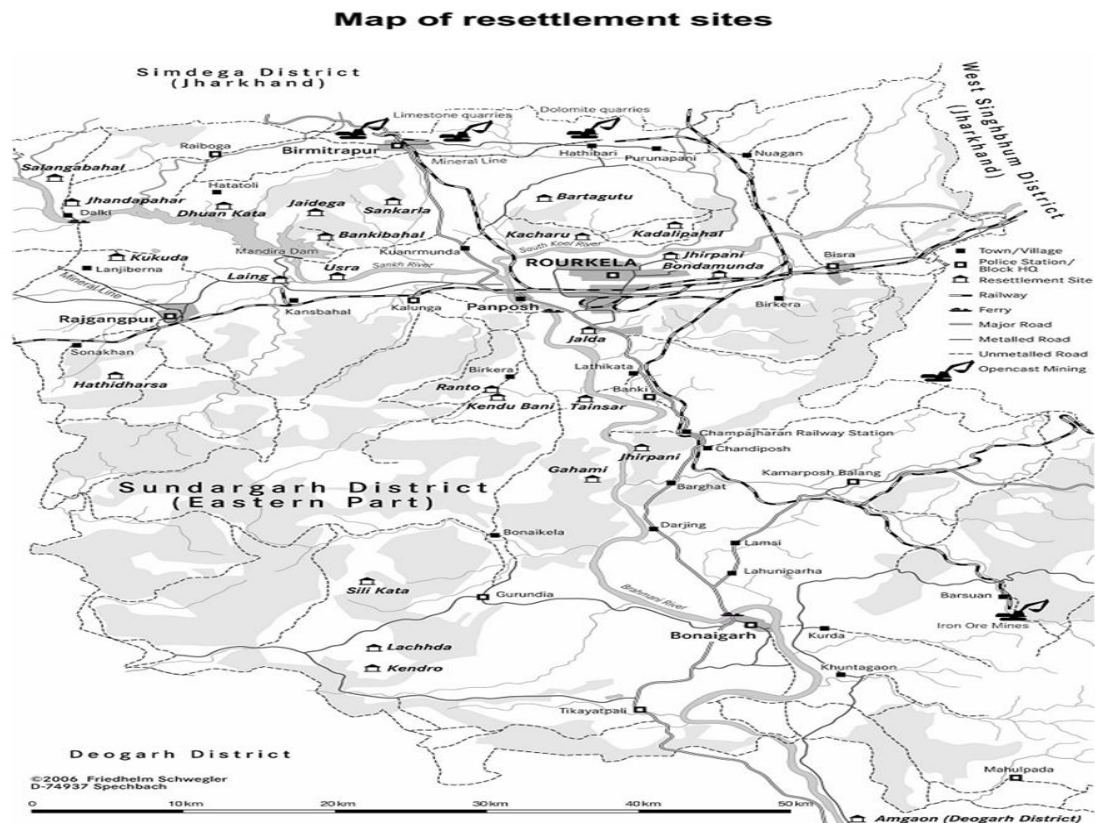
⁵ The details of socio-economic conditions of the 19 surveyed households is analysed in the APPENDIX I.

Figure 1.5.2 Map of Sundargarh district



Source: OPHWC (2006)

Figure 1.5.3 Map of Resettlement Sites



Source: sarini and Adivasi-Koordination in Germany (2006:15)

The sites Jhirpani, Bisra block and Jaydega, Kuarmunda block of Sundargarh district of Odisha are seven kilometres and 30 kilometres away from the Rourkela Steel Plant respectively. Lachhada is 90 kilometre away from Rourkela Steel Plant. The population of Jhirpani is 10,238, out of which the tribal population is 4,442 (43.39 percent)⁶. The tribal population includes both displaced and non-displaced. Current correct official data of displaced tribals could not be gathered, since many displaced households left the resettlement colony. The displaced tribal communities reside in this resettlement colony are Oram, Munda, Kharia, Kisan and Mundari.

In Jaydega the total population is 1098, out of which 1088 (99.08 percent) are tribal people. Among the tribal population 432 (39.38 percent) are at present displaced tribals⁷. The 59.7 percent current tribal population in Jaydega belong to early inhabitant households. The displaced tribal communities reside in this colony are Oram, Kisan, Lohra, Sabar. The population of Lachhada is 952, out of which the tribal population is 918 (96.42 percent)⁸. In this resettlement colony the residing tribal communities are Oram, Munda, Kharia and Kisan.

1.6 SAMPLING METHOD

In the selected resettlement colonies the displaced households are living with non-displaced tribal communities and other non-tribal communities together. Hence, recognising the displaced tribal households was very difficult. So, snowball sampling method was adopted. Using this method in Jhirpani, all available displaced tribal households, that is 94 (698 individuals) were covered and in Jaydega 55 all available displaced tribal households (432 individuals) were also surveyed. In Lachhada only 19 tribal displaced households (162 individuals) could be surveyed.

⁶ Data collected from Jhirpani Panchayat

⁷ Data collected from ASHRA NGO

⁸ Data collected from ASHRA NGO

1.6.1 SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION

The data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary survey data collection is based on both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative data were collected through survey interview method. Semi-structured interviews, focus group discussion and observations were undertaken for the qualitative data collection. The secondary data were collected from books, articles, journals, published reports, census reports, NGO reports and government documents.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Due to time and material resource constraint, the field work was carried out only for three months. For a comparative study between urban resettlement colony and rural resettlement colony, two resettlement colonies out of 27 were selected. While selecting rural resettlement colony, the public transport system was taken into consideration because of time and budget constraints. However, an attempt had been made to survey one of the remotest resettlement colonies but it remained incomplete which we have taken as a special case in our study. It could have given a different and more accurate picture of rural resettlement colony. Again our study cannot be generalised for all displaced population of Rourkela since our surveyed resettlement colonies, and the household number is comparatively little. If some more time would have been spent in the field and more resettlement colonies would have been covered, more information could have been gathered. People were also observed giving fake data in the beginning because they were afraid of losing many government schemes such as Indira Awas Yojana (IAY), Public Distribution System (PDS) (BPL Status), Old Age Pension (OAP).

1.8 CHAPTERIZATION SCHEME

The introduction is followed by three chapters. The second chapter discusses the process of evacuation, resettlement and government entitlements for the displaced population. It also reflects on the difference in current socio-economic status between the peri-urban and rural resettlement colonies. While analysing

the socio-economic condition, the chapter also reflects on the special constitutional provisions for the displaced tribals and the role of the state in ensuring it for them. The third chapter looks at social mobility among the displaced in which the socio-economic changes in their life throughout the six decades seem apparent. The final chapter deals is a conclusion and with policy suggestions for the development of displaced tribals.

CHAPTER TWO

DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT IN PERI-URBAN AND RURAL SETTINGS

This chapter attempts a comparative analysis of the socio-economic condition of the displaced tribal population resettled in the peri-urban and the rural resettlement colonies, that is Jhirpani and Jaydega. The chapter argues that the population of the two resettlement colonies differ in terms of geographical location, composition and availability of the opportunities, and these differences seem to produce significant socio-economic characteristics. For the socio-economic comparison between the population of two resettlement colonies, eight impoverishment risks outlined by Cernea (1997) have been considered as indicators of the communities' general condition. The chapter also attempts to assess the state's role in the protection of the special Constitutional provisions for the tribals during the displacement and the post-displacement period.

The chapter has been divided into six sections. The first section introduces the tribal society in general and tries to define 'Tribal' in the tribal perspective. The second section presents the socio-economic life of the tribals of Chotanagpur plateau, and the third section discusses the changes occurring in the tribal world. The fourth section presents the process of displacement and life of the displaced tribals of Rourkela during the transition period, and the fifth section discusses its long-term impacts on their socio-economic life, and then it is followed by discussion in the end.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

India probably has the largest tribal population in the world, now extending 100 million (Guha, 2015), yet, defining 'tribal' is a major challenge for the Indian government. Thus, in India, it is more about identifying tribals rather than defining them through scientific or theoretical considerations (Beteille, 1986; Khan, 2016). The term 'tribe' is derived from the Latin word 'tribus' was used to imply the three divisions among the early Romans. Later on, it was used to imply the 'poor' or 'masses' (Jayakumar, 1995). In India the term 'tribe' was first used

by the British-Census-official-cum-anthropologist for the purpose of enumerating the social groups (Shah, 1984). The colonial anthropological and sociological literature considers the tribal as homogeneous and undifferentiated or unstructured community, an entity distinct from other social categories of the country and largely unchanging. Indian anthropologists also depicted tribals as small, self-contained, self-sufficient and autonomous communities practising subsistence economy with limited trade, in which exploitation and social conflicts were absent (Pathy et al. 1976; Pathy 1982). In independent India the term 'tribe' has legal and administrative connotations. Therefore, tribal population are called as 'Scheduled Tribes' and they were categorised on the basis of geographical location, economic condition and life style of the group (Shah, 1984). Article 342 of the Indian Constitution empowers the President to specify certain groups as 'scheduled tribes'. Article 366 (25) defines "scheduled tribes as such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or group within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of the constitution". However, the criteria for specification of a community as Scheduled Tribe have not been spelt out in the Constitution. However, some specific criteria are commonly used by the government such as primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness towards mainstream society, and backwardness to identify tribal peoples (Moodie, 2013).

Other commonly used criteria to specify a community as a tribal community are: mutual inter-dependency, backwardness, little understanding of the importance of money economy, thrift use of natural resources, having their traditional political unit, primitive traits, etc. Indeed these criteria were used to demean the tribal society or define tribal society as 'backward' society. It is worth noting that these criteria hardly do justice to the tribal people's understanding of the good life and well-being. Tribal understanding of a mutual inter-dependence society is different from the mainstream society as they try to keep themselves away from

the class relations in production and *varna* system.⁹ Their understanding of mutual inter-dependence says that in a tribal society each household is self-reliance that is they can cultivate crops, build houses by their own. However, whenever they need help the whole society stands with them. For instance, during planting and harvesting of crops, they help each other, that is, they share their labour for free. These are done on the mutual basis on the 'principle of reciprocity' (Srivastava, 1992). Another characteristic of tribal society defined by mainstream society is economic 'backwardness' understood as less understanding of the monetary economy and little knowledge about the optimal use of natural resources. However, the tribals were never economically 'backward' as long as they could access the water, forest and land as they lived a sustainable life. Their notion of welfare was community-centric which can be seen in their sustainable use of natural resources (Ekka, 2012). Hence no one in a tribal society was poor or economically 'backward'. However, the colonisation of the tribal economy, entry of nationalist development and later, the corporate world turned them economically backward by snatching away their livelihood (Badgaiyan, 1983; Srivastava, 1992; Meher, 1994; Mishra, 2005). Thus the tribals became poor because the modernist notion of welfare is individual centric which has been well evidenced by growing economic inequality all over the world (Deaton and Dreze, 2002; Bhaduri, 2008).

Tribals are also characterised as a geographically isolated living community. The tribals used to live in plain areas and mostly in the bank of rivers and their tributaries. Their interaction with the outsiders or peasants led to the

⁹ While conducting field survey many discussions with the tribal leaders and people were undertaken to understand a tribal society. From their point of view the tribal society doesn't believe in hierarchical system with regards to caste and class, however due to marketization of tribal economy and assimilation with other non-tribe societies and other socio-economic factors created differentiation in the tribal society.

Mukhopadhyay (2012) regarding class question in tribal society states that tribals are now directly interacting with modern economic and market forces, development processes and entering into the productive system of the country, as a result some form of stratification have been evolving in the tribal homogeneous society.

K. S. Singh (1994) regarding the caste question in the tribal society in his extensive study on 635 tribal communities finds only 11.8 per cent recognise their position in it and only 31.6 are aware of the *varna* system.

development of settled agriculture among them (Singh, 1982). However, in the course of time, when intrusion of outsiders increased it endangered their socio-economic life. The tribals are sensitive to their socio-cultural life and restrain themselves from cross-culture assimilation (Das, 1992; Shashi, 1995). They are politically well organised which ensures self-governance among them. In order to keep themselves away from the inter-village feuds, and the socio-cultural as well as economic slave, they preferred the hinterland for settlement, unreachable to the outsiders (Singh, 1982). Consequently, due to their geographical isolation, they were branded as backward. Tribal society is also characterised as less mobile, doesn't keep pace with dynamic corporate world. The corporate notion of developed society is a society to be a developed one if it runs behind the 'desires'. The problem with tribal society is it does not understand 'greed' (Roy, 2011). Literally, the tribal society was never seen with affinity. While defining a tribal society, less understanding of money economy, less mobile, primitive traits, mutual inter-dependency, *etc.* were considered to legitimise its backwardness. Moreover, it is often found that while defining a tribal society the specific characteristics such as egalitarianism, communality, self-governance, protector of nature, *etc.* are left out.

In order to understand tribal society, it is necessary to reflect on their socio-cultural and political systems.

2.2 TRIBALS OF CHOTANAGPUR

Chotanagpur is situated in eastern India which covers many parts of the state of Jharkhand and the adjacent parts of Chhattisgarh, Odisha, West Bengal and Bihar. Chotanagpur plateau is the collective name of Pat region, Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Koderma, Damodar, Palamu, and Manbhum-Singhbhum. There are thirty tribal communities in this plateau. Santal is the populous tribal community. The other major communities are Oram, Munda, Ho, Kharwar, Kharia, Bhumij and Lohar (Kandulna, 1994). During the last quarter of nineteenth century, Mundas, Orams, Kharias and other people migrated from Singhbhum

and Ranchi belt to the Gangpur¹⁰ state, were a good pioneering race easily raised crops of the virgin soil (Meher, 1994).

The tribals of Chotanagpur have a unique relationship with nature. They always maintain ecological balance through their cultural practices in the form of taboos, which define nature and its extent of exploitation. Their unique relationship with nature can be well recognised from their totem or clan name. Their totem or clan names are taken from flora fauna and other natural objects of the surroundings such as *Barla* (banyan tree), *Aind* (fish), *Bage* (tiger), *Bhodra* (kingfisher) among the *Mundas*; *Bilung* (salt), *Kullu* (tortoise), *Soreng* (rock) among the *Kharias*; *Ekka* (tortoise), *Xaxa* (crow), *Tirkey* (tree) among the *Orams*; *Lakra* (Panther), *Panna* (iron) among the *Kisans*, etc. (Ekka, 2012). There is social norm or taboo that the clans cannot misuse and take care of the flora, fauna and the natural objects which bear the name of their respective clans (Ekka, 2012; Oraon, 2012). Hence, there is no overexploitation of natural resources among them. For them, use of natural resources is just for the satisfaction of basic needs rather for the profit and accumulation of wealth. Their indigenous knowledge of resource management, beliefs and values, sensitive use of land and determined defence of territory and natural resources enabled them to inhabit in the natural habitats for centuries without destroying their ecology (Sterens, 1997). Agriculture is their main occupation. Land and life are one for a tribal. In India, most of the tribal population depends on land directly or indirectly for their survival. The tribals of Chotanagpur are deeply and intimately attached to the land because they consider land as their dignity, prestige, honour and strength¹¹. Hence, the land is the basis of their identity. Hunting and collection of forest products are their

¹⁰ Gangpur state was one of the princely state of India during the period of British Raj. It was one of the Chhotanagpur states under the Eastern States Agency. On 1 January 1948 Gangpur and another princely state Bonaigarh were merged into the present district of Sundargarh.

¹¹ The meaning of land for the tribals is derived from their myths and legends, which describe the genesis of human beings and creation, the human beings' allegiance to God, as well as their relationship with the spirits and other animate and intimate beings (Ekka, 2012). For instance, the creation of Oram tribes begins with the word 'Sat-pati-raji' (Lakra, 2007) which means seven strips of land. The country of seven strips of land symbolises the totality of land that is the whole world. Therefore, for them land means not the upper crust of soil only, it includes all that is under the earth and above the earth. Consequently, all minerals, forests, and the water bodies along with the creatures living therein are part of the land (Ekka, 2012).

subsidiary occupation. They collect varieties of Non-Timber Forest Produces (NTFPs)/Minor Forest Products (MFPs) such as honey, mahul, char, fruits, root, gums, firewood and other medicinal products for household purpose as well as for sale at weekly market fairs.

Any imbalance in the ecology because of humanmade catastrophe that is overexploitation due to the increasing demand from outside the tribal society creates threats to the survival of their community (Oraon, 2012; Padel, 2016).

The community life of Adivasis provides them socio-economic security. The community life occupies a major position and is valued in their society. The egalitarian values among them are derived from their belief that they are the children of God and hence, the land and other natural resources, the gifts of God to be shared by all. Thus nature is the basis of their community life and culture. In other words, the community life originates from the communal ownership of natural resources. There is inter-relation between Nature, community life and their culture. The original meaning of 'culture', derived from the Latin word 'cultus', refers to the cultivation of the soil and cults. In other words, political and economic systems are the integral parts of the culture (Padel, 2016). Therefore, the culture is the result of interaction between nature and community life. The culture is the basis of tribal identity. Any harm to nature means loss of tribal identity since it destroys every aspect of their socio-economic relation. Every tribal community has their governing organisations to look after social affairs and deal with the disputes within the community and also with inter-community disputes. The governing organisation also makes rules for decent use of natural resources that is it ensures strict observance of institutionalised norms and cultural practices for the sustainable utilisation and management of natural resources (Oraon, 2012). Today the joint family system is meagrely found among the tribals of Chotanagpur, and many tribal people own private land and properties due to population growth and marketization of tribal economy, and most of them are proliferating as small farmers and landless labourers (Sachchidananda, 1985). However, the community life has retained in their society. Since most of them are economically backward and living under self-

sustenance, without mutual inter-dependence, they cannot survive in the globalised world. The cooperative farming¹² and sharing hands in house building and other economic activities are the examples of it.

2.3 HOMOGENEITY TO DIFFERENTIATION IN THE CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL WORLD

However, interference in the hinterland not only put the tribal life at risk but also resulted in the transformation of their society. Different scholars have looked at the nature of transformation differently. Some scholars argue that the tribal society is turning into caste Hindu society as a result of transformation (Bailey 1960; Mandelbaum 1990). The transformation of tribal society into caste society has also led to the manifestation of caste hierarchy within tribals. For instance, Bhumiya tribes are the hinduised tribes follow the purity-pollution concept and wear the sacred thread, practice caste hierarchy with other tribal communities (Dalton, 1973)¹³. Some other scholars opine that as a result of transformation the tribals have been turned into low-caste Hindu in a caste society.

Another group of scholars tried to look at the nature of the transformation of tribal society in the secular aspects. While looking at the gradual emergence of differentiation within the tribal society, they found the formation and development of class relation within it. Pathy (1982; 1984) in his study in the tribal villages of Odisha and Gujarat shows that the tribals have developed a class relation among themselves based on differential ownership of and command over resources and exploitation of one group of tribals by another is also seen among them. Similarly, Xaxa (2008), states that usurpation by a minority of the advantages provided by the market and state tribal welfare policies have created class relation among them. They have been differentiated on the basis of education, occupation, income and assets. This has led to the

¹² The cooperative farming here doesn't mean pulling out the lands and cultivate together. Here it means each household share their hands that is they follow 'Principle of reciprocity' in the cultivation of the neighbours in the community starting from ploughing, weeding to harvesting. For this they don't receive any wage, because it is considered as community work.

¹³ While discussing about caste and class with the people during the field survey it was found that the Bhumiya tribes are trying to put themselves socio-culturally above the other tribal communities by imitating brahminic culture.

classification of tribal society into rich, middle, poor and the landless. The other scholars like Mandal (1975) and Upadhaya (1980) argue that the shift of tribal occupation from traditional occupation to peasantry has led them to be victims of exploitation. According to them, the transformation of tribals into settled agriculturalists have reduced them into lowest rung of peasantry which includes owner-cultivator, tenants, landless agricultural labourers and artisans who are exploited by non-tribals.

2.4 DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT

In this section, the desolation of the traditional sustainable society of the tribals of Rourkela due to the development projects has been discussed. This section also through analysing the process of displacement of tribals of Rourkela discusses how painful moment it could be for a tribal community during transition period due to government's failure.

2.4.1 METHODOLOGY

In order to analyse the experience of evacuation, resettlement and government entitlements in post displacement period eight interviews and two focus group discussions were conducted. The interviews were the semi-structured type. Apart from that, some informal discussions were also undertaken as the researcher stayed in resettlement colonies for few days to gather more information. Primarily the people, directly affected by the displacement were selected for interviews; and for the focus group discussions the elderly, who experienced displacement, social activists and local leaders were selected. While selecting potential interviewees, the focus was also on the diversity of the informants with regard to location, age and gender. The interviewees, who were 75 years and more of age, were selected. In order to gather information about evacuation and resettlement process, and government entitlements during transition period male interviewees were given priority and for this, four persons were selected in Jhirpani. Since in tribal society also the patrilocality is the rule of post-marital residence; most of the elderly females did not experience displacement. However, two elderly females who did have the experience of

transition period were selected for interview to know about their experience in the displaced family. The information regarding government entitlements throughout the six decades was gathered from both male and female interviewees. Since Jhirpani is a peri-urban resettlement colony and they are residing in a mixed society¹⁴, it was found difficult to bring them together for focus group discussion. In Jaydega, three elderly males, who experienced displacement were selected for focus group discussion. During the discussion, the villagers were also present who shared their experiences in and the current status of the resettlement colony. In Lachhada an interview with an elderly male, who was also a social activist, and a discussion with the resettled people were conducted. Due to time constraint, the discussion invited all the villagers to share their experiences through which the government's entitlements towards them were assessed. An interview with an NGO Director was also undertaken. In the three resettlement colonies observation study were also done by visiting different sites such as educational institutions, health care centres, sources of drinking water, agriculture lands, road connectivity, *etc.* Besides all these a two-day seminar on Adivasi issues held at Kalunga (Rourkela) was attended to know the contemporary situation of Adivasis of Rourkela. Many secondary resources such as articles reports *etc.* were taken into account to gather more information.

Rourkela city is a part of Panposh sub-division of Sundargarh district of Odisha. The city is situated in a valley formed by intersecting of two rivers namely, Sankh and Koel. These two rivers meet each other at Vedvyas, Rourkela and form the river Brahmani, a tributary of river Mahanadi. The population of Rourkela is 536,450, out of which the population of scheduled tribe population is 89,423 (16.67 percent), and the scheduled caste population is 55,160 (10.28 percent). Among scheduled tribe, the illiteracy rate is 68.74 percent, and among scheduled caste, it is 68.34 per cent (Census, 2011).

A technical survey made in 1953-54 found Rourkela as the best site for the establishment of steel plant since within a distance of 80 kilometres good quality of iron ore deposits is found in sufficient quantity, and other minerals such as

¹⁴ Different social groups are living together.

limestone, dolomite and manganese are also available in abundance in nearby mines. A hydro-electric project in Hirakud Dam situated at a distance of 150 kilometres is also able to supply nearly 55 M.W. power (Parida, 1997). On 22nd February 1954 the Revenue Department of Government of Odisha published a notification in the Odisha Gazetteer specifying that an area of about 200 sq km required to be acquired for the establishment of steel plant and, allied and ancillary industries in an area around Rourkela comprising 92 revenue villages which further consisted of 98 residential villages (Meher, 1994) out of which 65 are tribal villages (Xaxa, 2010). Before the acquisition of land for Rourkela Steel Plant a socio-economic survey was conducted by the Government of Odisha under the supervision of S. Misra. The survey reveals that these villages consisted of 5,363 households with a population of 33,041 out of which the tribals were the majority with 45.3 percent. The population also consisted of other social groups such as caste Hindus (26.6 percent), Scheduled Caste (9.6 percent) and other religious groups (18.5 percent). Among the population of other religious groups, the Christians formed 83.7percent, and most of them belonged to tribal communities. Thus, Rourkela was predominantly a tribal area resided by many tribal communities such as Oram, Munda, Kharia, Kisan, Bhumiya, Bhumij, *etc.* Among them, the Mundas and Orams shared the largest portion *i. e.* 22.62 percent and 20.19 percent respectively (Meher, 1994).

