

RESOURCE RICH TRIBAL POOR

**Displacing people, destroying identity
in India's indigenous heartland**

A Report by
ActionAid
Indian Social Institute (New Delhi)
LAYA

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Foreword

Even after six decades of national reconstruction process by way of agricultural, industrial, mineral, infrastructural and other related developments, India still suffers from low level of development and poor quality of life of its population. Incidence of poverty, malnutrition, morbidity and mortality, and non-literacy are still high among them. Much of these are attributed to slow and low pace of development, and rapid and accelerated pace is seen as a way out. It is however, doubtful if development as has been pursued in the last sixty years of independent India, offers the solution. If it did, tribal India would have been much better placed today than it had been in the past. After all, much of the development projects that India has witnessed in post-independent era have taken place in tribal regions, especially in regions adjoining the States of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa. And yet the incidence of poverty, malnutrition, non-literacy is most pronounced in these regions. Hunger and destitution, not so common phenomenon in past, has now become the order of the day. Again, the level of deprivation is far greater among tribal people than among the other population of the States and the region. In short, integration of tribes with the wider world through network of infrastructure, industrial, mineral and other development projects, has not led to corresponding development of the tribal people. Rather, their social and economic situation has worsened. Over and above, they have become uprooted from their lands and forests, the main support system of their livelihood, their homes, kith and kin, villages, tribesmen and their territory/homeland with which they had long historical, emotional, social, cultural and religious ties and relationship. Land, forest, village, community and territory have been the roots of their distinct way of life and their social and collective identity. Displacement has been, however, devastating in erosion of their social identity. And yet tribal plight, misery and destitution arising from the development projects and spanning over sixty years of India's independence has never been brought to the centre stage of India's development discourse. In contrast, the displacement arising from the recent development initiatives of the governments in the form of Special Economic Zones (SEZs), has drawn worldwide attention and become a matter of heated debate and discussion. As to why there has been utter indifference and insensitivity towards the problems of displacement of one set of people and quite the opposite to another set of people, as is evident from opposition to SEZs in different parts of the country, remains an intriguing question in development discourse. It is a question that the activists, civil society organisations and intelligentsia need to problematise and address and not gloss over.

What the above indicates is that there is a need for rethinking about development and displacement. Tribal India, especially the region adjoining Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, and Jharkhand has paid enormous price without the benefits of these developments accruing to them in the last sixty years of India's economic development. Demands are still being made on them on plea of larger national/regional interest and development. That the development projects are imperative for national and overall development of the people is not in doubt. However, a process of development where people have no part is no longer acceptable to the tribal people today. That explains as to why tribal people are today engaged in fierce struggle against the development projects in different parts of the country. It is a different matter that those struggles by them do not find the kind of support from the political class and intelligentsia as one sees in case of Nandigram and Singur.

This means that displacement-oriented development projects need to be re-examined and re-addressed. This in turn requires a systematic, careful and comprehensive field data on different aspects and dimensions of the project-affected people. Though development-induced displacement is pervasive in tribal regions, systematic and comprehensive data especially the field based are, on the whole, conspicuous by their absence. The study entitled, 'Resource Rich, Tribal Poor – Displacing People, Destroying Identity in India's Indigenous Heartland' undertaken by ActionAid India International, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, and LAYA, Andhra Pradesh, fills in this important void and is a heartening and refreshing venture. The study provides data on the extent and nature of development induced displacement in tribal and mineral belt, and examines the consequences of displacement on tribals including

the so-called primitive tribal groups (PTGs) and other weaker sections in reference to their socio-economic, cultural and environmental conditions. Emanating from the data – quantitative and qualitative – on these aspects the study engages in national and State level policy interventions and advocacy with a view to address the issues in the larger and longer interest of the tribal people.

Needless to say that this study is an important addition to the existing material and knowledge on development and displacement literature in general and the issue of tribal displacement in particular. Not only activists, NGOs and other civil society organisations but also social scientists, policy makers and development agencies will also find it useful and handy in their work and profession. However, the spirit of the study would be better served if it is used by the concerned for the greater interest and cause of the tribal people – the most vulnerable and marginalised section of the population in the Indian society. After all, that has been the spirit in which this study has been conceived, developed and executed.

Virginus Xaxa
Professor of Sociology
Delhi School of Economics
University of Delhi

Preface

The present study 'Resource Rich, Tribal Poor – Displacing People, Destroying Identity in India's Indigenous Heartland', undertaken by ActionAid India International, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, and LAYA, Andhra Pradesh, examines the nature and extent of development-induced displacement in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa.

These States are rich in minerals, water, forests, port facilities, and human resources suitable for industries to cater to the interest of global capitalist economy. In the post liberalisation phase of Indian economy in 1990s, this region has attracted the highest investment in steel, aluminium and coal mines. More than 40 percent of India's adivasis live in this zone. The adivasi settlements are mainly in hills and forest areas where abundant natural resources (mines, water and forest) are located. They have customary rights over these resources for centuries. Violating all safeguard measures to protect the rights of these communities as guaranteed by the Constitution of India, the respective governments have been leasing land, mines, forest and water to multinational companies destroying the ecology, environment and livelihood of these communities. Water resources, mines and industries are the main development projects displacing adivasis without proper rehabilitation. The development projects have severe impact on the displaced adivasis. They lose control and access over forest, land, water and a variety of produces round the year. These helped them protect their socio, cultural and religious identity and live in a close knit social system with strong safety nets. Indigenous technology and knowledge is on the verge of extinction. Women and children are the worst affected of all people. At this crossroad they are not able to adapt to the demands of the changing situation.