The construction of Rourkela Steel Plant was begun in the late 1950s in collaboration with Krupp Demag of then West Germany. For the establishment of steel plant and Mandira Dam approximately 33,000 acres of lands was acquired by the Government of Odisha under the provisions of the Odisha Development of Industries, Irrigation, Agriculture, Capital Construction & Resettlement of displaced persons (Land Acquisition) Act, 1948 (Odisha Act XVIII of 1948) displacing 65 tribal villages. The displaced families were resettled in the 27 resettlement colonies¹⁵.

¹⁵ There is no consolidated official information on the resettlement colonies. The above lists have been compiled from different sources.

Table 2.4.1 Resettlement Colonies

Sl. No.	Name of R.S. Colony	Block or Police Station/District	Resettled from RSP or Mandira Dam (MD)	Approx. Distance from RSP
1.	Amgaon (PDP)*	Barkot/Deogarh	RSP	Ca. 100 km south
2.	Bankibahal (PDP)	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 36 km north-west
3.	Bartagutu	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 20 km north
4.	Bondamunda (PDP)	Bisra	RSP	Ca. 10 km east
5.	Champajharan	Lathikata	RSP	Ca. 25 km south-east
6.	Dhuankata	Raiboga	MD	Ca. 40 km north-west
7.	Hatidarsha	Rajgangpur	RSP	Ca. 65 km west
8.	Gahami	Banki/Bonai	RSP	Ca. 50 km south
9.	Jaydega (PDP)	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 30 km north-west
10.	Jalda (PDP)	Lathikata	RSP	Ca. 16 km south-east
11.	Jhandapaha	Raiboga	MD	Ca. 60 km north-west
12.	Jhirpani (PDP)	Bisra	RSP	Ca. 7 km north-west
13.	Kacharu	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 15 km north
14.	Kadalipahal	Bisra	MD	Ca. 10 km south
15.	Kendro	Gurundia/Bonai	MD	Ca. 90 km south-west
16.	Kendubani	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 20 km south
17.	Lachhada (PDP)	Gurundia/Bonai	MD	Ca. 90 km south-west
18.	Laing (PDP)	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 36 km west
19.	Ranto	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 15 km south
20.	Raghudarah	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 60 km north-west
21.	Salangabahal	Raiboga	MD	Ca. 70 km north-west
22.	Sankarla	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 20 km north-west
23.	Silikata	Gurundia/Bonai	RSP	Ca. 56 km south
24.	Sukuda/Kukuda	Rajgangpur	RSP	Ca. 30 km west
25.	Tainsar	Kuanrmunda	RSP	Ca. 15 km south
26.	Ulandajharan	Gurundia/Bonai	RSP	Ca. 80 km south-west
27.	Usra (PDP)	Kuanrmunda	MD	Ca. 32 km west

Note: *(PDP) is for "Peripheral Development Programme". During last few years nine resettlement colonies were selected as peripheral villages and some welfare activities were undertaken under Steel Plants 'PDP'.

Source: *sarini* and Adivasi-Koordination in Germany (2006:14)

2.4.2 THE PROCESS OF EVACUATION

On the basis of the analysed interviews and focus group discussions, initially, it becomes apparent that the displacement from their ancestral land was not voluntary. Although none of the displaced persons liked it, they could not see any alternative to being displaced. There was little opportunity to effectively protest as the police force had been deployed by the government. In some areas, the notification was circulated all of a sudden to evacuate the villages. An elderly participant in focus group discussion in Jaydega revealed that in the Mandira Dam area the people were employed in the construction of deck of the dam and they did not know the purpose of the construction work. Soon after the completion of construction of deck suddenly a notification was circulated which ordered them to evacuate the villages because their villages were going to be submerged due to rain. The people had no other option but to leave their villages. In some areas then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the retired hockey star and then Adivasi leader Jaipal Singh visited the people and assured them of a better life in the resettlement colonies.

2.4.3 THE RATES OF COMPENSATION PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ODISHA

After considering the value of agricultural land in Odisha, the compensation paid to the displaced population at Hirakud Dam of Odisha, and at Hatibari and other places of Bihar, the Government of Odisha decided an average rate of Rs. 500.00 per acre of agricultural land as compensation rate for the population to be displaced due RSP and Mandira Dam. The rates of compensation for different types of land and crops cultivated in the year of acquisition were:

Table 2.4.2 Compensation rates for land and crop

Types of land	Rate per acre in Rs.	Rate for standing paddy acre (<i>in rupees</i>)
Bahal	900	75
Berna	600	60
Mal	401	45
Gora	200	30
Kudar	227	30
Gharbari	227	-
Barchha	748	-

Source: Parida (1997:52)

The Odisha Government also decided compensation rates for trees, crops, irrigation tanks, huts, etc. The huts compensation rate was on the basis of plinth area. For this purpose the rates prevalent in the area at the time of notification of Section 3(1) of Act. VIII of 1948 was taken into consideration. It was also mentioned that the depreciation charges would be deducted according to the condition of each house.

The rates per square foot (0.09 square meters) of plinth areas as well as for the walls, roofs, *etc.* of different types of were fixed by the Government of Odisha (Parida,1997:49) are as follows:

1. Walls of sun-dried bricks, thatched roof, mud floor, height 4.57 meters i. e. 15 feet....Rs. 2.68
2. Walls of sun-dried bricks and mud plastered on both sides, country tile roof and mud floor, height 4.57 meters....Rs. 2.81
3. Walls of burnt bricks and mud plastered on both sides, country tile roof and mud floor, height 4.57 meters....Rs. 3.37
4. Walls of burnt bricks and mud plastered on both sides, thatched roof and mud floor, height 4.57 meters....Rs. 3.75
5. Walls of burnt bricks and lime plastered on both sides, country tile roof and cement floor, height 3.05 meters....Rs. 4.75
6. Walls of burnt bricks and lime plastered on both sides, G.C.T. sheet roof and cement floor, height 3.05 meters....Rs. 5.34
7. Mud plastered wattle walls, country tile roof, mud floor, height 1.83 meters....Rs. 1.39
8. Mud plastered wattle walls, thatched roof, mud floor, height....Rs. 1.00
9. Mud composed wall or plastered both sides, country tile roof, height up to 1.52 meters....Rs. 0.75
10. Open sheds or lean to sheds of jungle wood, poles of K. B. filler, thatched roof and floor....Rs. 0.50

Other promises such as land for land for those who wanted to continue their agricultural activities and at least one gainful job in the steel plant to each

displaced household were also made. The government of Odisha took responsibility for the rehabilitation of the displaced persons. The District Magistrate was appointed Deputy Commissioner of land acquisition and, given the duty to make necessary arrangements in the resettlement colonies and for compensation distribution.

The first step in land acquisition began in 1951. However, by the end of 1952 resentment among the population to be displaced was seen. In order to pacify them, the Government of Odisha issued a press note and promised to take responsibility for rehabilitation. The influence of German Lutheran Church on the local tribal people had partly prevented the agitation in the locality of the steel plant as it was being constructed with FRG (Federal Republic of Germany) collaboration (Meher, 1994). Initially, the people were easily convinced because they could not foresee the impacts of displacement.

At the beginning of 1953, Shri Nabakrushna Choudhury then Chief Minister of Odisha had visited Rourkela and assured the displaced persons that their interest would be looked after in the matter of land and employment. The protest erupted when they found compensation as insufficient and though they were promised for resettlement with better facilities, no pre-planning for resettlement or advance arrangement in the resettlement colonies. The rude and brutal eviction process also created resentment among the people. In the agitation, the 'Ganjhus', the traditional headmen of different villages played a major role. However, in later stage due to the unsupportiveness of non-tribals and betrayals of Ganjhus weaken the agitation (Meher, 1994; Parida, 1997). The interviewees revealed that many Ganjhus joined with the authority and involved in corruption. An interviewee of Jhirpani revealed that their Ganjhu took away their land records in order to show their proof of residence to the administration, but later he did not return it to them. As a result, they were deprived as they could not show proof of residence. He also revealed that the Ganjhus took away most of the compensation money taking advantage of their ignorance and illiteracy. Since most of the people were ignorant and illiterate, they were wholly dependent on their Ganjhus and other local leaders. He also told that people of his hamlet had

joined for demonstration twice or thrice. From the discussion in Jaydega, it was found that they disagreed with the proposal but didn't join for any demonstration since they were deprived of accessing advance information. The interviewees and participants in discussion revealed that it was the people whose hamlets were nearest to the plant site involved in the demonstration. They also said that they were unaware of their resettlement colonies and the conditions there. Their houses were demolished, they were just loaded onto the trucks and dumped somewhere in the forest, in a place which they had never known before. The areas to where they were shifted were covered with trees and bushes, and they were asked to clear those on their own. For some people, it took many weeks to shift their livestock to their destined resettlement colonies through the jungle route.

In 1962 Government of Odisha handed over 19,557 acres of land to HSL out of 33,000 acres of acquired land (Meher, 1994). As per the assurance was given to the displaced person, the 13,443 acres of surplus land¹⁶ should be returned to the original landowners, but it was sold to private bodies for the construction of various private institutions and housing colonies (Xaxa, 2010).

2.4.4 CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS AND LAND ACQUISITION

In order to address the needs of the tribal communities, a separate administrative provision for Scheduled areas has been spelt out in the Constitution of India. The constitution classified the tribal dominated regions as the "Scheduled Areas¹⁷" and the "Tribal Areas¹⁸". Article 244(1) of the Constitution of India (1950) explicitly states that the provisions of "Fifth Schedule" shall be applied in respect of the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any state other than the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. The

¹⁶ A photo of surplus land in Rourkela collected from secondary source was enclosed in the APPENDIX I (Fig 1).

¹⁷ The term "Scheduled area" is dealt in the Fifth Schedule of the constitution. A Scheduled area has more than fifty per cent of tribal population. The constitutional provision of Tribal Advisory Council (TAC) plays important role in the administration of such areas.

¹⁸ The term "Tribal area" is dealt in the Sixth Scheduled of the constitution. Tribal areas are the specified districts of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram with considerable tribal population that enjoy greater autonomy in legislation.

states having the provision of Fifth Schedule are Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Chhatisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Rajasthan. And, the provision of “Sixth Schedule¹⁹” shall be applied for the administration of the tribal areas in these northeastern states.

2.4.4.1 FIFTH SCHEDULE

The key objective of the Fifth Schedule provision is to provide protection to the tribals in the scheduled areas from the alienation of their lands and natural resources to the non-tribals. Part B, Paragraph (4) of the Fifth Schedule states that to look into the matter of the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, there shall be a Tribal Advisory Council in each state having scheduled areas. Moreover, if President so directs, in any states having scheduled tribes but not scheduled areas should also have Tribal Advisory Councils. The Tribal Advisory Council will be made of maximum twenty members out of whom three-fourth will be the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State. The duty of the Tribal Advisory Council is to advise the Governor on the matter pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the state.

Part B, Clause (5) of the Fifth Schedule specifies the role of the Governor of the states having Scheduled Areas:

- The Governor of the state may by the public notification direct that any particular Act of Parliament or the Legislature of the state shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or would apply subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may specify [Sub-clause (1)].
- The Governor may also make regulations²⁰ for the peace and good governance in such areas [Sub-clause (2)].

¹⁹ Article 244 (2): The four north eastern states contain the tribal areas which are technically different from the Scheduled areas. Though these areas fall within the executive authority of the state, provision has been made for the creation of the District Councils and regional councils for the exercise of certain legislative and judiciary powers. Each District is an autonomous district and Governor can modify/divide the boundaries of the said tribal areas by notification.

²⁰ (a) Prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or members of Scheduled Tribes in Scheduled Areas

- The Governor may also repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the legislature of the state or any existing law which is for the time applying to the area in question [Sub-clause (3)].

Part A, Clause (3) of the Fifth Schedule also assigns the Governor, is required to prepare a report annually or whenever required by the President and submit to the President regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas.

The President of India is also vested with the power to declare an area as Scheduled Area and may at any time by order direct that the whole or any specified part of a Scheduled Area shall cease to be a Scheduled Area²¹. The criteria for declaring an area as Scheduled Area have not been spelt out in Constitution, but the preponderance of tribal population, compactness and reasonable size of the area, under-developed nature of the area and marked disparity in economic standard of people have become well established. The Scheduled area in the state of Odisha was specified by the Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Order, 1950 (Constitutional Order, 9) and the three districts such as Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Koraput were specified and declared by the President of India as Scheduled districts. Hence, these districts are exclusively for the inhabitation of Scheduled Tribes that is, no person other than Scheduled Tribe has the right to live in these districts.

For the construction of Rourkela Steel Plant the government of Odisha acquired 19,722.69 acres of land displacing 2465 families of 32 villages and similarly for Mandira Dam 11,923.98 acres of land was acquired displacing 941 families of 31 villages in 1950s under the provisions of Odisha Development of Industries, Irrigation, Agriculture, Capital construction and Resettlement of displaced persons (Land Acquisition) Act, 1948 (Orissa Act XVIII of 1948).

However, the acquisition of land under Orissa Act XVIII of 1948 or Land Acquisition Act, 1894 is illegal as per the provision of sub-clause (1) of clause (5) of Part B of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India. The acquisition of land

(b) Regulate the allotment of land to members of Scheduled Tribes in such areas

(c) Regulate the carrying on of business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of Scheduled Tribes in such areas.

²¹ Part C, Clause (6) of the Fifth Schedule of the constitution.

for RSP and Mandira Dam is also the violation of the provision of Clause (6) of Part C of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution since President of India had not by order directed any area of Sundargarh district shall cease to be Scheduled Areas. So, the very process of land acquisition for RSP and Mandira Dam is illegal, void, ultra vires and unconstitutional (Xaxa, 2010). The government of Odisha also circumvented the provisions of Sub-clause (2) of Clause (5) of Part B of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India. Instead, the 13,443 acres of surplus land which were to be returned to the original landowners, were illegally leased out²² for the construction of Regional Engineering College, Rourkela, South-Eastern Railway Stock Yard, construction of Basanti Colony, Chhend Housing Colony, Kalinga Vihar, Durgapur Foot Hill Housing Scheme, Balughat Area, Shakti Nagar, Koel Nagar, LIC Colony, Bastia Memorial, Adarsh Pathagar, Ispat Anjuman, Sri Aurobindo Yoga Mandir, Vivekananda Education Society, Satya Sai Seva Samiti, Hanuman Vatika etc (Xaxa, 2010). The leasing out the tribal lands to the private bodies also violates the Clause (5) of Article 19 of the Constitution of India and Orissa Regulation no.2 of 1956 which prohibits transfer of immovable properties of the tribals to the non-tribals.

2.4.5 LIFE IN THE RESETTLEMENT COLONIES

The respondents revealed that the early life in the resettlement colonies was a nightmare which they never expected before donating their ancestral land for national development. The government had promised adequate infrastructure facility in the resettlement colonies before displacement. The interviewees and participants in discussions of both resettlement colonies said that the resettlement process was rude and inhuman because their houses in their ancestral villages were demolished all of a sudden and the tiles and remained housing materials were loaded onto the trucks and dumped in the resettlement colonies. The people also revealed that they lived under the trees for two or three months before building their houses on their own. The resettlement process was done phase by phase. It was horrible for those who were resettled in the month of May and June

²² Assurance had been given to the oustees that the surplus land will be returned to them after construction of RSP and Mandira Dam. But, on 01.07.1993, the Government of Odisha and RSP entered into an agreement to lease out the surplus land to the private developers.

because they had to live without roof over their heads in the rainy season. Contrary to the promises no basic facilities were provided. There was no source of drinking water in the resettlement colonies. Therefore, the administration delivered water in drums which was sporadically brought on trucks from the nearest pond. As a result, the majority of them suffered from serious diseases, which often led to the death of many. The interviewee from Lachhada revealed that they were experiencing two-three deaths every day due to the usage of the unclean water. Health care facility which was need of the hour in the early resettlement period was completely absent. Due to the unhealthy environment, many people left the resettlement colonies and resettled somewhere else. The food stocks which they were able to bring with them were soon used up. So they had to depend on edible plants from the forest for their survival.

The promises made by the government proved to be false. The facilities such as education, health care facility, electricity supply, transport facility, *etc.* remained unfulfilled for many decades after displacement. Even today most of the resettlement colonies remain untouched by these basic facilities²³. From the focus group discussion and interviews it was evident that people did not know how the compensation amount for land and houses were calculated since most of them were unacquainted with the monetary exchange system. They expressed their dissatisfaction regarding the compensation amount and claimed that there were irregularities in compensation distribution²⁴. From the interviews, people remembered receiving roughly 300/- to 700/- per acre. Many people also claimed that they were provided with the compensation not for their lands, but for the crop they had cultivated in that year. They got a piece of land *i. e.* housing plot measuring 18.29x12.9 meters (60x40 feet) in the resettlement colonies, whereas, in the case of agricultural land they hardly got 2-3 acres of stony lands instead of 20-30 acres of land. They also claimed that most of them possessed

²³ Some field survey photos were attached in APPENDIX I (Fig. 5 & 8).

²⁴ People were unable present the proofs of irregularities in compensation. However, a field survey had been carried out combinely by ASHRA, a Rourkela based NGO and AKD, a Germany based NGO in many resettlement colonies found the irregularities in compensation distribution. A photo captured by them was enclosed in APPENDIX I (Fig. 2).

unregistered lands in the pre-displacement period which they cultivated for many decades were not included in the calculation of the compensation amount.

The social activists and the local leaders claimed that during the construction of steel plant around 40,000 Adivasis were employed in the earthwork, but it is unknown that how many of them belonged to displaced families. They also claimed that most of the displaced persons got inferior positions in the RSP. They also revealed that considerable numbers of outsiders managed to get fake displacement certificates and managed to get jobs in RSP.

The Rourkela Steel Plant is also undertaking many welfare activities in the area of health, education, infrastructure, economic development, *etc.* in the peripheral villages under the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Scheme. Both resettlement colonies, Jhirpani and Jaydega, have been included in peripheral village list. By law, RSP must spend five percent of its annual profit on the welfare activities in the resettlement colonies. The annual reports of RSP also exhibit about the crores of rupees spent on the development and welfare activities in the peripheral villages. However, anomalies in the development activities were reportedly found in many resettlement colonies (Sambad, 2017). While conducting field survey, a medical aid centre functioning twice a week was found in Jhirpani. However, activities undertaken in the areas of education and other economic development by the RSP is abysmal. In Jaydega the development activities such as the construction of roads, drinking water sources, *etc.* carried out by RSP were found substandard. Lately, in 2015 a community centre and one deep bore well have been established. Until now no initiative has been undertaken by RSP in the area of education and health care facilities in the resettlement colony.

The process of evacuation and resettlement unmasks the process of development by the state. The evacuation and resettlement of the Adivasis of Rourkela which was undertaken all of a sudden shows serious violation of human rights. Before revealing their choices, they were put in a miserable situation where they had no other choices rather bear it. The state who abdicated its responsibility to protect the citizens left them destitute.

2.5 IMPACT OF DISPLACEMENT

Resettlement and rehabilitation policy has been defined broadly by many scholars and institutions. The World Bank states that resettlement covers all economic, social losses resulting from land taking and restriction of access together with consequent compensatory and remedial measures. It further says that Resettlement includes (a) acquisition of land and physical structure on land (b) physical relocation (c) economic rehabilitation of displaced people to improve income and living standard (Involuntary Resettlement Sourcebook, 2004). The term 'rehabilitation' has also been defined similarly. Rehabilitation is the process of removing or reducing as far as possible the factors that limit the activity and participation of disadvantaged persons so that they can attain and maintain the highest possible level of independence and quality of life: physically, mentally, socially and vocationally (Nairobi 1st Review Conference, 2004). In other words, in order to enable the adversely affected people to regain their former level of living standards it is the responsibility of the state to assist them with provision of housing, infrastructure related to education, road, drinking water, electricity, hospital etc. and also extend suitable remunerative economic rehabilitation support (Mallavarpu, 2015).

2.5.1 METHODOLOGY

In order to assess the current socio-economic status of the displaced population of both resettlement colonies both household and individual data collected from field survey have been considered. Since our concern is on the current status, the population who are currently alive from individual data have been taken into consideration for analysis. In order to do a comparative analysis of socio-economic status between the population of two resettlement colonies World Bank sociologist Michael Cernea's highly influential Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRR) of rehabilitation has been undertaken. He argues that although there is a high possibility of potential impoverishment due to displacement, such transformation is avoidable. He outlined eight impoverishment risks -landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation,

food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources and community disarticulation (Cernea, 1997).

He also suggested the reconstructive actions by which the state can reverse the risks:

- From landless to land-based resettlement;
- From joblessness to re-employment;
- From food insecurity to safe nutrition;
- From homelessness to house reconstruction;
- From increased morbidity to better health-care;
- From social disarticulation, marginalisation and deprivation of common assets, to community;
- Reconstruction and social inclusion.

Against this background, Cernea (1999) defines the role of the state for rehabilitation explicitly and states that the government and technical agencies must understand the economies of dispossession, impoverishment, recovery, and plan for growth at the relocation site. Katta (2015:231) while understanding Cernea's proposition on state's role states "The state assumes a responsibility when it forces people to relocate, and it has responsibility for not leaving them impoverishment. For the state, the recovery of re-settlers' livelihoods is first a matter of political will and financial resources. Resource allocation is a political matter, not just an economic one. My simple argument holds that, because government agencies employ the weight of the state and the force of the law to impose expropriation and displacement, it is incumbent upon the same government to also enable those displaced to get back on their feet and benefit from the development for the sake of which they are displaced".

2.5.2 HOUSING CONDITION

Homelessness is the immediate effect of displacement basically during the transition period and is the result of lack of government's precautionary measures. Better shelter facility is one of the necessary measures to achieve

improvement in resettlers' livelihood (Cernea, 1997). The displaced people expect better housing environment, and it is also the responsibility of the government to tend the victims after displacement. However, the government and project authority did not take any single measure for their housing in the resettlement colonies. In both resettlement colonies, the project authority only provided the homestead plots, and they built their houses.

Table 2.5.2.1 Change in type of house

Period R. S. Colony HH Type	Pre-displacement		Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
Kutcha	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	18 (19.15)	37 (67.27)
Pucca	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	17 (18.09)	0 (0.00)
Semi-pucca	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	59 (62.77)	18 (32.73)
Total	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)

Source: Field Survey Data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 2.5.2.1 shows that though all the households in the pre-displacement period were living in kutcha houses, after six decades of displacement no considerable change, particularly in rural resettlement colony, has taken place. In the rural resettlement colony still, 67 percent households are living in kutcha houses, and 33 per cent households were found living in semi-pucca houses are beneficiaries of Indira Awas Yojana Scheme. Whereas in peri-urban resettlement colony the housing condition has improved, that is, 63 and 18 per cents households are living in semi-pucca and pucca houses respectively, while 19 per cents are still living in kutcha houses. Resettlers' investment behaviour indicates that many use a part of their compensation amount received towards building better dwelling (Cernea, 1997). However, in our case, the resettlers' at the rural resettlement colony remembered that they spent their compensation amount on purchasing food and other things for daily use as they had no employment and alternative livelihood during the transition period. However, in the case of resettlers in the peri-urban

resettlement colony, it was found that most of them spent their compensation money on the building of semi-pucca and pucca houses. This was due to their better economic condition as many of them availed employment either in RSP or the city.

Table 2.5.2.2 Change in Availability of Latrine to the Houses

Period	Pre-displacement		Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
HHs with Latrine	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	70 (74.77)	7 (12.73)
HHs without Latrine	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	24 (25.23)	48 (87.27)
Total	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)

Source: field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

While assessing other basic facilities table 2.5.2.2 shows that before displacement no household of both resettlement colonies had latrine facility. However, at present 75 per cent households in peri-urban resettlement colony were found having latrine facility while in the rural resettlement colony only 13 per cent households have latrine facility. The second generation population of Peri-urban resettlement colony managed to get jobs in RSP²⁵ and the city. So they were economically well off and could afford to build latrines. The unavailability of space for open defecation forced them to build latrines.

Table 2.5.2.3 Change in the dependence on sources of drinking water

Period	Pre-displacement		Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
Well (own)	26 (27.67)	9 (16.36)	49 (52.12)	6(10.91)
Well (community)	68 (72.34)	46 (83.64)	0 (0.00)	25 (45.45)
Well (others)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (3.19)	12 (21.82)
Bore well (own)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.06)	0 (0.00)
Bore well (govt.)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	32 (34.04)	12 (21.82)
Govt. supply	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	9 (9.57)	0 (0.00)
Total	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)

Source: field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentage

²⁵ Details in Table 3.5.1

Table 2.5.2.3 shows that during the pre-displacement period most of the households from both resettlement colonies that is 72 and 84 per cents households were depending on the community well for drinking water respectively. After displacement about 52 per cent households in peri-urban resettlement colony managed to construct their own wells while 34 percent, most of them were found poor who could not construct their own wells in the early period of resettlement are depending on government established bore wells. In the rural resettlement colony still, a significant portion households *i. e.* 45 per cent are dependent on the community well while 22 percent households are availing the government established bore well facilities which are in the immediate vicinity of their houses.

Table 2.5.2.4 Change in the dependence on the source of lighting

Period R. S. Colony Source of light	Pre-displacement		Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
Kerosene	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	55 (100.00)
Electricity	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	94 (100.00)	0 (0.00)
Total	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 2.5.2.4 shows that during the pre-displacement period all the households of both resettlement colonies were dependent on kerosene for lighting. However, at present all the households in peri-urban resettlement colony have the electricity connection as they are nearer to the city, but for the people of the rural resettlement colony, it is still inaccessible.

Table 2.5.2.5 shows that while before displacement all the households from both colonies used to depend on firewood for cooking, after displacement no change has happened to rurally resettled households, but in the peri-urban resettlement colony 48 per cent households can afford gas for cooking. The 52 per cent households in peri-urban resettlement colony who cannot afford 'gas' were found to be dependent on firewood which they buy from city market.

Table 2.5.2.5 Change in the dependence on the source of cooking

Period R. S. Colony Source of cooking	Pre-displacement		Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
Firewood	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	49 (52.13)	55 (100.00)
Gas	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	45 (47.87)	0 (0.00)
Coal	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Total	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

2.5.3 LAND HOLDING

The expropriation of land from the tribals has dismantled their production system, commercial activities and socio-cultural aspect of life. Unless their production system is not reconstructed elsewhere or replaced by steady income generating employment, they will continue to be impoverished.

Table 2.5.3.1 Change in landholdings by the households

Period R. S. Colony Land holding(acre)	Pre-displacement		Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
<1 acre	3 (3.19)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	29(52.73)
1-5 acre	10 (10.64)	0 (0.00)	7 (7.45)	8 (14.55)
5-10 acre	4 (4.26)	0 (0.00)	3 (3.19)	8 (14.55)
10-30 acre	16 (17.02)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.06)	0 (0.00)
>30 acre	13 (13.83)	3 (5.45)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
No land	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	82 (87.23)	10 (18.18)
Can't say	48 (51.06)	52 (94.55)	1 (1.06)	0 (0.00)
Total	94 (100.00)	55(100.00)	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentage

Cernea (1997) by analysing the restoration of livelihood of the displaced of the developing countries views that the 'land-based resettlement' is by far a more

successful strategy than compensation in cash which most often fails to lead to income restoration. The success of the 'land-based resettlement' again depends on the certain duties of the state such as identifying equivalent lands, bringing new land into production through land recovery, crop-intensification, diversification of on-farm/off-farm activities, *etc.*

Table 2.5.3.1 shows that before displacement many households in both resettlement colonies possessed more than ten acres of registered land and there were no landless households. They also possessed unregistered land with them. Most of the households *i. e.* 51 and 94 per cent in both peri-urban and rural resettlement colonies respectively expressed that they possessed a good amount of land but couldn't trace the amount of registered and unregistered land. After displacement, 87 per cent households turned landless in the peri-urban resettlement colony. In the rural resettlement colony, 18 percent became landless, while among the landholding households, 53 percent possess less than one acre. From field observation, it was found that most of the agricultural lands are stony and hilly lands²⁶ and the resettlers of the colony also expressed that the government has undertaken no initiative for land development.

2.5.4 EMPLOYMENT

When the people are displaced from their habitat, they lose their means of livelihood. Moreover, it becomes a major challenge for the authority to employ them in the industry since they lack the skills to be employed in the industry (Bhuiyan, 2015). Cernea (1997) also opines that unemployment among the displaced may surface after a time delay, because in the short-run they may avail the project related jobs, but it is not sustainable. In the long-run, due to lack of skills unemployment among them endures. They also lack the skills to earn their livelihood in alternative ways, and thus, the peasantry class most often ends with wage earners in the post-displacement period (Meher, 1994; Kapoor, 2014).

²⁶ Field photos of lands are enclosed in Appendix I (Fig. 6 & 7)

Table 2.5.4.1 Occupational diversification in both resettlement colonies

Period	Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
R. S. Colony Occupation		
Professional	2 (0.51)	0 (0.00)
White collar	9 (2.31)	0 (0.00)
Self employed	15 (3.85)	0 (0.00)
Blue collar (unskilled)	119 (30.51)	105 (44.68)
Blue collar (skilled)	60 (15.38)	8 (3.40)
Owner cultivator	0 (0.00)	20 (8.51)
HH work	102 (26.15)	76 (32.34)
Unemployed	58 (14.87)	9 (3.82)
Not in labour force	25 (6.41)	17 (7.23)
Total	390 (100.00)	235 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in the brackets are percentage

Table 2.5.4.1 shows that, the people used to be settled cultivators before the displacement. Soon after displacement most of them either became wage earners or ended with household workers²⁷. The land for land compensation was provided only to the people of the rural resettlement colony, but they hardly got 2-3 acres of stony and hilly lands for 20-30 acres of lands. In the peri-urban resettlement colony even after six decades of displacement 30 per cent population were employed in unskilled works, 26 percent are involved in household work as the main occupation, while 15 percent are unemployed. In the rural resettlement colony, 45 per cent population are involved in unskilled work, and 32 percent are in household work as their main work. Only eight percent retained as owner cultivators, while four percent are found to be unemployed. One of the main reasons for the preponderance of unskilled workers is due to lack of generation of new skills through training programmes which is conferred upon the state.

2.5.5 FOOD INSECURITY

An Adivasi cultivates the crops to provide food security to his family first and the surplus he takes to the market for sale. The weekly market in the tribal region plays a vital role in protecting the tribal from food insecurity. The weekly

²⁷ Details in Table 3.3.1

markets generally remain unaffected by city markets or big businessmen. So price remains stable, and goods are available at cheaper rate. So, even a poor tribal household manages to get basic necessities from the weekly market. Moreover, the barter system plays a major role in protecting them from economic deprivation (Reddy, 2010). The possession of livestock also provides them income security. However, the forced displacement dismantled the socio-economic relation and food supply system among the tribals; and put them into chronic food insecurity. The displaced tribals are now no longer cultivators except eight per cent in the rural resettlement colony (Table 2.5.4.1). Hence, their food demand is only met through their wage earnings. Barter system vanished. Their economic relationship with the weekly market was dismantled. It was found from the field survey that people of urban resettlement colony now depend on city markets where the big businessmen have captured the market, and they control the market price. The people of the rural resettlement colony also now have no village weekly market, and they depend on city market. As a consequence, their little wage earnings cannot meet their basic necessities.

Table 2.5.5.1 Changes in possession of livestock and poultry by the households

Items	Pre-displacement		Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
Livestock	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	4 (4.26)	55 (100.00)
Poultry	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	29 (30.85)	55 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, (Total HHs R. S. Colony 1=94, R. S. Colony 2=55), Figures in the brackets are percentages

Table 2.5.5.1 shows that the possession of livestock and poultry among households of peri-urban resettlement colony has massively declined as they no longer access the Common Property Resources (CPRs), while all households in rural resettlement colony possess the livestock and poultry due to the availability of CPRs. However, livestock and poultry alone can't meet the food security of a household. While looking at government schemes for food security it was found that in the rural resettlement colony 74 percent and the peri-urban resettlement colony 49 percent households possess the ration card.

2.5.6 MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY

Displacement from ancestral land and homestead land causes serious impact on the health of the oustees. The psychological trauma due to displacement, food insecurity and the unhygienic environment together leads to serious diseases (Cernea, 1997; Bhuiyan, 2015). The immediate nutritional and health risks due to displacement mostly fall on the vulnerable groups such as children, the elderly, pregnant women, *etc.* The interviewees revealed that during the transition period most of the oustees from both resettlement colonies fell in serious diseases and among them many couldn't survive. The health care facility from the government was absent. Much later in Rourkela, the steel plant authority established a hospital namely, Ispat General Hospital (IGH). However, the hospital did not provide all oustees free medical care. Only the Rourkela Steel Plant employee households access free health care from the hospital. The healthcare facility is still unreachable to the people of the rural resettlement colony.

Table 2.5.6.1 Healthcare accessibility by the households

Types of Institutions	Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
Health care centre		
Govt. Hospital	61 (64.89)	0 (0.00)
Private Hospital	33 (35.11)	3 (5.45)
Private Doctor	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Quack*	0 (0.00)	52 (94.55)
Total	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)

Note: *A fraudulent doctor of medicine and an imposer who claims to have qualifications to practice medicine (excluding faith healers or witch doctors).

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentage.

Table 2.5.6.1 shows that at present the oustee households of peri-urban resettlement colony can access health care as many government and private health care centres are available in the city. Out of them, 65 percent depend on government hospitals, and 35 percent households can afford private health centre. However, in the rural resettlement colony, 94 percent households are dependent on quacks for health care.

2.5.7 MARGINALISATION

When the nation targets the hinterland for development, it is the tribals particularly become marginalised, because they are never included in the development process and eventually become powerlessness. Loss of economic power due to displacement often leads to downward mobility because, many individuals cannot use their previously acquired skills at the new location and their human capital is lost or rendered inactive, useless (Cernea, 1999). In both resettlement colonies; the people have been deprived economically and politically. On the one hand, they lost their lands and common property resources, on the other, they ended with either unskilled workers or unemployed. The government also failed to provide institutional credit to the people which could have saved them from economic deprivation.

Table 2.5.7.1 Changes in the dependency on the source of credit by the households

Sources of Credit	Pre-displacement		Post-displacement	
	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	Jaydega (Rural)
Money lenders	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Traders	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Employers	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Relatives	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	47 (50.00)	55 (100.00)
Cooperative society	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.06)	0 (0.00)
Banks	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (4.26)	0 (0.00)
Other	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Not dependent on loan	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	42 (44.68)	0 (0.00)
Total	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	94 (100.00)	55 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentage

Table 2.5.7.1 shows that before displacement since all of them were living a community life, they were economically inter-dependent with each other. After displacement 50 per cent households in peri-urban resettlement colony are still dependent on relatives for financial help, while only 4 percent managed to get loan from bank anyhow. Since the households in peri-urban resettlement colony

are residing in the lease for 90 years; they do not have any land records of homestead plots. Hence, they do not have collateral and thus cannot obtain bank loans. Cooperative societies are yet to be introduced to the people of both resettlement colonies. Only one person of a household from peri-urban resettlement colony was found to be a member of a Self Help Group (SHG). It was also found that 45 percent of the households are not availing any financial help. Since most of the households are economically backward, the unavailability of the financial help to them from relatives may be the reason of social disarticulation²⁸. In the rural resettlement colony, the banking facility is still unreachable, and all of them are dependent on each other for financial help.

Since Sundargarh comes under the Fifth Schedule; both resettlement colonies should get the provision of Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area (PESA) Act. However, this provision has not been implemented till now which made them politically deprived. It was also found that none of the resettlement colonies conducts Gram Sabha.

2.5.8 SOCIAL DISARTICULATION

The displacement of tribals from their ancestral land tears apart their social fabric. In both resettlement colonies, the economic system including traditional cultivation, indigenous market and sense of commonality in accessing the natural resources was dismantled. Due to the dislocation, the oustees lost their kinship networks. In the peri-urban resettlement colony, the social disintegration has become acute as the influx of outsiders is increasing day by day. However, in the rural resettlement colony, the people managed to reconstruct their social relationships. The mining of venerated mountains and bulldozed of sacred village sites undermined their religious system. The peri-urban resettlement no longer consists any religious site currently; whereas the people of the rural resettlement colony recreated their religious system. The tribal society is remarkably an egalitarian society since the traditional political structure guides

²⁸ In a tribal society, the mutual inter-dependence plays a major role in protecting them from economic deprivation. This has been seen among the population of rural resettlement colony i. e. all of them are depending on their relatives for financial help.

the socio-economic system. However, the modernist invasion of the tribal hinterland transformed the power structure and undermined their traditional political system. In peri-urban resettlement colony, all the households revealed that they are partially dependent on the traditional political system. They only follow some social norms such as rules regarding marriage, while dispute within the community or with other communities is solved in the police station or in the court for which they earlier depended upon their traditional political unit. However, in the rural resettlement colony, all households revealed that they still follow and are guided by the traditional political unit.

2.6 DISCUSSION

From the assessment of the eight impoverishment risks for the resettlers of the two resettlement colonies it is apparent that all eight impoverishment risks have affected displaced tribal population of both resettlement colonies, but to different degrees. The displaced tribal population of the peri-urban resettlement colony are relatively better off than that of rurally resettled.

Though the government did not provide any housing or other basic facilities, the resettled population in the peri-urban site managed to build houses, personal well and latrines with the compensation amount as they managed to get labour work in the city²⁹. However, the rurally resettled population spent their little compensation money on buying food and other necessities as they had neither livelihood nor employment in the early period of displacement.

In the case of land holding in the post-displacement period, the rurally resettled households are better off. However, 52 percent of them hold less than one acre, and from field observation, it was found that most of the lands are stony and hilly lands. The employment scenario shows that the population of urban resettlement colony are comparatively better off since less proportion of the population involved in unskilled work and household work and more in skilled work as they are privileged in availing jobs in the city. However, unemployment among the rurally resettled population is less than the resettled population in

²⁹ Details in Table 3.3.1

peri-urban. In the rural resettlement colony, eight per cent population are found as owner cultivators, while in peri-urban resettlement colony nobody was found to be involved in agriculture activities.

The loss of agricultural land and the indigenous market are the main reasons for the food insecurity of the displaced population of both resettlement colonies. For income and food security, the population of both resettlement colonies are mostly dependent on their wage earnings and city market. However, the population of the rural resettlement colony have the privileges as they accessed the common property resources and got a scope for rearing livestock and poultry.

In health care, the rurally resettled households are facing acute problems, because nearly 95 percent of them are dependent on quacks due to unavailability of healthcare centre. However, the households of the peri-urban resettlement colonies are privileged in accessing health care facility, because many health care centres are located in the city.

Besides this, their social fabric was dismantled, and only the rurally resettled population could rebuild their social relationships because they are less influenced by the outsiders.

During the transition period, the life of oustees was miserable because of the government's apathy towards them. The assessment of their socio-economic condition makes evident that no significant measures have been carried out by the state to ameliorate the life of the displaced population of both resettlement colonies. The promises such as land for land, house for house, employment, better infrastructure (education, health, transportation, *etc.*) were not fulfilled. Therefore, even after six decades of displacement, the impoverishment risks persist in their life. For the population of peri-urban resettlement colony, landlessness because of unavailability of alternative livelihoods, and the social disarticulation have appeared as the worst risk. On the other hand, the population of the rural resettlement colony have been worst affected by the morbidity risk. The risk of joblessness has become the emerging risk for the

current generation population of both resettlement colonies because of increment in educational attainment.

The above analysis shows that the eight impoverishment risks have affected the population of two resettlement colonies differently as they differ in geographical location, population composition and availability of the opportunities. Cernea (1997) while assessing the impoverishment risks enunciates that landlessness and/or joblessness are centric to all other impoverishment risks is apparent in this study.

2.6.1 DISPLACEMENT -VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The analysis of the process of evacuation, resettlement and government entitlements, and its impact on the displaced tribal population of two resettlement colonies infers the violation of the special Constitutional provisions provided for the protection of the tribal communities. The state also disregarded the Constitutional obligations conferred upon it to protect the fundamental rights of the displaced such as article 21, article 14 and article 16 of the constitution. Article 21 of the Indian Constitution provides the right to live which ensures right to lead a meaningful, complete and dignified life. However, the displaced tribal population of the two resettlement colonies were denied the decent life, and they were forced to live without basic facilities and alternative livelihoods, and the process eventually pushed them into indigence. The article 14 of the Constitution of India deals with the equality before the law and equal protection of the law which ensures equal treatment in like circumstances and differing treatment in differing circumstances. However, the displaced tribal population of Rourkela who were in need of special protection during transition period were forsaken by the state, and they were left to fend themselves. Denying the special protective measures and other basic facilities such as education and health care facilities required for the development of the human capital has led to the violation of article 16 of the constitution of India which guarantees equal opportunity in matters of public employment. It is vivid from the above employment analysis that most of the displaced tribals were denied employment in RSP due to lack of skills and whoever were employed were found employed in

unskilled works in the steel plant (see Table 3.5.1). Therefore, not providing education and health care facilities means indirectly denying from enjoying the equal opportunities in the matters of public employment.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG THE DISPLACED

This chapter tracks socio-economic changes among the displaced tribals through the six decades in which the inter-generational mobility of three successive generations after displacement has been examined. The chapter attempts to argue that the colonies differ in terms of geographical location, population composition and availability of opportunities and this has had a clear impact on the social mobility of the populations. In order to analyse the inter-generational mobility three broad indicators - education, occupation and assimilation into the mainstream culture have been taken into consideration. The chapter is classified into seven sections. The first section introduces the meaning of social mobility and its type. The second and third sections discuss the educational mobility and the occupational mobility respectively. The fourth section analyses the impacts of education on occupational mobility. The fifth section discusses the employment in Rourkela Steel Plant to the resettled population of both resettlement colonies. The sixth section offers a discussion on social mobility due to cross-culture assimilation and then it is followed by discussion.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Social stratification means the differentiation among the population into hierarchically superposed classes which are evinced through the existence of upper and lower layers in the society. The factors such as unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social power and influences, social values and privations among the people of the society are the basis of this stratification (Sorokin, 1998). The modernisation accompanied by the industrialisation, secular education and population growth has accelerated the movement of people from one status to another. This movement or mobility of people often places them into a new position in the society. Social mobility by definition is the movement of an individual or group of individuals, families or households from one status to another in a society of hierarchy or stratification (Jain, 1969; Mohanty, 1993). The social mobility can be classified into horizontal

mobility and vertical mobility. The horizontal mobility is the movement from one status to another situated on the same level where overall social standing remains the same. The vertical mobility is the movement from one status to another on a social scale (Sorokin, 1998). The vertical mobility can be either upward or downward influenced by many factors such as occupation, education, gender, culture, skills, *etc.* (Chakravarty, 2012).

Tribal society, as mentioned earlier, has distinctive characteristics which define their social stratification. Tribal identity is not a caste; it is an ethnicity. The Indian non-tribal society stratification is based on caste i. e. the concept of purity and pollution, but the tribal society stratification is mostly seen based on class. The class stratification in the tribal society emerged as a result of marketization and globalisation which metamorphosed the communality of resources into the individualism of resources. There are also many other traits of stratification are manifested in the tribal society such as the existence of the sex and age with different privileges and duties; chieftain and privileged and influential group, and inter- and intra-tribal division of labour (Sorokin, 1998). When the tribal society goes through the economic changes, it also experiences some social changes concurrently. Any change in economic condition has a direct impact on social change or mobility (Cernea, 1997). The inter-generational social mobility is the one generation changes its social status in contrast to the preceding generation. The inter-generational social mobility can be judged through many indicators such as educational attainments, educational attainment of the female, occupational mobility, occupational mobility among the females, socio-cultural changes, *etc.*

In order to ascertain inter-generational social mobility among the displaced population of three generations namely, the current generation who are in labour force; their parents and grandparents, the displacement experienced generation were taken into consideration. The analysis of inter-generational social mobility in two resettlement colonies is attempted separately to see how they differ due to the differences in accessibility of opportunities. It is used as a tool to trace the socio-economic changes of the displaced throughout the six decades of

displacement. The most commonly followed indicators to inspect the inter-generational mobility; viz. education and occupation were taken into account here. Also, female participation in these two fields was considered as it may indicate better well-being of families. Since, tribal as a different ethnicity, the cross-culture assimilation may dismantle their socio-cultural practices which define their social status and identity. Therefore, an another indicator 'assimilation into mainstream culture' has been taken into consideration.

3.2 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Education is considered as the symbol of the progress of a society or community. It is the key catalyst to the human development (Bikku, 2015). Education opens up new opportunities for the people. Hence, it always fosters the mobility. Education has a symbolic value that is the 'symbol of status' (Havighrust, 1969). In the globalised world educational attainment tells us about a community's ability to enter mainstream society and climb socio-economic ladders within it. Given the decline of traditional occupations, knowledge, and resources, entry into education is crucial for groups to survive and thrive under modernist developmental regimes.

3.2.1 METHODOLOGY

In order to see the changes in the educational attainments through the six decades, the population was classified into three generations. Of these, the first generation is the one after displacement. The formal educational attainment has been classified as general education and vocational education³⁰ to analyse family preference and affordability. The attitude of family and society towards the female education has been explored through comparative analysis of male and female education at all levels. A comparison between the urban sample and the rural sample has also been made to see the difference in educational attainments.

³⁰ The vocational education pursued by them are diploma/certificate, ITI, nursing, B.ED etc.

3.2.2 GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Table 3.2.2.1 shows the educational attainments among the three generations of both resettlement colonies. From the table, it is apparent that the illiteracy among the displaced has declined drastically throughout the generations in both resettlement colonies. Among the population of the peri-urban resettlement colony, the illiteracy rate has continuously declined throughout the three generations and eventually reached to nine percent, a low illiteracy rate among the third generation. However, among the first and second generation population of rural resettlement colony the illiteracy remained high, however among third-generation a significant decline i. e. more than 50 per cent in illiteracy is seen.

Table 3.2.2.1: General Educational Attainment among the population of three generations of both RS Colonies

Education Level	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)			Jaydega (Rural)		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Illiterate	124 (69.66)	69 (36.31)	23 (9.2)	99 (90.00)	77 (70.00)	26 (17.81)
Below Primary	34 (19.10)	35 (18.42)	10 (4.00)	10 (9.09)	11 (10.00)	20 (13.7)
5 th std.	9 (5.06)	12 (6.31)	3 (1.2)	1 (0.91)	3 (2.73)	2 (1.37)
Upper primary	9 (5.06)	23 (12.11)	17 (6.8)	0 (0.00)	10 (9.09)	24 (16.44)
Secondary (under matric)	2 (1.12)	20 (10.53)	41 (16.4)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.91)	24 (16.44)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	23 (12.11)	54 (21.6)	0 (0.00)	7 (6.36)	22 (15.07)
Higher Secondary	0 (0.00)	7 (3.68)	38 (15.2)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.91)	9 (6.16)
Graduate	0 (0.00)	1 (0.53)	36 (14.4)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (1.37)
PG & Above	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (1.2)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Currently in edu.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	25 (10.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	17 (11.64)
Total	178 (100.00)	190 (100.00)	250 (100.00)	110 (100.00)	110 (100.00)	146 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

From field survey, it was found that the peri-urban population were relatively economically stable as they accessed work opportunities in the city and they got the advantage of educational institutions established by the government and Christian Missionaries. However, in the rural resettlement colony, economic instability among the first and second generation population as they were deprived of livelihood and the unavailability of educational institutions were the reasons for high illiteracy among them.

Among the first generation literates in both resettlement colonies, the attainment of secondary education, matriculation and higher education is meagre. Among second generation population, some managed to attain matriculation and higher studies of the peri-urban sample. However, among the second generation population 36 percent stayed illiterate, and from the rest 64 percent, nearly 48 percent discontinued their education before matriculation. Admittedly among the third generation of the peri-urban sample, quite some people were able to complete matriculation and higher studies *i. e.* 52 per cent, but still 28 percent are discontinuing before matriculation while nine percent are illiterates.

Table 3.2.2.2 Vocational Educational Attainment among the population of three generations of both RS Colony

Vocational Education	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)			Jaydega (Rural)		
	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Certificate Course	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (1.6)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Matric+Tech	0 (0.00)	4 (2.11)	18 (7.2)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (1.37)
Higher Sec.+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	14 (5.6)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.68)
Matric+Oth*	0 (0.00)	1 (0.53)	1 (0.4)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Higher Sec+Oth*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (1.6)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Grad+Oth*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (2.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Total**	0 (0.00)	5 (2.64)	46 (18.4)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (2.05)

Note: ** The total population for three generations in Jhirpani are 178, 190 and 250 respectively, and for Jaydega population for three generations are 110, 110 and 146 respectively; *Nursing B.Ed. Figures in brackets are percentages.