The Provision of The Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 (PESA) has been violated in these States to acquire the land.

While both the State governments and companies make claims of providing adequate compensation and making plans for tribal development, hardly anything reaches the affected community directly. The development projects have been displacing people without proper rehabilitation package. Even the majority of displaced people are not aware of the compensation packages. Innocence and ignorance of the community fails to regenerate further resources from compensation amount, leading to further impoverishment.

Displacement and deprivation has created widespread discontent among the community members and their voices of resistance are audible from all corners. However, space to express their concerns are reducing within the democratic set up, further flaring the fire of rebellion.

The study team with community participation has put the research in place. This would help policy makers, researchers, intellectuals and activists with a database to establish their argument in favour of the displaced communities, especially adivasis.

We congratulate all those involved in the study for this valuable contribution and wish all the best.

Prof. Babu Mathew

Country Director, ActionAid India International

Dr. Jimmy Dabhi

Executive Director, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi

Dr. Nafisa Goga D'Souza

Executive Director, LAYA, Andhra Pradesh

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Dr. Bratindi Jena

National Leader for Indigenous People's Rights
Indigenous/Tribal Social Working Group
ActionAid India International

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Abbreviations

AFs	Affected Families
AG	Attorney General
AP	Andhra Pradesh
BCs	Backward Castes
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CCL	Central Coalfield Limited
CG	Chhattisgarh
CMDC	Chhattisgarh Mineral Development Corporation
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DEE	Deputy Executive Engineer
DFs	Displaced Families
DPs	Displaced Persons
DRDA	District Rural Development Agency
DRO	District Revenue Office
ECL	Eastern Coalfields Limited
EE	Executive Engineer
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoI	Government of India
GSDP	Gross State Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HEC	Heavy Engineering Corporation
HRD	Human Resource Development
IDICOL	Industrial Development and Investment Corporation Ltd.
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
IPICOL	Industrial Promotion and Investment Corporation of Orissa Ltd.
JKH	Jharkhand
JSPL	Jindal Steel Plant Limited
kWh	kilowatt hour
LA	Land Acquisition
LAD	Land Acquisition Department
LAO	Land Acquisition Office
LAQ	Land Acquisition Act
MMR	Maternal Mortality Rate
MNC	Multi National Corporation
MOBC	Most Backward Castes
MOEF	Ministry of Environment and Forests
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MW	Mega Watt

NA	Not Available
NA Land	Not categorised land
NALCO	National Aluminium Company
NESRC	North East Social Research Centre
NHPC	National Hydroelectric Power Corporation
NNP	Net National Product
NP	Not Applicable
NSDP	Net State Domestic Product
NSS	Nari Srimayee Samaj
NTPC	National Thermal Power Corporation
ORI	Orissa
OSEDC	Orissa State Electronics Development Corporation
PAFs	Project Affected Families
PAPs	Project Affected Persons
PCR	Protection of Civil Rights
PESA	The Provision of The Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996
PIL	Public Interest Litigation
POSCO	Pohang Steel Company
PPL	Paradeep Phosphate Limited
PRI	Panchayati Raj Institutions
PTG	Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups
R & R	Resettlement and Rehabilitation
RDO	Revenue Department Officer
RTI	Right To Information
SC	Special Collector
SCs	Scheduled Castes
SE	Senior Engineer
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SMP	Swarnrekha Multipurpose Project
SSSIL	Shiva Shakti Sponge Iron Ltd
STs	Scheduled Tribes
TISCO	Tata Iron and Steel Company
TSIL	Tata Sponge Iron Limited
UAIL	Utkal Alumina India Ltd
UCIL	Uranium Corporation of India Limited

Executive Summary

Chapter 1 – Introduction

The violence of development related displacement witnessed today can be tracked back to the choices made at the time of independence when the process of national reconstruction was top priority. The trumping of the Gandhian model with the Nehruvian drive towards modernisation and industrial growth required the large scale evictions, in the late 1940s and 1950s, of rural and indigenous people primarily to make way for dams. Today, industry is the key driver of displacement and the scale of displacement due to development projects has exponentially increased.

Tribal communities are the worst affected by development projects. They constitute 8.2% of the total population yet they account for *40% of the total displaced population*.

The debates on tribal policy prior to Independence were mired in the two contradictory positions of isolation of tribal communities from the mainstream to protect their heritage vis-à-vis complete assimilation for their development. The Indian Constitution however envisages a policy of integration for tribals by safeguarding, protecting, and promoting the interests of the tribal people. Thus the state policy on tribals is three pronged focusing on their (i) protection, (ii) mobilisation and (iii) development.