Source: Field survey data.

The second generation population in the rural resettlement colony also consisted with a high illiteracy rate *i. e.* 70 percent, and among the literates the attained education level was low. Among the third generation 18 percent retained as illiterates, six percent attained matriculation while 47 percent dropped out before matriculation. Among the third generation, 15 percent attained matriculation, and only six percent could attain higher secondary.

Table 3.2.2.2 shows that among the first generation of the peri-urban sample the vocational education was nil. Among the second generation, only three percent joined for it. However, among the third generation, there has been a sudden increase of it *i. e.* 18 per cent and most of them are incentivised particularly for technical education. It is because the Rourkela Steel Plant authority assured them employment after the long protest. While for the population of rural resettlement colony the vocational training is still inaccessible. Only two percent of the third generation could access it. It is found that attending vocational training is less likely among the people of the rural resettlement colony than people of the peri-urban resettlement colony.

3.2.3 GENERAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (GENDER DIFFERENCE)

Women's education may be considered an important indicator of inter-generational social mobility because it is likely to improve the well-being and the general orientation of families towards the ambitions and choices of families in upper social strata.

TABLE 3.2.3.1 GENDER-WISE GENERAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Table 3.2.3.1 shows that the illiteracy among both male and female of the peri-urban sample has declined throughout the generations but still illiteracy among the females is higher than males as it is in the first and second generations. Among the literate males and females of the first generation, most of them were concentrated in below primary education. Among the second generation, some managed to attain the secondary level and matriculation, but the females' share is half of the males' share as their illiteracy rate is higher than male. The percentage of males who attended secondary and matriculation is 13 and 14 per cent

Table 3.2.3.1 Gender-wise general educational attainment

Educational Attainment	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)						Jaydega (Rural)					
	First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation		First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Illiterate	52 (58.43)	72(80.9)	23 (23.96)	46(48.94)	6 (5.13)	17 (12.78)	47(85.45)	52(94.55)	34(61.82)	43 (78.18)	15(20.8)	11 (14.86)
Below Primary	20 (22.47)	14 (15.73)	15 (15.63)	20 (21.28)	5(4.27)	5(3.76)	8 (14.55)	2 (3.64)	8 (14.55)	3 (5.45)	6 (8.33)	14 (18.92)
5 th std.	6 (6.74)	3 (3.37)	11 (11.46)	1 (1.06)	2 (1.71)	1 (0.75)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.82)	0 (0.00)	3 (5.45)	1 (1.39)	1 (1.35)
Upper primary	9 (10.11)	0 (0.00)	15 (15.63)	8 (8.51)	11 (9.4)	6 (4.51)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	7 (12.73)	3 (5.45)	10(13.89)	14 (18.92)
Secondary (under matric)	2 (2.25)	0(0.00)	13 (13.54)	7 (7.45)	22(18.8)	19(14.28)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.82)	0 (0.00)	13 (18.05)	11 (14.86)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	14 (14.59)	9(9.57)	32(27.35)	22 (16.54)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (9.09)	2 (3.64)	10 (13.89)	10 (13.51)
Higher Secondary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (5.21)	2 (2.13)	23(19.66)	15(11.28)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.82)	3 (4.17)	5 (6.76)
Graduation	0(0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.06)	9(7.69)	27 (20.3)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (2.78)	0 (0.00)
PG and above	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.85)	2 (1.5)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Currently in education	0 (0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	6(5.14)	19(14.28)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	10(13.89)	7(9.46)
Total	89 (100.00)	89 (100.00)	93 (100.00)	92 (100.00)	117 (100.00)	133 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	72 (100.00)	74 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

respectively whereas the females' percentage is seven and nine per cents respectively. Only five percent male two per cent females could attend higher secondary education. Among the third generation, the matriculates and higher study attendees have increased for both male and female, but the female graduates outnumbered the male graduates. The reason behind it is that most of the male matriculates and higher secondary attendees joined for vocational studies³¹, while the females continued the general education. From formal and many informal discussions with them, it was observed that the households' non-preference of vocational training for the female is because of their perception that industrial work is dangerous for female.

In the rural resettlement colony, the illiteracy is very high among first and second generation population. The female illiteracy is also much higher than the male and the illiteracy declining rate between first and second generation is very low. However, the illiteracy among the third generation has declined drastically, and it became lower than that of the male *i. e.* 15 and 21 per cents respectively. Both sexes of the first and second generations remained educationally backward. Among the third generation population, the education was attended equally by the female at all levels with the male, but their dropout rate in below primary and upper primary level is higher than that of the later. The female dropout rates in below primary and upper primary are 19 percent for each, while it is eight and 14 percents for the male for below primary and upper primary respectively. The higher education attendees among both sexes are meagre.

3.2.4 VOCATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (GENDER DIFFERENCE)

Table 3.2.4.1 shows that in the peri-urban sample the vocational education among the first generation male and female is nil and among the second generation also it is meagre. Among the both sexes of the third-generation the vocational education has increased *i. e.* 26 percent male and 11 percent female. The percentage of female vocational educational attendees is less than that of the male because most of them continued the general education after matriculation

³¹ Details in Table 3.2.4.1

Table 3.2.4.1 Gender-wise vocational educational attainment*

Types of Vocational Education	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)						Jaydega (Rural)					
	First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation		First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Certificate Course	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (2.56)	1 (0.75)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Matric + Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (3.13)	1 (1.06)	15 (12.82)	3 (2.25)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.61)	1 (1.49)
Higher Sec. + Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	12 (10.26)	2 (1.5)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.61)	0 (0.00)
Matric + Other*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.06)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.75)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Higher Sec. + Other*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (3.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Grad. + Other*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.85)	4 (3.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Total	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (3.13)	2 (2.12)	31 (26.49)	15 (11.28)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (3.22)	1 (1.49)

Note: * The population of male and female for three generations are 89 & 89, 93 & 92, and 117 & 137 in peri-urban R. S. Colony. In rural R. S. Colony these are 55 & 55, 55 & 55 and 72 & 74.

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages, *Nursing, Bed.

and higher secondary education.³² In the rural resettlement colony, the vocational education did not find its place among both sexes. Among the third generation, only two males and one female joined for vocational education.

It is quite observable that though the government took no special initiative for the education of the displaced of both colonies, the peri-urban resettlers can access higher education somewhat better as many government and private institutions exist in the city while for the rurally resettled the higher education is still inaccessible. An important feature visible from the Table 3.2.2.1 is that the percentage of matriculates has increased, but the drop out in secondary education has also surprisingly increased concurrently. It was observed from the discussions that the low-quality education and the introduction of board examination might be the main reasons of why substantial numbers of students are unable to complete matriculation. Among the third generation in both resettlement colonies, most of them are continuing their education.

It was found from the group discussion that the lack of family income or not providing financial assistance is one of the substantial reasons that hinder students to complete higher education or why students leave their studies half-way. The family with extreme poverty generally are disinteresting their children towards education and forcing them to work for wage and livelihood. Whereas the institutional factors such as the process of teaching, learning, assessment and teacher interaction, *etc.* are equally responsible for student drop out. Hence the lack of interest in higher education is not the reason for drop out, but the lack of facilities and opportunities that a student requires participating in education effectively is the main reason which is jeopardising the completion of their higher education.

3.3 OCCUPATIONAL DIVERSIFICATION

Occupation is one of the best indicators of social stratification by class and even by caste in a caste society. Those at the higher ladder of the occupational stratification are more likely to be in the upper ladder of the society having a

³² Details in Table 3.2.3.1

high income, better education and power. In short, occupation reflects the socio-cultural and economic status of a person. Moreover, the status or position of a community in a society is reflected by their profession. The communities having low-level occupations such as tenant cultivators, agricultural labourers, unskilled labourers and other serving workers are considered as backward communities. Such communities are mostly socially, economically and politically oppressed and considered powerless in the society. The social mobility of a community depends upon the movement from one occupation category to another as it determines the social and cultural prestige.

All the occupations are dichotomised here into agricultural and non-agricultural occupations following the model constructed by Nijhawan (1969). The non-agricultural occupations are further classified into five and agricultural occupations are into three occupational classes as follows:

Non-agricultural occupations

1. Professionals: administrative, executive, technical and managerial occupations
2. White collar: clerks, salesmen and other related occupations
3. Self-employed: business and trade
4. Blue collar (skilled and semi-skilled)
5. Blue collar (unskilled)

Agricultural occupations

1. Owner cultivators
2. Tenant cultivators
3. Agricultural labourers

3.3.1 METHODOLOGY

The respondent can be from second or third generation. The first generation population are often not alive. For first and second generations their last positions in occupation were considered, and for the third generation, their current positions were considered. In the case of male respondents, the final position of their parents and grandparents or parents and son & daughter has

been taken into consideration. While regarding female respondents, the last position of their father-in-law & mother-in-law and grandfather-in-law & grandmother-in-law or father-in-law & mother-in-law and son & daughter has been taken into consideration. Only main occupations of the population of three generations have been taken into account.

The respondents expressed that the before displacement all of the first generation population were engaged in farming and had sufficient lands. Agricultural labourers and tenant cultivators among them were non-existent since their agricultural activities were based on cooperative farming. The following discussion helps to understand the post-displacement occupational mobility among the displaced. The inter-generational mobility among the three generations also helps to trace the economic condition of them throughout six decades after displacement. The following discussion deals with the main occupation only.

Table 3.3.1 Occupational diversification among the generations

Types of Occupation	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)			Jaydega (Rural)		
	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Professional	0 (0.00)	1 (0.53)	1 (0.4)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
White collar	0 (0.00)	2 (1.05)	7 (2.8)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Self employed	0 (0.00)	1 (0.53)	14 (5.6)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Blue collar (unskilled)	83 (46.63)	66 (34.74)	78 (31.2)	32 (29.09)	36 (32.73)	76 (52.05)
Blue collar (skilled)	9 (5.06)	38 (20.00)	33 (13.2)	0 (0.00)	3 (2.73)	5 (3.42)
Owner cultivator	4 (2.25)	1 (0.53)	0 (0.00)	24 (21.82)	16 (14.55)	7 (4.79)
HH work	82 (46.07)	79 (41.58)	38 (15.2)	54 (49.09)	55 (50.00)	32 (21.92)
Unemployed	0 (0.00)	2 (1.05)	54 (21.6)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	9 (6.16)
Not in labour force	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	25 (10.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	17 (11.64)
Total	178 (100.00)	190 (100.00)	250 (100.00)	110 (100.00)	110 (100.00)	146 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.3.1 shows that after displacement in the peri-urban sample 47 percent of them were employed as unskilled workers and 46 percent were ended with household work. Nobody was found employed in professional, white collar jobs and business activities (self- employed), and only a few *i. e.* five per cent were employed as skilled labourers because among the first generation the literacy rate and the attained education level were meagre. After displacement they became landless, and only two percent managed to buy lands in the vicinity and continued to be owner-cultivators. Interestingly no persons were found unemployed due to the low education³³, and they had to be employed anyhow as nothing remained which could have back up their life after displacement. Among the second generation, the share of unskilled workers declined to 35 per cent while the skilled workers increased to 20 per cent. The population involved in household works slightly declined to 41 percent, and little appearance in professional, white-collar and self-employed was found. Among the third generation, the blue collar unskilled workers share remained same, but their absolute number increased from 66 to 78 percent. Surprisingly the third generation population experienced the fall in blue collar skilled workers that is from 38 per cent to 33 per cent. Interestingly there has been massive decline in household workers *i. e.* from 41 per cent to 17 per cent and increase unemployments *i. e.* one percent of the second generation to 24 percent among the third generation. There are three reasons were observed for the increment of unemployment among the third generation. These are,

1. Increase of educational attainment;
2. Influx of outsiders³⁴ or jobs in the city were captured by the upper caste (Kapoor, 2015); and

³³ Inverse relation between educational attained level and getting job, as attained education level increases chances of remain unemployed increases due to preference for high paid jobs.

³⁴ The volume of migration in the district was very low up to 1951. From 1961 onward the district started registering a high growth of population due to urbanisation and industrialisation occurring because of multiple effects of Rourkela Steel Plant. Census 1961 also shows that the district had fairly large number of migrants, who constituted 16 per cent of the population, of these, 10 per cent born outside the state of Odisha (Meher, 1994).

3. The employment to Land Displaced Persons (LDPs) was stopped by Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE) in 1986.³⁵

In the rural resettlement colony among the first generation population, 30 per cent were employed as blue collar unskilled workers, and 50 percent were ended with household work, while 22 percent retained as the owner-cultivators. Though they were not provided with any land as part of the compensation, they cleared the forest and prepared the land in the vicinity by their own. Among the second and third generations, the blue collar unskilled workers have increased to 33 and 59 per cents respectively. However, the owner cultivators have declined among both second and third generations *i. e.* 14 and five per cents respectively. Reduction in the dependency on agricultural activities is due to unfertile land and uncertainty of monsoon rain as found from field observation. The household workers among the second generations remained the same, but there has been decline among the third generation *i. e.* to 25 per cent. Blue collar skilled labourers were found among second and third generations, but they were very few, and among the third generation seven percent were found to be unemployed. The self-employed among all generations except the third generation in peri-urban sample *i. e.* only six percent, in both resettlement colonies, were found to be nil. The respondents revealed that unavailability of credit is one of the main reasons for this. Since resettled population in urban are staying in land leased for 90 years, they have no collateral to deposit and borrow from banks, while for the rural resettled population banking facility is still unreachable.

³⁵In the year 1986, BPE issued guidelines to PSUs for withdrawal of any understanding, formal or informal regard to offer of appointment to one member of every dispossessed families in the project. Following the BPE guideline fresh selection of LDPs was discontinued.

3.3.2 Occupational diversification (Gender Difference)

Table 3.3.2.1: Gender-wise occupational diversification (Peri-urban resettlement colony)

Types of Occupation	Jhirpani (Peri-urban)					
	First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.04)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.75)
White collar	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (2.13)	3 (2.56)	4 (3.01)
Self employed	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.04)	0 (0.00)	11 (9.4)	3 (2.25)
Blue collar (unskilled)	77 (86.52)	6 (6.74)	58 (60.42)	9 (9.57)	51 (43.59)	27 (20.3)
Blue collar (skilled)	9 (10.11)	0 (0.00)	35 (36.46)	3 (3.19)	19 (16.24)	14 (10.53)
Owner cultivator	3 (3.37)	1 ³⁶ (1.12)	2 (2.08)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
HH work	0 (0.00)	82 (92.13)	0 (0.00)	79 (83.02)	0 (0.00)	38 (28.57)
Unemployed	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.07)	27 (23.08)	27 (20.3)
Not in labour force	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (5.13)	19 (14.28)
Total	89 (100.00)	89 (100.00)	96 (100.00)	94 (100.00)	117 (100.00)	133 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages *

Table 3.3.2.1 shows that in peri-urban sample most of the first generation males, that is 86 per cent were employed as blue collar unskilled labour, whereas among females most of them i.e. 92 per cent were involved in household work only as their main work. While 10 per cent males were employed as skilled labour, for the female it is nil, and only about seven percent of them were involved in unskilled work. Among the second and third generation male population, the share of unskilled labour has declined to 60 per cent and 43 per cent respectively, and the proportion of skilled labour has increased among the second generation i.e. 36 percent and then declined to 16 percent among the third generation. The female participation in blue collar unskilled work among the first and second

³⁶ Due to ill health/absence of husband, the woman managed to look after the farming.

generations was less than 10 percent, but among the third generation, it increased to 23 percent. The female skilled labourers were seen among the third generation i.e. 10 per cent which was only three percent among the second generation. The proportion of females involved in household work has declined nearly 10 percent among the second generation, but the absolute number remained almost same. It is among the third generation, the female household workers' share has considerably declined i.e. 28 per cent. The unemployment among both males and females was found only among the third generation population i.e. 23 and 20 per cent respectively.

Table 3.3.2.2 Gender-wise occupational distribution (Rural resettlement colony)

Types of Occupation	Jaydega (Rural)					
	First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
White collar	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Self employed	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Blue collar (unskilled)	31 (56.36)	1 (1.82)	36 (65.45)	0 (0.00)	46 (63.89)	30 (40.54)
Blue collar (skilled)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (5.45)	0 (0.00)	4 (5.55)	1 (1.35)
Owner cultivator	24 (43.64)	0 (0.00)	16 (29.09)	0 (0.00)	7 (9.72)	0 (0.00)
HH work	0 (0.00)	54 (98.18)	0 (0.00)	55 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	32 (43.24)
Unemployed	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (6.94)	4 (5.4)
Not in labour force	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (13.89)	7 (9.46)
Total	55 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	55 (100.00)	72 (100.00)	74 (100.00)

* It might be the case that woman were able to participate in the labour market due to availability of their children, who use to handle their most of household works.

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.3.2.2 shows that in the rural resettlement colony all the first generation males were concentrated either in blue-collar unskilled work or owner cultivation i. e. 56 and 44 per cent respectively, while 98 percent first generation

females involved in household work. The unskilled male labourers share increased in the next two generations *i. e.* 65 and 64 per cents respectively, while the female unskilled labourers were found among the third generation only *i. e.* 45 per cent. The increment of the unskilled female labour force is due to the decline in household workers which is seen among the third generation female *i. e.* more than 50 per cent. The male owner cultivators share declined among the second and third generations *i. e.* 29 and 10 per cents. Unemployment in both sexes is seen only among the third generation population *i. e.* seven and five per cent respectively. One of the substantial reasons found from the discussion of why the first and second generation female were mostly concentrated only in household work is that the Steel Plant Authority did not provide any housing facilities and the decent living environment. This forced the women to take care of houses which include the collection of fire woods and other forest produce, clearing forest and unwanted plants for secure habitat, and more attention towards the livestock was required to save them from wild animals, *etc.*

3.4 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL DIVERSIFICATION

Education is one of the most important instruments to accelerate the rate of occupational mobility. It creates more opportunity in getting jobs. Skills and ambitions come mostly through education. The persons with the most skills and ambitions are most likely to gain upward mobility in occupation. So, if the attained education level increases, the occupational mobility more likely to be upward. However, the quality of education cannot be kept aside. Though the attained educational level may increase, but if the quality of education is low, then it is more likely that the person may not experience any mobility or s/he may end with horizontal mobility in occupation. The demand or the availability factors *i. e.* the number of positions available in different occupations, also determines the mobility of a person from one occupation to another.

3.4.1 Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Peri-urban resettlement colony)

Table 3.4.1.1 Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 1)

Educational Attainment	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Household work	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	55 (44.35)	4 (3.23)	65 (52.42)	0 (0.00)	124 (100.00)
Below primary	20 (58.82)	0 (0.00)	14 (41.18)	0 (0.00)	34 (100.00)
5 th std.	4 (44.44)	0 (0.00)	3 (33.33)	2 (22.22)	9 (100.00)
Upper primary	4 (44.44)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (55.56)	9 (100.00)
Secondary (under matric)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)	2 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.1.1 shows that most of the first generation population were illiterates and among the literates the attained education level was low and very few attained fifth standard and upper primary *i. e.* four for each. There has been an occupational shift among some literates. Table 3.4.1.2 shows that among the second generation illiterate population most of them are concentrated in unskilled and household work. The table shows that as the attained education level increases the participation in unskilled and household work declines. For instance, out of 18 matriculates only one person is involved in unskilled work and five persons in household work, while 12 are involved in skilled works.

Like in the first and second generations, table 3.4.1.3 shows that in the third generation also the participation in unskilled and household work declined as the educational attainment level increased. However, the unemployment among the literates increased has a positive correlation with educational attainment level. For example, among the illiterates, the unemployed population is nine percent, but for higher secondary and graduates it is 50 and 32 per cents respectively. The unemployment among those with vocational qualifications is also seen. The unemployment among the higher educational attendees is because of their preference for skilled jobs with a higher wage.

Table 3.4.1.2: Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 2).

Educational Attainment	Professional	White collar	Self-employed	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	House-hold work	Unemployed	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	27 (39.13)	1 (1.45)	39 (56.52)	1 (1.45)	1 (1.45)	69 (100.00)
Below primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	14 (40.00)	0 (0.00)	20 (57.14)	0 (0.00)	1 (2.86)	35 (100.00)
5 th std.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	7 (58.33)	0 (0.00)	1 (8.33)	0 (0.00)	4 (33.33)	12 (100.00)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (4.35)	10 (43.48)	0 (0.00)	5 (21.74)	0 (0.00)	7 (30.43)	23 (100.00)
Secondary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (30.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (30.00)	1 (5.00)	7 (35.00)	20 (100.00)
Matriculate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (5.56)	0 (0.00)	5 (27.78)	0 (0.00)	12 (66.67)	18 (100.00)
Higher sec	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (14.29)	0 (0.00)	2 (28.57)	0 (0.00)	4 (57.14)	7 (100.00)
Graduate	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Matric+ Tech	1 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (50.00)	4 (100.00)
Matric+ Oth*	0 (0.00)	1 (100.0)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, *Nursing, BEd, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.1.3 Educational attainment and occupational diversification (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 3)

Educational Attainment	Professional	White collar	Self employed	Blue collar (unskilled)	Household work	Unemployed	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	15 (65.22)	5 (21.74)	2 (8.70)	1 (4.35)	23 (100.00)
Below primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (60.00)	3 (30.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (10.00)	10 (100.00)
5 th std.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (66.67)	1 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	11 (64.71)	2 (11.76)	2 (11.76)	2 (11.76)	17 (100.00)
Secondary (under matric)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (4.88)	21 (51.22)	9 (21.95)	7 (17.07)	2 (4.88)	4 (100.00)
Matriculate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (11.43)	11 (31.43)	10 (28.57)	3 (8.57)	7 (20.00)	35 (100.00)
Higher sec	0 (0.00)	1 (6.25)	0 (0.00)	1 (6.25)	2 (12.50)	8 (50.00)	4 (25.00)	16 (100.00)
Certificate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (50.00)	1 (25.00)	4 (100.00)
Graduate	0 (0.00)	6 (19.35)	4 (12.90)	4 (12.90)	3 (9.68)	10 (32.26)	4 (12.90)	31 (100.00)
PG & Above	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Matric+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (16.67)	4 (22.22)	2 (11.11)	7 (38.89)	2 (11.11)	18 (100.00)
Higher sec+ Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (21.43)	0 (0.00)	7 (50.00)	4 (28.57)	14 (100.00)
Matric+ Oth*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	1 (100.00)
Higher sec+ Oth*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (75.00)	4 (100.00)
Graduate+ Oth*	1 (20.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (60.00)	1 (20.00)	5 (100.00)

3.4.2 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL DIVERSIFICATION (RURAL RESETTLEMENT COLONY)

Table 3.4.2.1 Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Rural RS Colony, Generation 1)

Educational Attainment	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Household work	Total
Illiterate	26 (26.26)	22 (22.22)	51 (51.52)	99 (100.00)
Below primary	6 (60.00)	2 (20.00)	2 (20.00)	10 (100.00)
5 th std.	0 (100.00)	0 (100.00)	1 (100.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.2.2 Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Rural RS Colony, Generation 2)

Educational Attainment	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Household work	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	19 (24.68)	15 (19.48)	43 (55.84)	0 (0.00)	77 (100.00)
Below primary	8 (72.73)	0 (0.00)	3 (27.27)	0 (0.00)	11 (100.00)
5 th std.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Upper primary	6 (60.00)	1 (10.00)	3 (30.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (100.00)
Secondary (under matric)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Matriculation	2 (28.57)	0 (0.00)	2 (28.57)	3 (42.86)	7 (100.00)
Higher secondary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 3.4.2.3 Educational Attainment and occupational diversification (Rural RS Colony, Generation 3)

Educational Attainment	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Household Work	Unemployed	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	18 (69.23)	1 (3.85)	7 (26.92)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	26 (100.00)
Below primary	11 (55.00)	0 (0.00)	9 (45.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	20 (100.00)
5 th std.	2 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)
Upper primary	19 (79.17)	1 (4.17)	4 (16.67)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	24 (100.00)
Secondary (under matric)	17 (70.83)	1 (4.17)	5 (20.83)	1 (4.17)	0 (0.00)	24 (100.00)
Matriculation	6 (30.00)	2 (10.00)	4 (20.00)	6 (30.00)	2 (10.00)	20 (100.00)
Higher secondary	3 (37.50)	1 (12.50)	3 (37.50)	0 (0.00)	1 (12.50)	8 (100.00)
Graduate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)	2 (100.00)
Matric+ Tech	0 (0.00)	1 (50.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (50.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)
Higher sec+ Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

In the rural resettlement colony, table 3.4.2.1 shows that among the first generation most of them are illiterates and no one was found attending education beyond primary level. All of them are involved either in unskilled work or cultivation or household work.

Table 3.4.2.2 shows that among the second generation also the same is the case for illiterates. Very few could attend matriculation and higher secondary. There is no visible impact of education on occupational mobility among them. For instance, out of seven matriculates three are involved in skilled work, while rest four are in unskilled and household work.

Table 3.4.2.3 shows that among the third generation also out of 33 higher levels educational attendees (matriculation, higher secondary, graduation and

vocational education) only six are involved in skilled works, and eight persons are unemployed, and rest are involved in low wage and household work.

Table 3.4.3.1 Educational Attainment and Occupational distribution among the male population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 1)

Educational Attainment	Occupation			
	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	49 (94.23)	3 (5.77)	0 (0.00)	52 (100.00)
Below Primary	20 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	20 (100.00)
5 th std.	4 (66.67)	0 (0.00)	2 (33.33)	6 (100.00)
Upper primary	4 (44.44)	0 (0.00)	5 (55.56)	9 (100.00)
Secondary (under matric)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)	2 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.3.2 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the male population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 2)

Educational Attainment.	Professional	Self employed	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	21 (91.30)	1 (4.35)	1 (4.35)	23(100.00)
BelowPrimary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	14 (93.33)	0 (0.00)	1 (6.67)	15(100.00)
5 th std.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	7 (63.64)	0 (0.00)	4(36.36)	11(100.00)
UpperdPrimary	0 (0.00)	1 (6.67)	7 (46.67)	0 (0.00)	7(46.67)	15(100.00)
Secondary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (46.15)	0 (0.00)	7(53.85)	13(100.00)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (10.00)	0 (0.00)	9(90.00)	10(100.00)
Higher sec	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (20.00)	0 (0.00)	4(80.00)	5 (100.00)
Matric+Tech	1 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2(66.67)	3 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.3.3 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the male population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 3)

Educational Attainment	White collar	Self employed	Blue collar (unskilled)	Unemployed	Blue collar (skilled)	Not in labour force	Total
Illiterate	0 (0.00)	0(0.00)	5(83.33)	1 (16.67)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	6(100.0)
Below Primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4(80.00)	0 (0.00)	1(20.00)	0 (0.00)	5(100.0)
5 th std.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2(100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2(100.0)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	8 (72.73)	2 (18.18)	1 (9.09)	0 (0.00)	11(100.0)
Secondary	0 (0.00)	2 (9.09)	17(77.27)	2 (9.09)	1 (4.55)	0 (0.00)	22(100.0)
Matriculate	0 (0.00)	4 (26.67)	6 (40.00)	2 (13.33)	3 (20.00)	0 (0.00)	15(100.0)
Higher sec	1 (12.50)	0 (0.00)	1 (12.50)	3 (37.50)	3 (37.50)	0 (0.00)	8 (100.0)
Certificate	0 (0.00)	1 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	1 (33.33)	1 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.0)
Graduate	2(25.00)	1 (12.50)	1(12.50)	2 (25.00)	2 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	8 (100.0)
PG and above	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1(100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.0)
Matric+Tech	0 (0.00)	3 (20.00)	4 (26.67)	6 (40.00)	2 (13.33)	0 (0.00)	15(100.0)
Higher sec+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (25.00)	5 (41.67)	4 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	12(100.0)
Graduate+Oth*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.0)
Currently in edu.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6(100.00)	6 (100.0)

Source: Field survey data, *Nursing, Bed, Figures in brackets are percentages

Tables 3.4.3.1 and 3.4.3.2 show that there is occupational diversification with increasing educational attainment level among the first and second generation male population respectively. That is people with higher level of educational attainment were found to be involved in higher paid jobs. For instance, among the first generation males (Table 3.4.3.1) who attended upper primary and secondary level, seven out of eleven were involved in skilled work. Among the second generation males (3.4.3.2) who attended matriculation and higher secondary 13 out of 15 were involved in skilled work. Moreover, out of the three males who pursued technical education after matriculation, two were involved in skilled works. However, many third generation males (3.4.3.3) with higher educational attainment level are found to be involved either in unskilled work or

remained unemployed. For instance, out of 15 matriculates six are involved in unskilled work, and two remained unemployed. Moreover, out of 27 males who attended technical education after matriculation or higher secondary seven were involved in unskilled work and 11 remained unemployed.

Table 3.4.3.4 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 1)

Educational Attainment	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Household work	Total
Illiterate	6 (8.33)	1 (1.39)	65 (90.28)	72 (100.00)
Below primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	14 (100.00)	14 (100.00)
5 th std.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)	3 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.3.5 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 2)

Educational Attainment	White collar	Blue collar (unskilled)	Household work	Unemployed	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	0 (0.00)	6 (13.04)	39 (84.78)	1 (2.17)	0 (0.00)	46 (100.00)
Below primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	20 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	20 (100.00)
5 th std.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	3 (37.50)	5 (62.50)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	8(100.00)
Secondary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (85.71)	1 (14.29)	0 (0.00)	7 (100.00)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (62.50)	0 (0.00)	3 (37.50)	8 (100.00)
Higher sec	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)
Graduate	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Matric+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Matric+Oth*	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data,*Nursing, BEd, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.3.6 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Peri-urban RS Colony, Generation 3)

Educational Attainment	Professional	White collar	Self employed	Blue collar (unskilled)	Household work	Unemployed	Blue collar (skilled)	Not in labour force	Total
Illiterate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (58.82)	5 (29.41)	1 (5.88)	1 (5.88)	0 (0.00)	17 (100.00)
Below primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (40.00)	3 (60.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (100.00)
5 th std	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (50.00)	2 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	1(16.67)	0 (0.00)	6 (100.00)
Secondary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (21.05)	9 (47.37)	5 (26.32)	1 (5.26)	0 (0.00)	19 (100.00)
Matriculati-on	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (25.00)	10 (50.00)	1 (5.00)	4(20.00)	0 (0.00)	20 (100.00)
Higher sec	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (25.00)	5 (62.50)	1(12.50)	0 (0.00)	8 (100.00)
Certificate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1(100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Graduate	0 (0.00)	4(17.39)	3 (13.04)	3 (13.04)	3(13.04)	8 (34.78)	2 (8.70)	0 (0.00)	23(100.00)
PG & Above	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2(100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)
Matric+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (66.67)	1 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Higher sec+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2(100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)
Matric + Oth*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1(100.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Higher sec+Oth*	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (75.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (100.00)
Graduate+Oth*	1 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (75.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (100.00)
Currently in edu.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	19(100.00)	19 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data,*Nursing, BEd, Figures in brackets are percentages

Tables 3.4.3.4, 3.4.3.5 and 3.4.3.6 show the occupational mobility with increasing educational attainment level of the females of the peri-urban resettlement colony. Since among the first generation female population (Table 3.4.3.4), illiteracy was very high, most of them were found to be involved in household works and few in unskilled work as their main work.

Among the second generation female population (Table 3.4.3.5), the literacy among them increased, and some managed to attend matriculation and higher and technical studies. However, unlike male higher educational attendees, no such development in occupational mobility was perceived. That is out of 13, only five were found to be involved in good paid jobs. The third generation female higher educational attendees (Table 3.4.3.6) were also found to be deprived of good paid jobs alike male. Out of 20 matriculates five were found to be involved in unskilled work and 10 in household work. Among the graduates, out of twenty-three, six were involved in unskilled and household works, and eight were found as unemployed. Moreover, out of 14 who attended technical and other vocational education, nine were found to be either involved in household work or remained unemployed.

Table 3.4.3.7 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the male population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 1)

Educational Attainment	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Total
Illiterate	25 (53.19)	22 (46.81)	47 (100.00)
Below Primary	6 (75.00)	2 (25.00)	8 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.3.8 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the male population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 2)

Educational Attainment	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	19 (55.88)	15 (44.12)	0 (0.00)	34 (100.00)
Below primary	8 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	8 (100.00)
Upper primary	6 (85.71)	1 (14.29)	0 (0.00)	7 (100.00)
Secondary	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Matriculation	2 (40.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (60.00)	5 (100.00)

Table 3.4.3.9 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the male population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 3)

Educational Attainment	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Unemployed	Blue collar (skilled)	Not in labour force	Total
Illiterate	14 (93.33)	1 (6.67)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	15 (100.00)
Below primary	6 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (100.00)
5 th std.	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Upper primary	9 (90.00)	1 (10.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (100.00)
Secondary	11 (84.62)	1 (7.69)	1 (7.69)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	13 (100.00)
Matriculation	3 (30.00)	2 (20.00)	3 (30.00)	2 (20.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (100.00)
Higher sec	2 (66.67)	1 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Graduate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.0)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)
Matric+Tech	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Higersec+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Currently in edu.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (100)	10 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.3.7 shows that the illiteracy among the first generation male population was very high, and hence they were found to be employed either in unskilled work or cultivation i. e. 53 and 46 percents respectively.

The illiteracy among the second generation male population (Table 3.4.3.8) was also quite high, and among the literates, the attained education level is low. Therefore, most of them found to be employed in unskilled work. Among both illiterates and literates, most of them were found to be shifted to unskilled work from the farming. Moreover, among the literates, except one person, nobody was found to be employed in farming. The growing industrialisation and urbanisation might be the pull factor of shift of occupation³⁷ among them. And, only five were found as matriculates, and out of them, three were involved in skilled work.

³⁷ Since they possess less amount of land and most of the lands are unfertile, they might be finding wage earning in the city as alternative occupation.

Among the third generation male population (Table 3.4.3.9), the participation in farming from both illiterates and literates has drastically declined. However, among the literates with higher educational attainment, the participation in good paid jobs is negligible. That is out of 17 who attended matriculation, higher secondary; graduation and technical studies, only four were found to be involved in skilled work.

Table 3.4.3.10 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 1)

Educational Attainment	Blue collar (unskilled)	Household work	Total
Illiterate	1 (1.92)	51 (98.08)	52 (100.00)
Below Primary	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)	2 (100.00)
5 th std.	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.3.11 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 2)

Educational Attainment	Household work	Total
Illiterate	43 (100.00)	43 (100.00)
Below Primary	3 (100.00)	3 (100.00)
5 th std.	3 (100.00)	3 (100.00)
Upper Primary	3 (100.00)	3 (100.00)
Matriculation	2 (100.00)	2 (100.00)
Higher sec	1 (100.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.3.12 Educational Attainment and Occupational diversification among the female population (Rural RS Colony, Generation 3)

Educationa l Attainmen t	Blue collar (unskilled)	Househol d work	Unemploy ed	Blue collar (skilled)	Not in labour force	Total
Illiterate	4 (36.36)	7 (63.64)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	11(100.0)
Below Primary	5 (35.71)	9 (64.29)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	14(100.0)
5 th std	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Upper Primary	10 (71.43)	4 (28.57)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	14(100.0)
Secondary	6 (54.55)	5 (45.45)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	11(100.0)
Matriculat ion	3 (30.00)	4 (40.00)	3 (30.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	10(100.0)
Higher sec	1 (20.00)	3 (60.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (20.0)	0 (0.00)	5 (100.0)
Matric+Te ch	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.0)
Currently in edu.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	7(100.0)	7 (100.0)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.4.3.10 shows that among the first generation female population, the illiteracy rate was very high, and hence almost all of them ended with household work.

Among the second generation female population (Table 3.4.3.11), few were found to be literates, and out of them, three were higher educational attendees. However, all of them were found to be involved in household work.

Among the third generation female population (Table 3.4.3.12), the illiteracy has drastically declined, and occupational diversification is also quite visible. Many among the literates also attended higher studies. However, almost all of them were found to be involved in unskilled and household works or remained unemployed. That is out of 16 who attended matriculation, higher secondary and technical education only one was found to be involved in skilled work.

The above analysis apparently shows that the female population of the both resettlement colonies have been occupationally deprived alike the male

population though both literacy and educational attainment level among them increased throughout the three generations. Throughout the three generations, they faced occupational diversification, but most of them were found to be involved in unskilled work, and some remained unemployed. The reasons for why the females and males alike are deprived of good jobs might be the above two stated possible reasons. These are,

1. Influx of outsiders, who already captured the skilled employment in the city (Kapoor, 2015), and
2. The employment to Land Displaced Persons (LDPs) was stopped by Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE) in 1986.

The another reason of the absence of self-employment among the female population might be due to the absence of government schemes for women empowerment such as Social Help Groups (SHGs) in both resettlement colonies³⁸.

3.5 EMPLOYMENT IN THE ROURKELA STEEL PLANT (RSP)

As per the assurance given to the displaced people of Rourkela, they should be provided with employment in RSP as an alternative livelihood. In the year 1973, Shri T. N. Singh, the then Steel Minister also suggested a formula whereby one member from each family shall be provided with employment in RSP as a rehabilitative measure. The RSP Authority claims that it has provided employment to 6397 persons from displaced families till date which is much in excess of the 4094 displaced families. However, the social activists during discussion expressed that more than thousands of non-displaced persons happened to be migrants to Rourkela were provided with employment while the original displaced persons were forsaken. On the account of long drawn agitation by the displaced persons in 1992, a joint survey was undertaken by RSP along with the State Government to identify the displaced families who were not covered for employment. The survey found 1098 families who were not provided

³⁸Table 2.5.7.1, only one female from Jhirpani was found as a member of a SHG.

employment as a rehabilitative measure³⁹. However, during the discussion many reveal that the process of employment to these identified families was being undertaken in a snail speed.

From the field survey from the two colonies it was found that most of the displaced families or persons were not provided with employment in RSP till now.

Table 3.5.1 Employment of resettled population of both resettlement colonies in the RSP

RS Colony	1 st Generation		2 nd Generation		3 rd Generation	
	Skilled	Unskilled	Skilled	Unskilled	Skilled	Unskilled
Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	5 (2.81)	21 (11.80)	20 (10.53)	22 (11.58)	3 (1.20)	1 (0.40)
Jaydega (Rural)	1 (0.90)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.90)	7 (6.36)	0 (0.00)	3 (2.05)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

Table 3.5.1 shows employment provided by the Steel Plant Authority to the displaced tribal population of two colonies. Among the first generation population of the peri-urban resettlement colony, about 15 percent *i. e.* 12 percent and three percent were employed by the RSP Authority in skilled and unskilled work respectively. Among the second generation population, the employment by the RSP Authority increased to 10 percent and 11 percent in skilled and unskilled work respectively. However, among the third generation population it has declined drastically *i. e.* only four persons were employed by the RSP Authority. The reason behind it is the employment of Land Displaced Persons (LDPs) was stopped by Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE) in 1986. Among the population of the rural resettlement colony, only 12 persons *i. e.* one from the first generation, eight from the second generation and three from the third generation were employed by the RSP Authority. Except one from the second generation, all were found to be employed in unskilled work. It is to be noted that the displaced

³⁹ Information accessed from the reply letter of SAIL Authority to the Rourkela Local Displaced Association dated 16 Dec 2014.

people employed by the RSP Authority of both resettlement colonies are male by gender. There may be two reasons behind it:

1. Females were largely involved in household work as their main occupation⁴⁰
2. The family perception of industrial work is dangerous for female⁴¹

3.6 MOBILITY THROUGH MARRIAGE AND ASSIMILATION INTO THE MAINSTREAM CULTURE

In India's hierarchical caste society people have little scope for movement from their social status. In India, being a member of the dominant religious community, caste-based social status and property are all sources of power and authority. The caste system restricts the people from moving to occupations of their choice and forces them to remain confined in certain hereditary professions dictated by the caste into which they are born (Jain, 1969). Hence upward mobility is low. However, inter-caste marriage can dismantle the chain of non-mobility among the population of lower strata of caste society.

Tribal society keeps itself away from the influence of caste stigma. Hence it does not find itself in the hierarchical caste society. Every tribal community is an endogamous community. Marriage with other tribal communities as well as with other social group is restricted. Violation of customs leads to conflict and disruptive situation, and sometimes it leads to social boycott. Hence, marrying outside community is considered downward mobility or loss of prestige in the tribal society. The field study also doesn't find any single case of marriage with other communities in three resettlement colonies.

Assimilation into the mainstream culture is another factor due to which the tribal community loses social prestige and dignity. By imitating the alien culture and lifestyle, the tribal community suddenly finds itself somewhere (much lower) in the ladder of social stratification. The change in the tribals' cultural and societal

⁴⁰ Details in Table 3.3.2.1 and Table 3.3.2.2

⁴¹ Family perception towards vocational education (technical) observed from discussions

values happens only when they come into contact with the outsiders and influenced by their culture.

3.6.1 CHRISTIANITY AND TRIBALS

The influence of Christian Missionaries has been upon the tribals of Sundargarh from the early twentieth century. The district consists 18.39 per cent Christian population (Census, 2011). The tribal society under the influence of Missionaries has gone through many socio-economic changes. The Missionaries also in many ways successfully eroded the evil practices such as infanticide and human sacrifice among the tribals of Sundargarh.

In many tribal communities, the cruel and inhumane practices of infanticide and human sacrifice are based on their social custom and tradition and religious beliefs. The study, done by Behera (1989) and Sahu (1989) on the aboriginal Khond tribes of Kondhmal of Odisha shows the inhumane and cruel practice of *Meriah* or human sacrifice among them which was successfully suppressed by British officers in the nineteenth century. The inhuman custom of infanticide was born out of their socio-religious superstitions (Sahu, 1989). The custom of infanticide was based on the idea, that the Sun God (*Boora Pennu*) contemplating the deplorable effects produced to the human race by the female sex, charged that "only so many should be preserved as they could restrain from producing evil to society". The Khonds believed that human sacrifice would give them good crops and protection against all diseases and natural disasters. The inhumane practice of female infanticide was also widely prevalent among few tribes of Khonds. Capt. Macpherson in his report in July 1844, referred the prevalence of the female infanticide among the Khonds of Surada. He reported that they found no female child in many villages numbering over hundred houses in the Borimutha tract (Sahu, 1989).

Though the religious beliefs of tribals of Sundargarh and Chhotanagpur plateau do not mention about human sacrifice, it is prevalent among Orams, Munda, Kharia, Gonds and also among the non-tribals of the region (Saran, 1974). Some are of the opinion that the tribals of this region have adopted it from the Nag-

Bansi Kshatriya who were the landlords of this region were probably the first who practised human sacrifice. Another cruel practice held by the tribals is witch hunting, though it is also practised by other social groups. It is most prevalent among the tribals of remote areas where they do not avail any medical facility and depend upon faith healers or witch doctors such as Mati or Ojha, Bhagat and Sokha. The witch hunting is also occurred due to property disputes or crop failures, but disease or ill health related witch hunting or branding is much prevalent. The witch hunting is taken place sometimes with the social sanction (Saran, 1974). The superstition of witchcraft is rampant in the district of Ganjam, Gajapati, Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Malkangiri, Koraput and Rayagada of Odisha and the state experienced 355 deaths related to witch branding in last six years i. e. 2000-2015 (The Pioneer, 24 Nov 2015).

Table 3.6.1.1 Christian Missionary managed schools and students enrolled in Gangpur (up to 1947)

Name of Stations	Schools					Students		
	High	Middle	Primary	Training	Industrial	Boys	Girls	Total
Gaibira	-	2	26	-	1	782	193	975
Hamirpur	1	1	42	-	1	701	215	916
Jhunmur	-	1	21	-	-	530	110	640
Kesramal	-	2	15	2	-	709	161	870
Kusumdegi	-	1	17	-	-	554	121	675
Total	1	7	121	2	2	3,276	800	4076

Note: * Undivided Hamirpur and Jhirpani

Source: Soreng (2008:278)

The change in religious beliefs through conversion to Christianity and spread of education and health care has reduced the practice of human sacrifice and witch hunting among the tribals. The proselytization brought about a radical change in the socio-economic condition of the tribal converts. The mass education provided proper leadership to the tribal proselytes, under which they gradually graduated and moved towards modernisation and prosperity (Das, 1991). However, this created an immediate impact of class stratification in the tribal society as the non-Christian tribals lagged far behind due to lack of education and absence of a

substantial and well-organised leadership. In Gangpur⁴² up to 1947, Missionaries run 133 schools enrolling 4076 students. At present, there are 217 Mission managed schools in Rourkela Diocese, Sundargarh.

Table 3.6.1.2 Christian Missionary managed schools in Rourkela Diocese, 2004

Type of school	Govt. aided	Non-aided	Total
Primary schools	148	13	161
Upper Pr. Schools	26	15	41
High Schools	08	07	15
Total	182	35	217

Source: Xess (2004:32)

In Jhirpani an Odiya medium school up to Xth standard is being run by the Catholic missionaries. In different parts of Rourkela, there are ten both Odiya, and English medium schools are being run by missionaries of various Christian denominations. A dispensary in Jhirpani and a multi-speciality hospital in Jagda, one kilometre away from Jhirpani have also been set up by them. This created advantages for the people of peri-urban resettlement colony in availing better education and health care facilities. In Jhunmur, a rural belt which is about ten kilometres away from Jaydega, an Odiya medium school up to Xth standard is being run by the Catholic missionaries. However, due to lack of better public transport system, it is inaccessible to them.

One of the major impacts of the influence of Christian Missionaries is the loss of custom, tradition and cultural values among the tribal proselytes. However, different Christian denominations have different impacts on the socio-cultural life of the tribal proselytes. Some Christian denominations provide some space for cultural practices while some do not. For instance, In Roman Catholic, the tribals' organisations such as Catholic Munda Sabha, Catholic Oram Sabha, Catholic Kharia Sabha, Catholic Kisan Sabha, *etc.* are found. The traditional folk songs and folk dance are practised in marriage ceremony as well as in church

⁴² Gangpur state was one of the princely state of India during the period of British Raj. It was one of the Chhotanagpur states under the Eastern States Agency. On 1 January 1948 Gangpur and another princely state Bonaigarh were merged into the present district of Sundargarh.

ceremonies by Christian tribals of all denominations. However, the tribal deities are now no longer worshipped by them, but observation of tribal festivals is found among some Christian tribals in some areas, mostly in the countryside. The another aspect of the impact of Christianity among the tribals is it somehow was able to bridge the gap among the tribal communities, and tribal and non-tribal communities through many socio-economic ways, but it also created another stratification among the tribals as they were distributed among different Christian denominations. Among the non-Christian tribals the inter-community marriage and marriage with other social groups is taboo, while among the urban Christian tribals inter-community and inter-social group marriage and inter-Christian denomination marriage has appeared⁴³, but among the rural Christian tribals, the same like the situation with non-Christian tribals is found. Among the non-Christian tribals, the cultural and linguistic aspect becomes the constraint for inter-community and social group marriage as they consider assimilation into outside culture means loss of their identity. However, the Christian tribals are not that much adhere to their traditional culture.

Thus, the spread of Christianity among the tribals have both negative and positive impacts. The mass education and health care facility provided by the Missionaries created healthy surroundings for the proselytised tribals, but at the cost of the traditional cultural values. In both resettlement colonies, no cases of evil practices of witch hunting, human sacrifice, *etc.* have been reported for last many decades. This may be due to the extension of Christianity and increase of literacy among the populations of both resettlement colonies. The vanishing of evil practices among them can be shown in Table 2.5 which shows not a single household depends on the faith healers or witch doctors for health care in both resettlement colonies.

⁴³ During field survey the inter-community and inter-denomination marriage among Christian tribals (Not necessarily displaced) and celebration of Christmas together among different denominations were observed in Jhirpani. But, in rural resettlement colony though there were some Christian families no such cases were found.

In order to examine the mobility⁴⁴ of the displaced population through the assimilation into mainstream culture certain questions regarding intrusion of caste hierarchy, changing marriage tradition such as the introduction of dowry, observing festivals other than community festivals⁴⁵, etc. were asked in the survey.

Table 3.6.2 Households affected due to cross culture assimilation

RS Colony	Assimilated into mainstream culture	Not assimilated into mainstream culture	Total
Jhirpani (Peri-urban)	32 (34.04)	62 (65.96)	94 (100.00)
Jaydega (Rural)	0 (0.00)	55 (100.00)	55 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, Figures in brackets are percentages

In the peri-urban sample, 32 households out of 94 claimed that they follow both their community festivals and cultures, and the outside festivals and culture. None of the households from rural sample said that they followed the mainstream cultural practices and norms. While trying to trace the period from when they came under the external cultural influence⁴⁶, it appeared that it was after economic liberalisation. In this period, the urban area experienced the massive influx of outsiders which led to the assimilation of tribal culture into the mainstream cultures. So it is mostly the third generation population came into contact with alien socio-cultural life. Hence, the urban tribals are more likely to be influenced by the alien culture than the rural tribals. The influx of outsiders

⁴⁴ The tribals are relatively egalitarian since in their society, communality is the social norm and people are entitled to self-respect and dignity. Their mobility has been attempted to show through considering intrusion of any outside social practices in their society which literally degrade their dignity and self-respect, while taking prevalence of some evil practices among them into account. The egalitarian values mostly come from social norms. But, the social evils such as infanticide, witch hunting (both man and woman can be victim of) cannot be considered as social norms since, these are mostly individual or household centric (Source: Witch branding in Odisha: A violation of women's right, a compilation of case studies, 2013). These evil practices are carried out by people of every social group having low literacy rate (Source: AadimBichar, a Sambalpuri movie on Khondadivasi life style).

⁴⁵ Religious practices or festivals in which they feel hierarchies.

⁴⁶ The evil practices (caste hierarchy, dowry etc.). The influence of Missionary created a class stratification and degradation of traditional cultural practices among tribal converts, but the interaction with other social groups brought about the caste hierarchy and dowry system in the tribal society.

due to the job opportunities and better infrastructure is the main reason for changing tribal socio-cultural values.

3.7 DISCUSSION

Education is one of the main forces responsible for the upward mobility of society. A society with higher literacy rate is always regarded as a progressive society. There are mainly two pre-conditions for a society to achieve higher literacy rate. These are, accessibility of education, and eradication of poverty. The accessibility of education means availability of educational institutions and affordable to all classes of the society. The constraint in supply factor is more responsible than demand factor for illiteracy in the society. Moreover, the widespread poverty in a society is also one of the major reasons for low literacy because for a low-income family or society with high poverty joining in labour market becomes an immediate necessity than joining for schooling.

Since the displaced population in both colonies did not get any special provision for education from the government and due to economic instability in their life which they bore as the government did not provide any livelihood support, the first and second generation population were deprived of education. Though there has been a decline in illiteracy among the second generation of both colonies their educational attainment in higher education is very low. It is among the third generation population as they became able to maintain a stable life on their own and many joined for higher studies and vocational education. However, the rurally resettled are still deprived of higher studies and vocational education as it is inaccessible to them. The third generation females of both resettlement colonies also experienced improvement in their literacy rate equally with the males.

Now here the question to be asked is whether the higher literacy rate helped them to secure occupational mobility or not.

In the peri-urban sample, the people involved in unskilled work and the female household workers have declined throughout the generations, but there has been a sudden and massive increase in unemployment among the third generation.

Whereas in rural sample female household workers and owner cultivators share has declined throughout the generations, but it is quite visible from above table that they have been turned into either unskilled workers or unemployed. It is also quite visible that the educated are hardly able to get higher paid or skilled jobs and they are eventually ended with either unskilled labourers or unemployed. The self-employed among the literates are also very low as they don't have collateral to borrow from the financial institutions.

If the impact assessment of education on occupational mobility is undertaken, no such visible results can be seen except among the second generation of the peri-urban sample. Among the second generation, 20 percent were involved in skilled works as some managed to get employment in the Steel Plant. So education has a little impact on occupational mobility from the first generation to the second generation of the urban sample. Whereas among the third generation the share of unskilled and household workers has declined at the same time the proportion of skilled labour has also declined and unemployment among them has increased. So the third generation population have been worsened occupationally. The overall assessment of their mobility exhibits that they faced horizontal mobility despite the increment in their educational attainments. Among the rurally resettled population, the unskilled workers share has increased, and the owner cultivators⁴⁷ share has declined throughout the generations which show that no improvement has happened in their life rather they faced horizontal mobility.

The comparative analysis between the populations of two resettlement colonies attends that the mobility among the population of peri-urban resettlement colony is slightly upward as compared to that of the rural resettlement colony. The marginal upward mobility among the population of the peri-urban resettlement colony might be the effects of the availability of opportunities in the city and facilities created by the Christian Missionaries. However, the population of urban resettlement colony were culturally deprived as they faced the social disarticulation and gradual loss of the traditional cultural values.

⁴⁷ Most of them have less than one acre and the lands are unfertile.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

4.1 MAJOR FINDINGS AND SUMMARY

Development has become a fascinating word during post-independence era. A common belief that prevails is that greater the exploitation of natural resources, the greater would be the development. An average GDP growth rate of 5.04 per cent was also achieved during the period 1960 to 2010 (Virmani, 2005). However, on the one hand, this higher economic growth was achieved at the cost of marginalised section, particularly the tribals of the society, on the other they were excluded from or became least gainers of the higher economic growth. Though our Constitution ensures equal opportunity for all citizen and special protection for the weak, the process of national development has marginalised and pushed the tribal population below the threshold of poverty, and the dominant class people became richer. The industries, dams and hydroelectric projects serve as instruments for the dominant classes for appropriating the natural resources-forest, land and water from the less powerful communities like the tribes.

Development projects of the immediate post-independence era were established in the name of 'public purpose'. In fact, the 'public purpose' is a vague term, and the government have naturally taken interpretive liberties while operationalizing the concept (Ghatak and Ghose, 2011). Ironically, colonial legislation for land acquisition continued even after independence which systematically dispossessed the tribals from their habitats (water, forest and land). The persistence of the colonial legislations such as Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and the Indian Forest Act of 1927 for several decades after independence which were in contrast with justice, liberty and equality satisfies the use of term 'eminent domain' instead of 'public purpose' for the development projects. Theses colonial legislations never benefited the tribal after displacement, because they did not possess legal document to prove their ownership of the land they occupied and earned their livelihood for centuries. Forcibly ousted from land and habitat is not

only immediately disruptive and painful, but it also has serious long-term risks of becoming poorer than before displacement.

In this context the concern of this thesis was 1) to assess the impacts of displacement and government entitlements on the displaced population and evaluate the evacuation and resettlement process and also to assess the marginalisation of the displaced population of two resettlement colonies *i. e.* peri-urban and rural resettlement colonies, 2) to analyse the constitutional rights of the displaced tribals, and 3) to examine the inter-generational social mobility to trace the socio-economic changes throughout the six decades.

The tribals whose lives and livelihoods are intrinsically connected to the land, the economic and cultural shift to a market economy can be traumatic. The entry of market into tribal society may prompt two-way changes. These are impoverishment due to displacement and homogeneity to differentiation *i. e.* class and caste stratification among them. Both changes bring about social cost to the tribal society. The increasing demand of a nation prompts more and more exploitation of natural resources which directly affects the tribals and the introduction of the market to the tribal society established the hegemony of mainstream or dominant society in their society through class and caste stratification. However, the displacement alone may bring both implications of market *i. e.* impoverishment and differentiation among the tribals. In the globalised world while, the displacement cannot be kept aside; the proper rehabilitative measures can pare down the social cost of displacement. And the state as the protector of its citizens must take the responsibility of it.

This study on the displaced tribals of Rourkela finds serious neglect in state rehabilitative measures. The study finds the state apathy towards the displaced tribals during and post-displacement period and after. During the transition or displacement period, serious human rights violation has happened. The displacement and resettlement were carried out without any preplanning or advance arrangement in the resettlement colonies. The displaced were not provided with any alternative to their livelihoods and were left destitute. In education, health, employment and infrastructure no such measures were

undertaken by the government. The outcome of the state failure has also been reflected in the current generation population of the displaced households. That is the impoverishment and differentiation among the population of both resettlement colonies have prevailed but differently as the resettlement colonies differ in terms of geographical location, population composition and availability of opportunities. *It is especially worth noting that this happened long before the era of land-grab, after liberalisation and globalisation in the 1990s. It appears from this case at least that for tribal people the reality of displacement has a history that runs from the colonial past right through nationalist development under Nehru, into the era of predatory and crony capitalism of the present.*

The differential experience of displacement by the people in the two different resettlement sites evaluated through Cernea (1999) impoverishment risk model revealed that the peri-urban settlement fared better relatively on many counts. However, it also cannot be denied that their future can be bleak if the influx of outsiders continues and no government intervention⁴⁸ takes place since it has been continuing from last few decades.

In the case of housing condition and employment, the people of peri-urban resettlement colony are better off than that of people of the rural resettlement colony. In peri-urban resettlement colony, most of the households are living either in pucca or semi-pucca houses, and they are privileged in availing electricity and drinking water facilities, and many of them have private drinking water sources. However, the rurally resettled are deprived of better housing facilities. Most of the households are living in kutcha houses, and some households managed to be beneficiaries of Indira Awas Yojana scheme. They are still deprived of electricity and drinking water facilities from the government. In the case of employment, the people of peri-urban resettlement comparatively better since many people managed to be employed in skilled work. However, in both resettlement colonies, king size population involved in unskilled work. However, the unemployment among the rurally resettled people is very less compare to peri-urban people. In the rural resettlement colony many households

⁴⁸ Since Jhirpani (Peri-urban) is a scheduled area, residing and holding any business in Jhirpani by the outsiders, basically the non-tribals is illegal according to Fifth Scheduled Act.

were found having lands, but very less are involved in agricultural activities because of unfertile land and uncertainty of monsoon.

In the case of education, the people of peri-urban resettlement colony are better off since their attained education and literacy levels are higher than that of the rurally resettled. However, the higher attained education level did not help them to get better-paid jobs and to be self-employed. In the case of health care facility, the rurally resettled people are worst off since 95 per cent households are dependent on the quacks due to unavailability of health care centres.

The levels of earnings are deficient in both resettlement colonies since most of the people in both sites are employed in unskilled work, and they also lost their indigenous market from where they used to get their basic necessities at a cheaper rate, which created an acute problem of food insecurity for them. The accessibility of common property resources and possession of livestock play an important role for income security of the tribals. The people of rurally resettled are privileged in accessing the CPRs after displacement also, and all the households possess livestock, but only four households of peri-urban resettlement colony possess livestock since they no longer access CPRs. The people of both resettlement colonies have become politically deprived since the PESA Act where the Gramsabha plays a major role in ensuring self-governance still has not been implemented in both resettlement colonies. The economic and political deprivation led them into marginalisation. One of the major negative impacts of displacement on tribal population is social disarticulation since they lose their every aspect of socio-economic relation due to dislocation. In the rural resettlement colony, the people gradually rebuilt their socio-economic relation over a period, whereas this social disarticulation has still remained as an acute problem for the people of peri-urban resettlement colony since the influx of outsiders is increasing uncontrollably.

While tracing the socio-economic development throughout the six decades by considering inter-generational social mobility the following observations were made:

Among the first generation population of peri-urban resettlement colony, most of them are illiterates, and female illiteracy is higher than that of the male. While most of the males were employed in unskilled work, the females involved in household works. Among the second generation, the illiteracy among both male and female population declined, but illiteracy among female population remained much higher than that of the male. In employment, a considerable change has occurred. The percentage of the male involved in unskilled works declined whereas the proportion of the male involved in skilled works has increased as many were employed in the steel plant. However, there has been no considerable change took place in the number of females involved in household work. Among the third generation, the illiteracy among both male and female population declined and their attained education level increased, but illiteracy among females remained higher than that of the males. The male population involved in skilled works has declined, and unemployment among them has increased drastically. Whereas the female involved in household work has declined drastically and they have been turned into either unskilled workers or unemployed.

In peri-urban resettlement colony, upward mobility from the first generation to the second generation can be perceived in both educational attainment and employability. From the second generation to the third generation upward mobility in educational attainment level is perceived, but there has been downward mobility in case of employment.

Among the first generation population of rural resettlement colony, the illiteracy among both male and female was very high, and the illiteracy among female is higher than that of the former. While the first generation male population involved either in unskilled works or agricultural works, female population engaged mostly in household work. Among second generation population, the illiteracy among both sexes declined, but illiteracy among females remained higher than males. Among the male population of second-generation, while most of them involved in unskilled works, the population involved in agricultural activities declined. However, the female engaged in household works remained

same. Among the third generation, the illiteracy among both sexes declined drastically, and the illiteracy among females became lower than that of males, but the attained education level remained low for both genders due to unavailability of educational institutions. In the field of employment, the male population involved in agricultural activities has declined drastically and involved in unskilled works has increased, while some were found unemployed. The female household worker population has declined drastically, but most of them have turned into unskilled workers.

In the rural resettlement colony, the illiteracy has decreased among both sexes of successive generations, but educational attainment level remained low as only few could attend the higher studies. There has not been any development in employment field among the population of successive generations. The male population who were marginal farmers earlier now have been turned into unskilled workers, and the females have also been turned into unskilled workers from household workers. So, it is perceived that in education, there has been upward mobility in successive generations, but in the employment field, they experienced horizontal mobility.

In both resettlement colonies, it is observed that the unavailability of opportunities is the main constraint for the upward mobility of the population. There may be two likely reasons for unavailability of opportunities,

1. Low quality of education among them and
2. The influx of outsiders into the city who are capturing the available opportunities (Kapoor, 2015).

So the intervention from the government is indispensable to protect the displaced from all these forces. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar remarked that without economic democracy, the social and political democracy cannot be realised. So, it is the duty of the state to provide equal access to means of production and also to ensure fruits of the creative potential of every individual (Rupavath, 2015).

Therefore a major conclusion of this dissertation is that the move to peri-urban areas while generating some opportunities for the early generations has ceased to

be a motor for upward mobility for tribal people who had to give up valuable resources in the name of national development. Urbanisation does not, in other words, provide opportunities for education, work, or other kinds of social advancement. Indeed, there is a far greater risk of getting integrated into the caste-ridden mainstream society on terms utterly unfavourable to them.

4.2 POLICY SUGGESTIONS

Since independence, the tribal development has remained a major concern keeping displacement in the eye. The first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru formulated 'five principles' for the policy to be pursued vis-à-vis the tribal development. These are,

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius, and the imposition of alien values should be avoided.
2. Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected.
3. Teams of tribals should be trained in the work of administration and development.
4. Tribal areas should not be over administered and overwhelmed with a multiplicity of schemes.
5. Results should be judged not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the human character that is evolved.

This 'five principles' of Jawaharlal Nehru for the tribal development was later endorsed by the various other policies in successive five-year plans. In order to empower the tribals in first five-year plan (1951-56) the Community Development Programme was launched. Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks (SMPT) in second five-year plan (1956-61), Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) in fifth five-year plan (1969-74) and many other measures such as, Tribal Development Agencies (TDA), Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP), Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), Micro Projects for Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), supportive financial institutions like, Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED) and National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC) *etc.* were undertaken for the upliftment of the tribals . In contemporary India for the

development of the tribals and in order to protect their rights over land and forest the policies such as Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area Act, 1996, Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 and Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RFCTLRA), 2013 were brought out by the government (Oraon, 2012; Sunkari, 2015).

Despite all these development initiatives the tribals remained excluded from the development of the nation and are still threatened by acute poverty (Mishra, 2007). Many scholars such as Burman (1975), Kumaran (1980), Katoch (1986), and Devan (1988) while evaluating the impacts of the development initiatives found that the development of tribals in certain areas is abysmal, but in some areas there have been some positive impacts on tribal life in case of employment and income earnings. In some regions, they observed that the development schemes were not effectively implemented. One of the major reasons for the failure of development initiatives in tribal tracts is that the problems of the tribals are different in different regions of the country and different areas of the regions (Singh, 1982). In contemporary India, the 'displacement' has become the major problem for the tribals. The tribal community has become 'sacrificing community', that is the poor displaced tribals have sacrificed more than the benefits they got from the development projects. Tribals in contemporary India have been marginalised because the PESA Act is openly violated by the state. Xaxa, (2015) states that violating the PESA Act means violating the right to decide their own priorities as a part of the right to development as inalienable human rights.

Many scholars (Cernea, 1997; Dhagamwar, 2011; Nathan, 2012; Xaxa, 2015) opine that the development work of the country should not be stopped, it is necessary but not at the cost of tribals. They have also provided many suggestions to minimise the disastrous effects of displacement on tribals. On the similar ground, the United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) (2008) also spelt out its declarations which provide and constitute the meaning of

development in the context of the indigenous or tribal people. All these were summarised as follows:

1. Since tribal society is the foremost victim community of India's development processes they should be included in the design, implementation, and evaluation of international, national and regional processes regarding laws, policies, resources, programmes, and projects more directly.
2. The government must develop strong monitoring mechanism and maintain accountability regarding the implementation of legal, policy and operational frameworks for the protection of the tribals and their socio-economic upliftment.
3. The government must correct the loopholes in the existing laws and take steps to restrict the land transfer from tribals to non-tribals. The government also must register land records for tribal land.
4. Before executing any laws in scheduled areas government should be adhered to PESA Act.⁴⁹
5. After use of land for the project, the surplus land must be returned to the tribals instead of selling it to private bodies.
6. Before displacement, the resettlement colonies must be developed by the government with all basic amenities such as educational institutions, health care centres, the source of drinking water, electricity connection, road connectivity, *etc.*
7. Instead of limiting their pre-displacement property into compensation amount, the government should provide alternative livelihood to them.

⁴⁹ PESA Act one of the best mechanism which ensures effective participation of the tribals in decision making which directly or indirectly affect their lifestyle, cultural integrity; and also ensures free, prior, and informed consent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adhikary, A. K. (1992). System of exchange among the Tribals: A case of the Santal in a village of Birbhum, West Bengal. In B. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Tribal transformation in India, V1. Economy and Agrarian issues* (pp. 75-87). New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Ambagudia, J. (2010). Tribal rights, dispossession and the state in Orissa. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45(33), 60-67.
- Ambedkar, B. R. (1945). *Annihilation of caste*. Mumbai: Higher and Technical education department.
- Ananth, V. K. (2016). Singur case and the idea of justice. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(38), 14-17.
- Ansari, M. H. (2012). Marginalization of Tribals in India. In D. Nathan & V. Xaxa (Eds.), *Social exclusion and adverse inclusion: Development and deprivation of Advoasis in India* (pp. 19-22). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Asif, M. (1999). Land Acquisition Act: Need for an alternative paradigm. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(25), 1564-1566.
- Badgaiyan, S. D. (1983). Tribal worker in colonial industry. In S. N. Mishra & B. Singh (Eds.), *Tribal Area development* (pp. 83-96). New Delhi: SSRD Publications.
- Bailey, F. G. (1960). *Tribe, caste, and nation: A study of political activity and political change in highland Orissa*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bandi, M. (2016). Forest Rights Act: Is there an underlying pattern in implementation? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(19), 16-17.
- Bara, J. (2009). Alien construct and tribal contestation in colonial Chhotanagpur: the medium of Christianity. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(52), 90-96.
- Bardhan, P. (2009). Notes on the Political Economy of India's Tortuous Transition. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(49), 31-36.

- Baviskar, A., &Sundar, N. (2008). Democracy versus economic transformation. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(46), 87-89.
- Baxi, U. (2008). Development, displacement, and resettlement: A human rights perspective. In H. Mathur (Ed.), *India social development report 2008: Development and displacement* (pp. 17-27). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bedi, H. P.,&Tillin, L. (2015). Inter-state competition, land conflicts and resistance in India. *Oxford Development Studies*, 43(2), 194-211.
- Behera, D. (1989). Eradication of Meriah or Human sacrifice from the social life of the Khonds of Orissa in the 19th century. In B. C. Ray (Ed.), *Tribals of Orissa: The changing socio-economic profile* (pp. 67-76). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Beteille, A. (1986). The concept of tribe with special reference to India. *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, 27(2), 296-318.
- Bhaduri, A. (2008). Predatory growth. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(16), 10-14.
- Bhaduri, A. (2016). On democracy, corporations and inequality. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(13), 31-34.
- Bhaduri, A., &Patkar, M. (2009). Industrialisation for the People, by the People, of the People. *Economic and political weekly*, 44(01), 10-13.
- Bhagat-Ganguly, V. (2016). Tracing Journey of Legislative Processes for Land Acquisition and Resettlement in India from Right's Perspective. *Journal of Land and Rural Studies*, 4(1), 36-48.
- Bhandari, J. S. (1980). The Tribal situation in India: Industrialisation and Urbanisation. In B. Singh & J. S. Bhandari (Eds.), *The Tribal world and its transformation, 1980* (pp. 54-80). New Delhi: Concept.
- Bhuiyan, D. (2015). Development-induced Displacement of Tribals in Odisha: Issues and Concerns. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Governance and*

- Tribes in the age of globalised India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 109-121). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Bikku, (2015). Education status of scheduled tribes in Andhra Pradesh: A case of study of Lambada Tribe. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Governance and Tribes in the age of globalised India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 91-102). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Burman, B. K. (1975). *Perspectives on Tribal Development and Administration*. Hyderabad: NICD.
- Census of India (2011), Ministry of Home Affairs. Retrieved from http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/india/Rural_Urban_2011.pdf. Accessed on 24/01/2017
- Cernea, M. (1997). The risks and reconstruction model for resettling displaced populations. *World development*, 25(10), 1569-1587.
- Cernea, M. M. (1995). Understanding and preventing impoverishment from displacement: Reflections on the state of knowledge. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 8(3), 245-264.
- Cernea, M. M. (1999). Why economic analysis is essential to resettlement: A sociologist's view. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(31), 2149-2158.
- Chakravarty, A. (2015, Jan 22). Tribals block steel city Rourkela for a day. *Down to Earth*. Retrieved from <http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/tribals-block-steel-city-rourkela-for-a-day-48334> Accessed on 17/12/2016.
- Chakravarty, A. (2012). Studying Social Mobility of the Tribal and Non-Tribal People in Assam. *International Journal of Computer Applications in Engineering Sciences*, (2)392-393.
- Chandrasekhar, C. P., & Ghosh, J. (2006). The market that failed: A decade of neoliberal economic reforms in India. *Leftword*(1-41, 165-174).

- Chatterjee, P. (2008). Democracy and economic transformation in India. *Economic and political weekly*, 43(16), 53-62.
- Dalton, E. T. (1973). *Tribal history of Eastern India*. Delhi: Cosmo Publication.
- Das, V. (1992). *Jharkhand: Castle over the graves*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publication.
- Das, N. K. (1982). Tribal unrest in Bastar. In B. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Tribal development in India: Problems and Prospects* (pp. 99-104). New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Dastider, M. (2016). Marginalised as Minority: Tribal Citizens and Border Thinking in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(25), 48-54.
- De, G. (2016). Whose Land Is It Anyway? Property, Law and Rights in the Land Acquisition Question in India. *Journal of Land and Rural Studies*, 4(1), 23-35.
- Deaton, A., & Dreze, J. (2002). Poverty and inequality in India: a re-examination. *Economic and political weekly*, 37(36), 3729-3748.
- Deogaonkar, S.C. (1980). *Problems of Development of Tribal Areas*. Delhi: Leeladevi Publications.
- Dev, S. M., & Ravi, C. (2007). Poverty and inequality: All-India and states, 1983-2005. *Economic and Political weekly*, 42(06), 509-521.
- Devan, P.K. (1988). Impact of Various Development Programmes on Tribals of Wynad. *Kurukshetra*, 36(4), 72-79.
- Dhagamwar, V. (2011). Thinking outside the box: A critique of the Land Acquisition Bill, 2007. In S. Somayaji & S. Talwar (Eds.), *Development-induced Displacement and Resettlement in India: Current issues and challenges* (pp. 46-58). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge Publications.
- Digal, G. (2015). Tribe-Caste conflict: A study of Kandhamal district of Odisha. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Development and Tribes in India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 323-330). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

- Dinda, S. (2016). Land Acquisition and Compensation Policy for Development Activity. *Journal of Land and Rural Studies*, 4(1), 111-118.
- Directorate of Geology, Odisha, (2017). Map of Odisha (Mines and minerals), (2008). Retrieved from <http://www.orissaminerals.gov.in/Geology/Mineralmap.aspx?GL=download&PL=2> Accessed on 23/02/2017.
- Documentary Film. AadimVichar. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpK9NmUUV4M>
- Drèze, J., & Sen, A. (2013). *An uncertain glory: India and its contradictions*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Dwivedi, R. (2006). *Conflict and collective action: The Sardar Sarovar project in India*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Ekka, A. (2011). *Status of Adivasis/Indigenous peoples Land Series-4, Jharkhand*. New Delhi: Aakar.
- Ekka, A. (2012). Displacement of Tribals in Jharkhand: A violation of human rights. In D. Nathan & V. Xaxa (Eds.), *Social exclusion and adverse inclusion: Development and deprivation of Adivasis in India* (pp. 52-62). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Ekka, N. (2013). Impact of modernisation on tribal religious customs and traditions: A case study of Rourkela. *Unpublished Master dissertation submitted to National Institute of Technology, Rourkela*.
- Felix, P. (2010). Mining and Movement—Causes of Tribal Militancy. *Social Action*, 60, 221-238.
- Fernandes, W. (2007). Singur and the displacement scenario. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(03), 203-206.
- Fernandes, W. (2008). Sixty years of development-induced displacement in India: Scale, impacts, and the search for alternatives. . In H. Mathur (Ed.), *India*

- social development report 2008: Development and displacement* (pp. 89-102). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Frontline (1999 June 4). Roy, A. *The greater common good: The human costs of big dams*.
- Garada, D. (2015). Democratic decentralisation and participation in the context of Local Governance in the Fifth Scheduled Areas. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Development and Tribes in India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 235-252). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Ghatak, M., & Ghosh, P. (2011). The Land Acquisition Bill: A critique and a proposal. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(41), 65-72.
- Goswami, A. (2016). Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement: Law, Politics and the Elusive Search for Balance. *Journal of Land and Rural Studies*, 4(1), 3-22.
- Guha, R. (2007). Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian Democracy. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(32), 3305-3312.
- Guha, S. (2015). States, Tribes, Castes: A historical re-exploration in comparative perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 52(21), 50-57.
- Haldar, A. K. (1992). Industrialisation and the Tribes of Chotanagpur: Problems and remedial measures. In B. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Tribal transformation in India, VI. Economy and Agrarian issues* (pp. 439-447). New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Haldar, T. (2011). Development, marginalisation and emergence of labour market among tribes: A study of Jharkhand tribes. *Unpublished MPhil dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*.
- Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy, 2009-10. Published by Reserve Bank of India.
- Harvey, D. (2003). *The new imperialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Havighurst, R. J. (1969). Education and social mobility in four societies. In A. H. Hasley, J. Floud, & C. A. Anderson (Eds.), *Education, economy and society* (113-117). New York: Free Press.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bgAx-90R7gk&t=215s>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bJE12VPcwpl>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xa3dgt8DJxw>. Accessed on 12/12/2016

Involuntary resettlement sourcebook (2004) - planning and implementation in development projects. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/206671468782373680/Involuntary-resettlement-sourcebook-planning-and-implementation-in-development-projects> Accessed on 12/02/2017

Jain, P. C. (2001). Globalising systems and regional Tribal sustenance. In *Globalisation and Tribal economy* (pp. 9-25). Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Jain, P. C. (2001). Non-market activities in weekly markets. In *Globalisation and Tribal economy* (pp. 119-134). Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Jain, R. (2015). Globalisation, Accumulation by Dispossession and the Adivasis struggle for Right to Habitat. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Development and Tribes in India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 200-213). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

Jain, S. P. (1969). Social mobility in a town: an intergenerational analysis. *Economic and political weekly*, 4(43), 1703-1710.

Jayakumar, G. Stanley. (1995). *Tribals from tradition to transition: A study of Yanadi Tribe of Andhra Pradesh*. New Delhi: M. D. Publications.

Jaysawal, N. (2015). Livelihood issues: Land alienation, Displacement, Rehabilitation and Migration. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Development and Tribes in India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 98-110). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

- Kandulna, J. (2015). *ChotanagpurkeAdivasi: Unkibhasa, sanskritiaurgoitra*. Khunti: Diocesan Pastoral Centre.
- Kapoor, T. (2014). Impact of industrialization on tribal livelihood: a case study of Rourkela. *Unpublished Master dissertation submitted to National Institute of Technology, Rourkela*.
- Kar, R. K. (1992). A migrant Tribe in a tea plantation in India: Economic profile. In B. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Tribal transformation in India, V1. Economy and Agrarian issues* (pp. 415-438). New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Katoch, S.C. (1986). Tribal Beneficiaries of 20 Point Programme. *Kurukshetra*, 34(4), 18-26.
- Katta, S. (2015). Democracy, Development and Tribal resistance: Contemporary issues. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Development and Tribes in India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 214-234). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Khan, S. (2016). A Relook at the term 'Tribe'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(8), 82-84.
- Kohli, A. (2012). *Poverty amid plenty in the new India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kothari, S. (1996). Whose nation? The displaced as victims of development. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31(24), 1476-1485.
- Kujur, J. M. (2011). Development, displacement and rehabilitation: The context of Tribes in Central India. In S. Somayaji & S. Talwar (Eds.), *Development-induced Displacement and Resettlement in India: Current issues and challenges* (pp. 134-150). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge Publications.
- Kumaran, V.C. (1980). Development of Tribal Areas: Certain Inter Disciplinary Concerns. In S. G. Deogaonkar (Ed.), *Problems of Tribal Areas* (P. 115). Delhi: Leeladevi Publications.

- Levien, M. (2015). From Primitive Accumulation to Regimes of Dispossession: Six theses on India's land question. *Economic and Political Weekly* 50(22), 146-157.
- Mahalingam, A., & Vyas, A. (2011). Comparative evaluation of land acquisition and compensation processes across the world. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(32), 94-102.
- Majumdar, S. K. (2016). India's recent growth: Miracle or mirage? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(36), 65-68.
- Mallavarpu, R. B. (2015). Development-induced displacement and resettlement of indigenous communities in India: Policy and Practice. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Development and Tribes in India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 168-175). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Mandal, B. B. (1975). Are Tribal Cultivators in Bihar to Be Called Peasants?. *Man in India*, 55(4), 355-362.
- Mandelbaum, D. G. (1990): *Society in India*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Meher, R. (1994). Industrialisation and the urban social structure-A sociological study of interrelationships between industry, ecology and society in Rourkela. *Unpublished Doctoral dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*.
- Menon, G. (1992). Socio-economic transition and the Tribal women. In B. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Tribal transformation in India, VI. Economy and Agrarian issues* (pp. 88-108). New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Ministry of MSME, (2016). Brief industrial profile of Sundargarh district (2016-17). Retrieved from <http://dcmsme.gov.in/dips/2016-17/BIPS-Sungargarh%20-2016-17.pdf>. Accessed on 13/02/2017.
- Mishra, C. R. (2015). Development and Displacement-A question to Human Right: A case study of POSCO Project in Odisha. In R. Rupavath (Ed.),

Democracy, Governance and Tribes in the age of globalised India: Reality & Rhetoric (pp. 103-108). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

- Mishra, N. (2005). Eco-feminism: A global concern. *Social welfare*, 52(3), 3-8.
- Mishra, N., & Sahoo, D. (2015). Social exclusion and marginal communities: Some reflections on Development-induced Displacement in India. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Governance and Tribes in the age of globalised India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 132-143). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Mishra, R. N. (2007). Industrialization and protest movement in Orissa. Retrieved from <http://www.boloji.com/index.cfm?md=Content&sd=Articles&ArticleID=432>
- Mohanti, K. K. (1993). *Social mobility and caste dynamics: The Kansari of Orissa*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Moodie, M. (2013). Upward mobility in a forgotten tribe: Notes on the “creamy layer” problem. *Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology*, (65), 23-32.
- Murty, A. A., & Rao, Y. G. (2006). Status paper on mining leases in Orissa. Prepared by *Conservation & Livelihood team*. Bhubaneswar: Vasundhara. Retrieved from <http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/mining%20leases%20in%20orissa.pdf>. Accessed on 23/10/2016.
- Nairobi 1st Review conference, (2004). Retrieved from <https://www.nairobisummit.org/> Accessed on 13/03/2017.
- Nathan, D. (2012). Displacement and Reconstruction of livelihoods. In D. Nathan & V. Xaxa (Eds.), *Social exclusion and adverse inclusion: Development and deprivation of Adivasis in India* (pp. 272-285). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Nayak, A. K. (2015). Voice of Tribals through RTI Act in contemporary democracy: A case study of Odisha. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy,*

Governance and Tribes in the age of globalised India: Reality & Rhetoric (pp. 67-69). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

Nayak, P. B. (2016). Revisiting India's growth and development. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(34), 43-48.

Nijhawan, N. K. (1969). Inter-Generational occupational mobility. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4(39), 1553-1557.

Nongkynrih, A. K. (2012). Development, Environment, and Broom Grass: A Sociological Perspective. In D. Nathan & V. Xaxa (Eds.), *Social exclusion and adverse inclusion: Development and deprivation of Adivasis in India* (pp. 36-51). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Odisha state Police Housing and Welfare Corporation (2016). Map of Sundargarh district (2006). Retrieved from <http://www.ophwc.nic.in/?q=node/44> Accessed on 23/02/2017.

Oraon, V. (2012). Changing Pattern of Tribal Livelihoods: A Case Study in Sundargarh District, Odisha. *Unpublished Master dissertation submitted to National Institute of Technology, Rourkela.*

Padel, F. (2016). In the name of sustainable development: Genocide masked as 'Tribal Development'. In M. Radhakrishna (Ed.), *First citizens: Studies on Adivasis, tribals, and indigenous people in India* (159-178). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Padel, F., & Das, S. (2008). Cultural genocide: The real impact of development-induced displacement. In H. Mathur (Ed.), *India social development report 2008: Development and displacement* (pp. 103-115). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Pamecha, R. (1985). *Elite in a Tribal society*. Jaipur: Printwell Publishers.

Panda, R. (1998). Tribal problems: A case study from macro to micro. In S. N. Tripathy (Ed.), *Tribals in India: The changing scenario* (pp. 338-356). New Delhi: Discovery Publications.

- Parida, P. C. (1997). Impact of industrialisation: A case study of Oraons. *Unpublished Doctoral dissertation submitted to Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.*
- Parija, H. K. (1989). Aryanization of Tribal Deity-The Jagannath. In B. C. Ray (Ed.), *Tribals of Orissa: The changing socio-economic profile* (pp. 1-8). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Parry, J. (1999). *Two cheers for reservation: The Satnamis and the steel plant* (pp. 128-169). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Parry, J., & Struempell, C. (2008). On the desecration of Nehru's 'Temples': Bhilai and Rourkela compared. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(19), 47-57.
- Patel, M. L. (1994). *Tribal development without tears*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Pathy, J. (1982). *Tribal Development in India: Problems and Prospects*, New Delhi: Inter India Publications, 23-48.
- Pathy, J. (1984): *Tribal peasantry dynamics of development*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publication.
- Pathy, J., Paul, S., Bhaskar, M., & Panda, J. (1976). Tribal studies in India-appraisal. *Eastern Anthropologist*, 29(4), 399-417.
- Patnaik, A. (1998). Tribal development programmes in India: A case study of Phulbani district of (Orissa). In S. N. Tripathy (Ed.), *Tribals in India: The changing scenario* (pp. 357-401). New Delhi: Discovery Publications.
- Pattnaik, B. K. (2013). Tribal resistance movements and the politics of development-induced displacement in contemporary Orissa. *Social Change*, 43(1), 53-78.
- Prabhu, P. (1957). Social effects of urbanization on industrial workers in Bombay. *Sociological bulletin*, 6(1), 14-33.
- Prasad, A. (2016). Adivasis and the anatomy of a conflict zone. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(26-27), 12-15.

- Rajunayak, V. (2015). Concept of Development: Development and its effects on Adivasis in Andhra Pradesh. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Development and Tribes in India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 253-259). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Rao, C. R. P., & Sastry, V. N. V. K. (1983). Non-Tribal migration into Tribal areas: A case study of Utnoor Taluk in Andhra Pradesh. In S. N. Mishra & B. Singh (Eds.), *Tribal Area development* (pp. 131-148). New Delhi: SSRD Publications.
- Rath, A. K. (1989). Aryanized Tribal Goddesses in the district of Ganjam. In B. C. Ray (Ed.), *Tribals of Orissa: The changing socio-economic profile* (pp. 9-22). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Ray, P. C. (1980). Socio-political and technological factors in transformation. In B. Singh & J. S. Bhandari (Eds.), *The Tribal world and its transformation, 1980* (pp. 25-41). New Delhi: Concept Publications.
- Reddy, K. M. (2010). Current status of existing literature on markets in Tribal areas. In *Indigenous markets in India: A study in Tribal areas* (pp. 25-57). New Delhi: Serials Publications.
- Reddy, M. G., & Mishra, P. P. (2015). Mining and displacement in South Odisha: Perspective from a Census Survey. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Development and Tribes in India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 78-90). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Reply letter by Steel Authority of India Limited to Rourkela Local Displaced Association, dated on 16 Dec 2014.
- Report of the visit of the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, in connection with the displacement and rehabilitation of tribals due to setting erstwhile the Hindustan Steel Plant (At present Rourkela Steel Plant) at Rourkela in Odisha (2016). Retrieved from <http://ncst.nic.in/sites/default/files/252scan0024.pdf> Accessed on 24/09/2016.

- Resettled Scheduled tribe population in various resettlement colonies, ASHRA NGO. Accessed on 17/12/2016.
- Rout, B. C. (2015). Determinants of students' dropout in Indian Higher Education. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Governance and Tribes in the age of globalised India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 70-90). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Roy, A. (2011). *Walking with the comrades*. Gurgaon: Penguin Random House.
- Sachchidananda, (1985). Social problem, Social deviance and Social disorganisation. In *Industrialization and social disorganization: A study of Tribals of Bihar* (pp. 16-35). New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Sachchidananda, (1985). Tribals in the vortex of change. In *Industrialization and social disorganization: A study of Tribals of Bihar* (pp. 36-49). New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Sahoo, B. (1989). The practice of infanticide among Khonds of Orissa. In B. C. Ray (Ed.), *Tribals of Orissa: The changing socio-economic profile* (pp. 77-82). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Sahoo, B., & Mohapatra, A. K. (1989). Industrialisation and changing pattern of socio-economic life of Tribals-A case study in the Lathikata region of Sundargarh district. In B. C. Ray (Ed.), *Tribals of Orissa: The changing socio-economic profile* (pp. 103-118). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Samaddar, R. (2009). Primitive accumulation and some aspects of work and life in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(18), 33-42.
- Sambad, (2017, Apr 30) Patra, A.. *Bisthapitanka saruni dukha*.
- Saran, A. B. (1974). *Murder and suicide among the Munda and Oraon*. New Delhi: National Publishing House.
- Sarini and Adivasi-Koordination in Germany. (2006). *Adivasis of Rourkela: Looking back on 50 years of Indo-German economic cooperation*. Retrieved from

<http://www.aktivasi-kooordination.de/dokumente/RKLReader.pdf>

[Accessed on 12/11/2016](#)

- Sarkar, A. (2007). Development and displacement: Land acquisition in West Bengal. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(16), 1435-1442.
- Savyasaachi, (2012). Struggles for Adivasi livelihoods: Reclaiming the foundational value of work. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(31), 27-31.
- Scheduled Tribe population of JhirpaniPanchayat (Sundargarh), JhirpaniPanchayat office. Accessed on 13/12/2016
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Sen, A. K. (2016). A tale of insurgency and counter-insurgency. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(12), 36-37.
- Sen, A., & Himanshu. (2004). Poverty and inequality in India: I. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39(38), 4247-4263.
- Sen, A., & Himanshu. (2004). Poverty and inequality in India: II: Widening disparities during the 1990s. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39(39), 4361-4375.
- Sengupta, A., Kannan, K. P., & Raveendran, G. (2008). India's Common People: Who Are They, How Many Are They and How Do They Live?. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43(11), 49-63.
- Shah, A. M. (2012). The Village in the City, the City in the Village. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(52), 17-19.
- Shah, G. (1984). *Economic differentiations and Tribal identity: A study of Chaudhris*. New Delhi: Ajanta Publications.
- Shashi, S. S. (1995). Saving Tribals from exploitation. In *Tribal world in transition* (pp. 128-133). New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
- Singh, B. (1983). Industrialisation in Tribal areas. In S. N. Mishra & B. Singh (Eds.), *Tribal Area development* (pp. 97-109). New Delhi: SSRD Publications.

- Singh, K. S. (1994). *The Scheduled Tribes*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Singh, R. S. (1986). *Changing occupational structure of Scheduled Tribes*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Singh, S. (1997). Winners and Losers. In *Taming the Waters: The political economy of Large Dams in India* (pp. 164-203). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Singh, S. (2016). Land Acquisition in India: An Examination of the 2013 Act and Options. *Journal of Land and Rural Studies*, 4(1), 66-78.
- Sinha, R. (2016). The Importance of Including 'Formal' Employment Generation in the Definition of 'Public Purpose' under the RFCTLARR 2013. *Journal of Land and Rural Studies*, 4(1), 49-65.
- Sircar, J. (2011). Employment diversification in ecologically fragile regions: A case of Sundarbans in West Bengal. *Unpublished MPhil dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*.
- Soreng, I. (2008). *History of the Gangpur Mission (Up to 1948)*. Ranchi: Society of Divine Word, INE.
- Sorokin, P. A. (1998). *Social mobility* (Vol. 3). London: Taylor & Francis.
- Srivastava, A. R. N. (1992). *Changing values and Tribal societies*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Stevens, S. (1997). *Conservation through cultural survival: Indigenous peoples and protected areas*. Washington: Island Press.
- Strüempell, C. (2014). The politics of dispossession in an Odishan steel town. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 48(1), 45-72.
- Sundar, N. (2006). Bastar, Maoism and SalwaJudum. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(29), 3187-3192.
- Sunkari, S. (2015). Adivasis from public policy perspective in India. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Governance and Tribes in the age of globalised India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 190-210). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

- The Indian Express(2016, Nov 19) Employment fraud hunts RSP. ncst.nic.in/sites/default/files/252scan0024.pdf Accessed on 17/12/2016.
- The Indian Express, (2016, Nov 18). NCST favours high level probe in RSP job scam. Retrieved from <http://www.newindianexpress.com/states/odisha/2016/nov/18/ncst-favours-high-level-probe-in-rsp-job-scam-1539909.html> Accessed on 12/12/2016.
- The Pioneer (2015, Nov 14). 355 Witchcraft deaths in Odisha in 6 years. Retrieved from <http://www.dailypioneer.com/state-editions/bhubaneswar/355-witchcraft-deaths-in-odisha-in-6-years.html> Accessed on 13/12/2016.
- Times of India, (2006, Jan 11). Tribals block entry to Rourkela. ncst.nic.in/sites/default/files/252scan0024.pdf Accessed on 17/12/2016.
- Troisi, J. (1979). Magic and Witchcraft: Nature and function. In *Tribal religion: Religious beliefs and practices among the Santals*(pp. 198-237). New Delhi: Manohar Publications.
- Troisi, J. (1979). Religious Culture: Seasonal Rites and Festivals. In *Tribal religion: Religious beliefs and practices among the Santals*(pp. 115-154). New Delhi: Manohar Publications.
- UNPFII, 2008. Cited in Nathan, D., & Xaxa, V. (2012) (Eds.), *Social exclusion and adverse inclusion: Development and deprivation of adivasis in India* (pp. 36-38), New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Upadhyay, H., & Sheikh, N. (2016). Policy versus Performance: Auditing Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation in Odisha. *Journal of Land and Rural Studies*, 4(1), 79-96.
- Upadhyaya, A. K. (1980). Peasantisation of Adivasis in Thane District. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 15(52), A134-A146.

- Virmani, A. (2005). Policy regimes, growth and poverty in India: lessons of government failure and entrepreneurial success. *Indian Council For Research On International Economic Relations*
- World Development Indicators, 2005. Accessed through CD ROM, WorldBank
- Xaxa, C. (2010). Land acquisition for Rourkela Steel Plant & Mandira Dam in the Scheduled district of Sundargarh. In *50 years and more struggle for justice at Rourkela, Occasional paper no.7* (pp. 32-38), Edited & published by Displaced persons' conference organising committee, Rourkela.
- Xaxa, J. (2015). Policies against Tribals: A case study of displacement through development projects. In R. Rupavath (Ed.), *Democracy, Governance and Tribes in the age of globalised India: Reality & Rhetoric* (pp. 150-156). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Xaxa, V. (2008). *State, society, and tribes: Issues in post-colonial India*. Delhi: Pearson Education India.
- Xaxa, V. (2012). Tribes and Development: Retrospect and Prospect. In D. Nathan & V. Xaxa (Eds.), *Social exclusion and adverse inclusion: Development and deprivation of Adivasis in India* (pp. 23-35). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Xess, A. (2004). *The history of Rourkela Diocese (1979-2004)*. Hamirpur: Catholic Diocese of Rourkela.
- Yadav, M. (2016). Mobility through Sanskritisation: An apparent phenomenon?. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(24), 12-14.

APPENDIX I

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF SURVEYED 19 HOUSEHOLDS (LACHHADA)

Table 1: Housing Condition

R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)	
Period HH Type	Pre-displacement	Post-displacement
Kutchha	19 (100.00)	11 (57.89)
Pucca	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Semi-pucca	0 (0.00)	8 (42.11)
Total	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 2: Households with Latrine

R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)	
Period HH Type	Pre-displacement	Post-displacement
HHs with latrine	0 (0.00)	6 (31.58)
HHs without latrine	19 (100.00)	13 (68.42)
Total	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 3: Source of drinking water

R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)	
Period Sources of water	Pre-displacement	Post-displacement
Well (own)	7 (36.84)	3 (15.79)
Well (community)	12 (63.16)	0 (0.00)
Well (others)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Bore well (community)	0 (0.00)	16 (84.21)
Bore well (govt.)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Govt. supply	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Total	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)

Note: In this resettlement colony out of surveyed 19 households, 16 households are depending on community bore well donated by a Germany based NGO. The bore wells set up by government were found dysfunctional.

Source: Field survey data

Table 4: Sources of energy for lighting

R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)	
Period Sources of lighting	Pre-displacement	Post-displacement
Kerosene	19 (100.00)	0 (0.00)
Electricity	0 (0.00)	19 (100.00)
Total	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 5: Sources of energy for cooking

R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)	
Period Sources of cooking	Pre-displacement	Post-displacement
Firewood	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)
Gas	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Coal	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Total	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 6: Land holding

R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)	
Period Land holding (acre)	Pre-displacement	Post-displacement
<1 acre	0 (0.00)	4 (21.05)
1-5 acre	1 (5.26)	13 (68.42)
5-10acre	0 (0.00)	2 (10.53)
10-30 acre	1 (5.26)	0 (0.00)
>30 acre	1 (5.26)	0 (0.00)
No land	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Can't say	16 (84.21)	0 (0.00)
Total	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 7: Employment

Period	Post-displacement
R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)
Occupation	
Professional	0 (0.00)
White collar	0 (0.00)
Self employed	1 (1.14)
Blue collar (unskilled)	8 (9.09)
Blue collar (skilled)	8 (9.09)
Owner cultivator	29 (32.95)
HH work	27 (30.68)
Unemployed	12 (13.63)
Not in labour force	3 (3.41)
Total	88 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 8: Food insecurity

R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)	
Period	Pre-displacement	Post-displacement
Domestic animal		
Livestock	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)
Poultry	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data, (Total HHs=19)

Table 9: Morbidity and mortality

R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)
Period	Post-displacement
Health care centre	
Govt. Hospital	0 (0.00)
Private Hospital	2 (10.53)
Quack	17 (89.47)
Total	19 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

MARGINALISATION

For the people of this resettlement colony the banking facility is still unreachable. All the 19 surveyed households were found to be dependent on their relatives for financial help. Unlike the urban resettlement colony, the people of this resettlement colony were able to reconstruct their socio-economic as well as political relation within the community.

The analysis of 19 surveyed households reveals that all the households are affected by the impoverishment risks. The housing condition has slightly increased due to current government policies and the assistances of an NGO. The small land holdings, inaccessible banking facility and unavailability of the alternative livelihoods have sustained their economic backwardness even after six decades of displacement. Though all the 19 surveyed households are beneficiaries of Public Distribution System (PDS) and access the common property resources (CPRs), they are deprived of accessing the indigenous market which plays major role in the tribal economy. The unavailability of health care facility has become a major risk for them.

INTER-GENERATIONAL SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG THE 19 SURVEYED HOUSEHOLDS (LACHHADA)

Table 10: General educational attainment

Educational Attainment	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Illiterate	30 (78.95)	17 (44.74)	9 (14.75)
Below primary	7 (18.42)	10 (26.32)	6 (9.84)
5 th std.	1 (2.63)	5 (13.16)	0 (0.00)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	3 (7.89)	7 (11.47)
Secondary	0 (0.00)	1 (2.63)	11 (18.03)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	1 (2.63)	18 (29.51)
Higher secondary	0 (0.00)	1 (2.63)	5 (8.2)
Graduate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (3.28)
PG & Above	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Currently in edu.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (4.92)
Total	38 (100.00)	38 (100.00)	61 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

The illiteracy has declined throughout the generations for surveyed 19 households. Among the first generation 79 per cent were illiterates and no one was found having education beyond 5th standard. Among the second generation although the illiteracy has declined, the higher education attainments among them is meagre. Among the third generation the illiteracy has come down to 15 per cent and the proportion of matriculates has increased to 29 per cent. However, higher study attendees among them are very less. It means most of the matriculates are discontinuing their education as no higher educational institution is available in vicinity.

Table 11: General educational attainment (Gender difference)

Educational Attainment	First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Illiterate	14 (73.68)	16 (84.21)	7 (36.84)	10 (52.63)	3 (9.37)	6 (20.69)
Below Primary	4 (21.05)	3 (15.79)	6 (31.58)	4 (21.63)	3 (9.37)	3 (10.34)
5 th std.	1 (5.26)	0 (0.00)	2 (10.53)	3 (15.79)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (5.26)	2 (10.53)	4 (12.5)	3 (10.34)
Secondary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (5.26)	0 (0.00)	6 (18.75)	5 (17.24)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (5.26)	0 (0.00)	12 (37.5)	6 (20.69)
Higher Secondary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (5.26)	0 (0.00)	1 (3.12)	4 (13.79)
Graduation	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (3.12)	1 (3.44)
PG and above	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Currently in edu.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (6.25)	1 (3.44)
Total	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)	32 (100.00)	29 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

The female illiteracy has declined along with the male illiteracy rate throughout the three generations for the surveyed 19 households, but still it is twice of male illiteracy rate. Among the both sexes of first generation educational attainment

beyond 5th standard is nil. Among the second generation few male could attain higher education, whereas female education attain level ends with upper primary. However, among the third generation population the female equally participated with male in higher education.

Table 12: Vocational Education

R. S. Colony	Lachhada (Rural)		
Generation Vocational edu.	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Certificate	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)
Matric+Tech	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)
Higher sec+Tech	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	1(1.64)
Matric+Oth	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)
Higher sec+Oth	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)
Grad+Oth	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)
Total	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	1(1.64)

Source: Field survey data

Table 13: Vocational educational attainment (Gender difference)

Vocational Education	First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Certificate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Matric+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Higher sec+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (3.12)	0 (0.00)
Matric+Oth	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Higher sec+Oth	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Grad+Oth	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Total	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (3.12)	0 (0.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 14: Occupational Diversification

Types of Occupation	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Professional	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
White collar	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0(0.00)
Self employed	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.64)
Blue collar (unskilled)	0(0.00)	0 (0.00)	8 (13.11)
Blue collar (skilled)	0 (0.00)	2 (5.26)	6 (9.84)
Owner cultivator	19 (50.00)	18 (47.37)	18 (29.51)
HH work	19 (50.00)	18 (47.37)	17 (27.87)
Unemployed	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	8 (13.11)
Not in labour force	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3(4.92)
Total	38 (100.00)	38 (100.00)	61(100.00)

Source: Field survey data

The first generation population of the surveyed 19 households were involved either in agriculture or in household work. Among the second generation population, no shift from their traditional occupation was found except two persons involved in skilled work. Among the third generation population the involvement in agriculture and household work has declined i. e. to 29 and 28 per cents respectively and many people joined in blue collar skilled and unskilled works. However, the number of persons involved in agriculture and household work remained same. It means additional labour forces in the families are joining in other occupations since their small land holdings do not require more labour force. Among the third generation 13 per cent were found unemployed.

Among the first generation population of the surveyed 19 households while all males were engaged in cultivation, all females were involved in household work. Among second generation no changes have occurred in their occupation except one person from each sex joined as skilled labourer. Among the third generation share of male owner cultivators has declined to 56 per cent from 95 per cent among the second generation while their absolute number remains the same. It shows that increasingly, the third generation was employed in some other occupations since all they possess little land and don't require extra labour. On the other hand the share of females involved in household work has declined

from 95 per cent among second generation to 59 per cent among the third generation, but their absolute number remains the same. Here also since the household work doesn't require extra labour the increased female population were distributed in some other occupations. The third generation population experienced unemployment among both gender i. e. 9 and 17 per cents of male and female respectively.

Table 15: Occupational Diversification (Gender difference)

Types of Occupation	First Generation		Second Generation		Third Generation	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
White collar	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
Self employed	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (3.12)	0 (0.00)
Blue collar (unskilled)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (15.62)	3 (10.34)
Blue collar (skilled)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (5.26)	1 (5.26)	3 (9.37)	3 (10.34)
Owner cultivator	19 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	18 (94.74)	0 (0.00)	18 (56.25)	0 (0.00)
HH work	0 (0.00)	19 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	18 (94.74)	0 (0.00)	17 (58.62)
Unemployed	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (9.37)	5 (17.24)
Not in labour force	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (6.25)	1 (3.45)
Total	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)	19 (100.00)	32 (100.00)	29 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 16: Educational attainment and Occupational Diversification Lachhada (Rural), Generation 1

Occupation Types	Owner cultivator	Household work	Total
Illiterate	14 (46.67)	16 (53.33)	30 (100.00)
Below primary	4 (57.14)	3 (42.86)	7 (100.00)
5 th std.	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 17: Lachhada, Generation 2

Occupation Types	Owner cultivator	Household work	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	7 (41.18)	10 (58.82)	0 (0.00)	17 (100.00)
Below primary	6 (60.00)	4 (40.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (100.00)
5 th std.	2 (40.00)	2 (40.00)	1 (20.00)	5 (100.00)
Upper primary	1 (33.33)	2 (66.67)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Secondary (under matric)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	1 (100.00)
Higher secondary	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 18: Lachhada, Generation 3

Educational Attainment	Self employed	Blue collar (skilled)	Owner cultivator	Household work	Unemployed	Blue collar (unskilled)	Total
Illiterate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (22.22)	6 (66.67)	0 (0.00)	1 (11.11)	9 (100.00)
Below primary	0 (0.00)	1 (16.67)	3 (50.00)	2 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (100.00)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	1 (14.29)	3 (42.86)	3 (42.86)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	7 (100.00)
Secondary	0 (0.00)	4 (36.36)	4 (36.36)	2 (18.18)	1 (9.09)	0 (0.00)	11 (100.00)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	2 (11.11)	6 (33.33)	2 (11.11)	5 (27.78)	3 (16.67)	18 (100.00)
Higher secondary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (50.00)	1 (25.00)	1 (25.00)	4 (100.00)
Graduation	1 (50.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (50.00)	2 (100.00)
Higher sec+ Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

In resettlement colony 3, among the first generation most of them are illiterate and among literates the attained education level is very low even didn't cross the 5th standard. All of them are involved in unskilled, agricultural and household work. Among the second and third generation population very few could attend matriculation and higher studies, but no such occupational mobility among them

is visible. Out of 25, those who attained matriculation and above including vocational education among third generation only 4 are involved in skilled works and 7 remained as unemployed and rest are employed in domestic and low wage works.

Table 19: Educational attainment and Occupation Diversification of First Generation Male in Lachhada (Rural)

Occupation Attained edu.	Owner cultivator	Total
Illiterate	14 (100.00)	14 (100.00)
Below primary	4 (100.00)	4 (100.00)
5 th std.	1 (100.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 20 Educational attainment and Occupation Diversification of the Second Generation Male in Lachhada (Rural)

Occupation Attained edu.	Owner cultivator	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	7 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	7 (100.00)
Below primary	6 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (100.00)
5 th std.	2 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)
Upper primary	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Secondary	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	1 (100.00)
Higher sec	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 21 Educational attainment and Occupation Diversification of the Third Generation Male in Lachhada (Rural)

Occupation Attained edu.	Self employed	Blue collar (unskilled)	Owner cultivator	Unemployed	Blue collar (skilled)	Not in labour force	Total
Illiterate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (66.67)	0 (0.00)	1 (33.33)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Below primary	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	1 (25.00)	3 (75.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (100.00)
Secondary (under matric)	0 (0.00)	2 (33.33)	4 (66.67)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (100.00)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	2 (16.67)	6 (5.50)	2 (16.67)	2 (16.67)	0 (0.00)	12 (100.00)
Graduation	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Higher sec+Tech	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Currently in edu.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)	2 (100.00)

Survey: Field survey data

Among the first generation male population of 19 surveyed households since illiteracy is very high, all of them were found to be employed in farming. Among the second generation the illiteracy has declined, but very few i. e. only two persons attended matriculation and higher secondary. However, the increased literacy has no effect on the occupational mobility. Except one who attended matriculation all of them were found to be involved in cultivation. Among the third generation male population of 19 households the illiteracy has declined drastically i. e. only three males were found as illiterates. The attained education level among them has also increased. Among the higher education attendees 12 were found as matriculates and one for each graduation and technical education. However, out of 12 matriculates six were found to be involved in farming, two in unskilled work, two in skilled work and two remained unemployed. The person having graduation degree was found self-employed, but the person having technical education found as unemployed.

Table 22 Educational attainment and Occupation Diversification of the First Generation Female in Lachhada (Rural)

Occupation Attained edu.	Household work	Total
Illiterate	16 (100.00)	16 (100.00)
Below Primary	3 (100.00)	3 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 23 Educational attainment and Occupation Diversification of the Second Generation Female in Lachhada (Rural)

Occupation Attained edu.	Household work	Blue collar (skilled)	Total
Illiterate	10 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (100.00)
Below primary	4 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (100.00)
5 th std.	2 (66.67)	1 (33.33)	3 (100.00)
Upper primary	2 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Table 24 Educational attainment and Occupation Diversification of the Third Generation Female in Lachhada (Rural)

Occupation Attained edu	Blue collar (unskilled)	Household work	Unemployed	Blue collar (skilled)	Not in labour force	Total
Illiterate	0 (0.00)	6 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (100.00)
Below primary	1 (33.33)	2 (66.67)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Upper primary	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (100.00)
Secondary (under matric)	2 (40.00)	2 (40.00)	1 (20.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (100.00)
Matriculation	0 (0.00)	2 (33.33)	3 (50.00)	1 (16.67)	0 (0.00)	6 (100.00)
Higher sec	0 (0.00)	2 (50.00)	1 (25.00)	1 (25.00)	0 (0.00)	4 (100.00)
Graduate	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)
Currently in edu.	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (100.00)	1 (100.00)

Source: Field survey data

Among the first generation female population of surveyed 19 households the illiteracy was very high and hence, all of them were found to be involved in household work. Among the second generation, the literacy among them

increased but educational attained level remained low. Except one, all of them were found to be involved in household work as their main work. Among the third generation only six females were found as illiterate and educational attainment level among them has increased i. e. six matriculates, four higher secondary attendees and one graduate. However, only three were found to be involved in skilled work and rest were involved either in household work or remained unemployed.

From the above analysis it is apparent that the occupational diversification failed to keep pace with the increment in literacy and attained education level for both genders. The reason behind it might be the

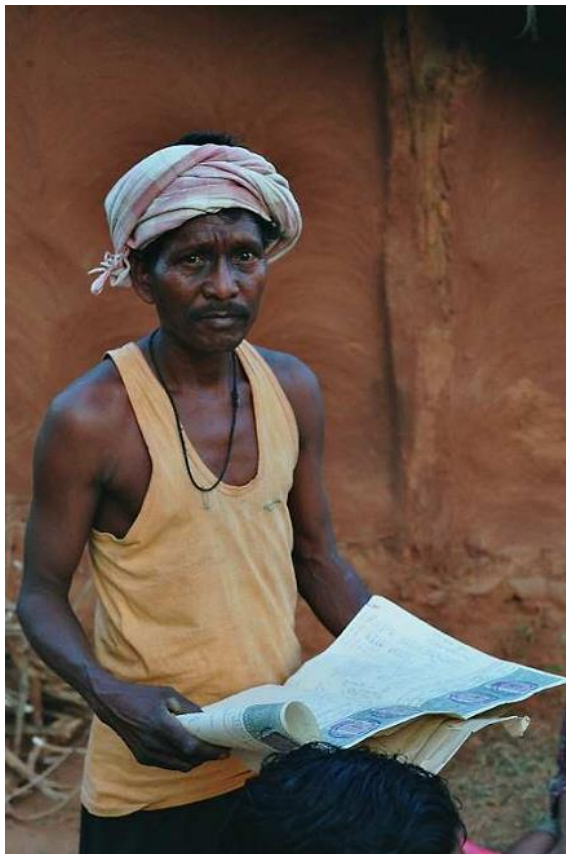
1. Remoteness of the locality,
2. Unavailability of the banking facilities and
3. Dysfunctional of the government schemes such as MNREGA and SHGs.

Figure 1: Vast surplus land area which displaced Adivasis are demanding this to be returned to them.



Source: Rourkela and after- A visual journey, sarini Occasional Papers (2006: 10), No.5.

Figure 2: Fraud in compensation payment



Source: Rourkela and after- A visual journey, sarini Occasional Papers (2006: 25) No. 5

A combine study done by Adivasi-Koordination in Germany (a Germany based NGO) and ASHRA (a Rourkela based NGO) on the displaced tribal population of Rourkela. Their study brings out the case of fraud in compensation payment to the displaced tribal population. The above image shows that the man from Jhandapahar, one of the rural resettlement sites, had signed an Affidavit in English language in 1996 which is stating that he received compensation payments. During further discussion with him, they found that he did not know what he had signed, that the document was not translated to him into his language, and that he has not received any payment on the basis of this.

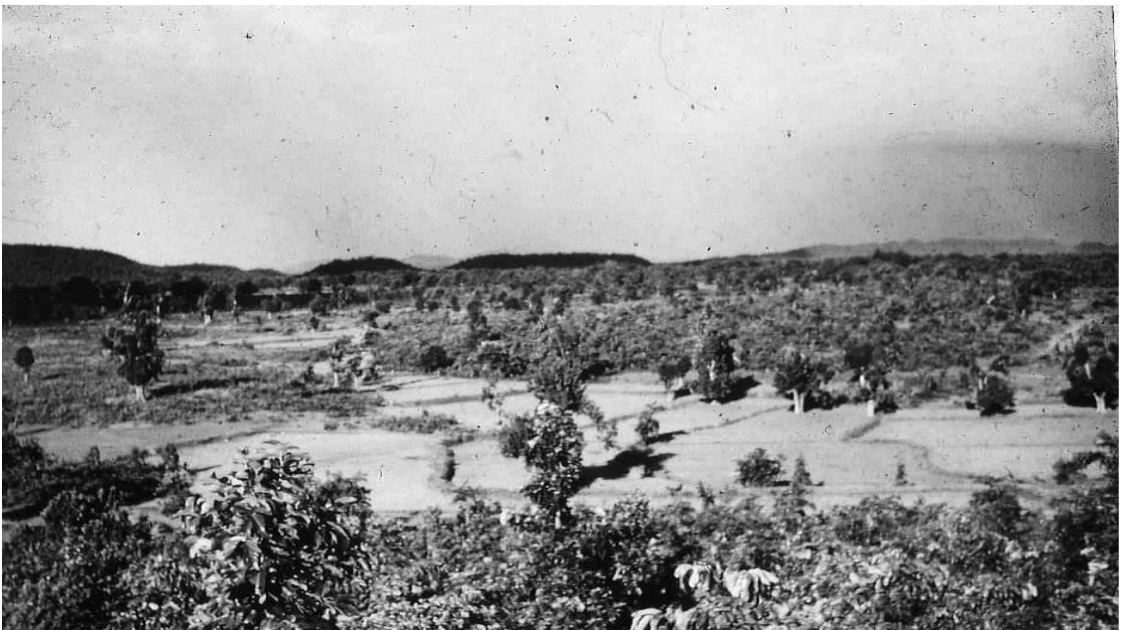
Figure 3: Silikata, one of the rural resettlement sites, Ca. 50 km from Rourkela



Source: Rourkela and after- A visual journey, *sarini Occasional Papers* (2006: 26), No.5

The image shows the resettlement site is covered with the forest and the agricultural lands they have prepared by clearing the forest.

Figure 4: The landscape of Rourkela prior to the construction of the steel plant and the new city.



Source: Rourkela and after: A visual journey, *sarini Occasional Papers* (2006: 3), No.5.

Figure 5: Road to Jaydega resettlement colony



Source: Field survey photo

Figure 6: Agricultural lands in Jaydega resettlement colony



Figure 7:



The lands are unfertile. The resettlers have cleared the the forest and prepared the lands for cultivation. There is no irrigation facility and the cultivation depends on monsoon rain.

Source: Field survey photo

**Figure 8: Dysfunctional government established bore well and NGO
donated bore well at Lachhada.**



Source: Field survey photos

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE FIELD SURVEY ON DISPLACEMENT-
RESETTLEMENT IN ROURKELA**

**M.PHIL 2015-17, CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES,
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, KERALA-695011**

Sampling No.....

District	Sundargarh
Block	
Panchayat/RMC	
Village/Colony	

RMC=Rourkela Municipal Corporation

A. IDENTIFICATION DETAILS:

1.	Ward and House No.		Remarks*
2.	Name of the respondent		
3.	Religion of the HH		
4.	Social group of HH		
5.	Caste/Tribe (tribe name)		
6.	Type of HH		
7.	Year of displacement/affected		
8.	No. of family units		

B. HOUSEHOLD DETAILS

Sl. No.	Name	Family ID	Age	Relation to HH	Sex	Marital status	Current status of education	Level of edu.					Remarks
								A	B	C	D	Technical edu./oth.	

C. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

SL. NO.		NON-AGRICULTURAL					AGRICULTURAL		
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1.	FATHER/GRAND FATHER								
2.	MOTHER/GRAND MOTHER								
	SONS AND DAUGHTERS								
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									

D. LAND AND OTHER RESOURCES

LAND	PRE-DISPLACEMENT	POST-DISPLACEMENT
Area		
Price		
Ownership		
Status of land		
Other use of land(if not cultivated)		
SOURCES OF IRRIGATION		
Rain fed		
Distance from the source		
Status of the source		
ACCESS TO CPRs		
Grazing land		
Ownership		
Pond/canal/well		
Forest		
Trees(Mahul, fruits)		
Ownership		
Others		

E. HOUSING CONDITION

HOUSING CONDITION	PRE-DISPLACEMENT	POST-DISPLACEMENT
Floor		
Roof		
Wall		
No. of rooms		
Latrine		
Condition of the latrine		
Ownership of the house		
Imputed value of the house		
Sources of drinking water		
Distance from the source		
Ownership status		
Sources of energy for lightening		
Sources of energy for cooking		
Livestock(number)		
Poultry(number)		
HH ASSETS		
Two wheeler(cycle, scooter, bike)		
Four wheeler		
TV		
Fridge		

F. SOURCES OF CREDIT

SOURCES OF CREDIT	AMOUNT	INTERSET RATE	REMARK
Moneylenders			
Traders			
Employers			
Relatives and friends			
Cooperative societies			
Commercial banks			
Others			

F. HEALTH ISSUES

- Do you have health care facility (PHC) in your locality?
- When you fall ill, with whom you do consult? (HC, private doctor, quack, sorcery) Why?
- Do you get any health facilities from ASHA workers and Anganwadi centres?

G. PROCESS OF DISPOSSESSION (PREFERABLY THE EXPERIENCED GENERATION)

1. When were you informed about the project and by whom? What was your reaction? (accepted, agitated, led by whom)
2. Was there any role by the head of the village in the process of displacement? If yes, how?
3. Was there any approach by the local politicians in the process of displacement? If yes, how?
4. What promises were made by the administration for displaced?
5. Was there any intervention by the government officials in the process of displacement? If yes, how?
6. How was the attitude of project officials during the process of displacement?
7. Did any non-governmental organisation extend any assistance? If yes, explain.
8. Were there any other alternatives given, if not, agreed to the terms of the project?
9. Name the different kinds of compensation options you know about.
10. Which one did you choose and why?
11. How were you evicted? (voluntary/involuntary) why?
12. To which place you got resettled first? Is the place of interview the same place? If yes, how did you know about this place? If no, narrate the entire process and difficulties you faced till you got this place?
13. Do you feel that injustice happened in the process of dispossession? If yes, explain.

H. DETAILS OF RESETTLEMENT

1. How were you dependent on the land you are dispossessed from? (use of the land lost)
2. What is the present use of land you have?
3. Name the major items on which you have spent the amount of compensation received. Do you have any savings out of the compensation paid?
4. Do you feel the compensation you received is worth of the loss you incurred? If yes/no, why?
5. What are the different economic attachments to the previous place? Name the main source of income then? List out the different options of livelihood before the displacement and explain the impact of their loss.
6. How did you get re-employed and by whom? Are you satisfied with the current job? Do you feel that the employment opportunities are restricted after the displacement? If yes/no, explain.
7. Do you think the income you were now earning is sufficient?
8. What are the major items of expenditure out of your income? Was it same as before? If no, what are the additions or reductions and why?
9. Do you prefer to stay at the current place or move to a similar place you used to live in?
10. What is the different infrastructural set up made by the Project? Have you benefitted and in what way?
11. Do you feel any difference in the quality of food, water, air you used to get and you get now? If yes, explain.
12. Do you or other family members fall ill frequently now? If yes, what kind of diseases you suffer? Do you go for any treatment? If yes, where?
13. What other health and environmental implications you have to suffer because of the establishment of the project?
14. Were your children attending school before the displacement? If yes, name the school. If no, why?
15. Was there any disruption in educational attainment due to displacement? Explain.
16. Have the Rourkela Steel Plant and Administration provided good education and health facilities to the displaced?
17. Do you see any difference in the future prospects of children's lives? If yes, what kind of difference and why? If no, why?
18. What were the different resources you used to access before the displacement (CPRs, market centres, school, dispensary etc.)?
19. What was the role of common property resources in determining your survival? Do you still have access to any CPRs?
20. What was the importance of other resources available to your household?
21. After displacement, have you been provided with better opportunities in terms of resources?

22. How do you spend your leisure time? Compare.
23. Is there any change in the relationship (attachment) between family members?
24. Which festivals you celebrate other than your traditional festivals? Compare.
25. Do you feel that you lost social harmony after displacement?
26. Do you feel any change in socio-cultural practices due to dislocation? If yes, explain.
27. Do you experience social hierarchy (caste/class) now?
28. Is there any reduction in spaces for females in the household? (disruption in the female member mobility)
29. On which you trust more, indigenous political unit or modern democracy? Why?

I. STATE AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE TRIBES(PREFERABLY POLITICAL LEADERS, NGOS, VILLAGE HEADMEN, JOURNALISTS, ACTIVISTS)

1. How do you see the impact of Rourkela Steel Plant and Dam on displaced people?
2. Can you explain how injustice has happened to the displaced during and after dispossession?
3. Can you explain the trends of anti-dispossession movements in Rourkela?
4. What have been achieved through mass movement till now?
5. Was there any state suppression?
6. What is the importance of PESA Act to the tribals livelihood? Is there violation of PESA Act in Rourkela?
7. Do you feel that Rourkela Steel Plant and administration are working for the development of tribes?
8. How do you find the employment structure in Rourkela Steel Plant?
9. How do you see the increasing Naxalite influence in Sundargarh?
10. Can you explain how rights of the tribes are being violated and suppression of tribes voice are happening in Odisha?(with regards to Kalinganagar, Niyamgiri, Malkangiri, Kandhamal)
11. People say, someone has to sacrifice for the benefit of the other. How do you respond it?
12. What will be the impacts of Central Gov.'s proposal of Smart City for Rourkela to the tribes?
13. What are immediate major steps that should be taken for the development of displaced tribes?