Despite this policy of the Indian state however, the condition of the tribals has not improved, with high rates of poverty and illiteracy and poor access to health facilities. Development schemes for tribals act as safety valves for problems created by national development rather than as truly developmental measures.

Development related displacement has affected the identity of tribal communities in a very significant way since their modes of livelihood are tied to the land and the forest which constitute an integral part of the self-identity of these communities. Dislocation from their territory and homeland and fragmentation of the community lead not only to loss of various aspects of their culture and ways of life but also to loss of their language and territorial identification from where which they derive their identity of being a distinct people.

In light of the above, the objectives of the study are to ascertain:

- the extent of the onslaught on natural resources in the four study states of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa and its impact on the tribal communities' control over land, forest, water and other resources;
- extent and scale of displaced and project affected persons (DP and PAP) in general and among tribals in particular;
- extent and nature of rehabilitation and resettlement of DP and PAP; and
- impact on the identity and the socio-cultural lives of tribal communities.

Chapter 2 – Methodology of the Study

The study on displacement of vulnerable communities in the four sample states was conducted in three phases: in Phase 1 data was collected from 22,755 gazette notifications; in Phase 2, data was collected from 1381 government documents from Land Revenue and related departments; and in Phase 3, primary data was collected from 1717 in-depth interviews, 50 group discussions and 20 case studies.

For the purpose of this study, respondents were categorised into five groups – SC, ST, PVTG, OBC, and General/Others. The sample consists of ST in majority (51%) followed by OBCs (20%). PVTG constitutes 11 percent of the total sample.

Some of the significant limitations of the study were the unavailability of gazette notifications for all study years, the unavailability of concrete information relating to DP/PAP requiring its extrapolation, paucity of earlier studies, difficulties in accessing information, constraints in time and constraints of sample selection.

Chapter 3 – Profile of the States

This chapter highlights the features of the four study states of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Orissa. All four states are rich in natural resources and are home to significant tribal populations. The chapter briefly discusses certain development indicators of the states, including per capita income, BPL status, civic facilities and work participation rate.

Chapter 4 – Patterns of Land Acquisition

This chapter looks at the nature and extent of land acquisition for development projects in the four study states. The study reveals that a total of 1204522.64 acres have been acquired in the four states in the periods under study across various categories of projects. Water resources, industry, transport, mining and non-hydro power projects are the main categories of development projects that have acquired the most quantities of land. The main types of land acquired were private land, forest land and common land. Interestingly large extents of land acquired were shown as unclassified land in the government records.

Chapter 5 – The Displaced and the Deprived

This chapter looks at the persons displaced/affected by development projects (DP/PAP). The study reveals that a total of 994355 persons were displaced (DP) by development projects and 2214884 were affected adversely by such projects (PAP). By far the most disadvantaged by development projects were members of Scheduled Tribes.

Further, state policies on resettlement and rehabilitation provide for resettlement entitlements only to DP and not to PAP. Thus large numbers of people especially those from already vulnerable and socially and economically disadvantaged communities are not entitled to state support for resettlement.

Chapter 6 – The Realities of Displacement

The impact of displacement and resettlement on people in the areas surveyed is huge, particularly on adivasis, who make up the majority of those displaced in these areas. Lack of clarity about the project and lack of information about the benefits are prevalent in all states. Fear of losing land (those under threat of displacement) and anger at having lost it (those displaced) were the most common responses when people were asked about their feelings on the sample projects.

The majority of the DP/PAP were not adequately compensated for their losses. Spending on food out of the compensation monies was disproportionately large and the percentage of people who were able to invest in land/start new businesses with the compensation package was negligible.

The compensation packages also did not take into account a variety of hidden costs ranging from transport costs to the resettlement colonies to transit accommodation to interruption in employment resulting in loss of pay.

The resettlement and rehabilitation packages do not take into account landless households, women headed households and households without the requisite paperwork to demonstrate an inviolable claim to the land that is acquired.

A variety of social problems and tensions were reported post displacement ranging from a significant lowering in the standard of living, to health problems, to increased crime rates, alcoholism to the eruption of communal tensions.

The number of protests, both peaceful and violent is on the rise in these states. Alienation of natural resources, marginalisation of the locals from the development processes, their exclusion from the decision-making processes, have further contributed to the expansion of Naxalite/Maoist violence in these states.

The state's response has been to counter this with organised violence to enforce a lopsided development policy resulting in the oppression of the tribal and other vulnerable communities, as is most notable in the Salwa Judum in Chhattisgarh, which has further immiserated, impoverished and rendered completely insecure the native inhabitants of these regions.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion and Recommendations

The main recommendations of the study have been broadly on two aspects:

- **Local Self-Governance** must be strengthened by implementation of PESA ,1996 in letter and spirit of the Constitution of India empowering the Gram Sabhas to decide on the nature of development they will want. PESA needs amendment to make it conditional to include informed consent of Gram Sabhas replacing mere 'consultation with' for any process of land acquisition and that Gram Sabhas must be given an option to quote their share in the profit of the project.
- **Other legal recommendations** include that the existing laws on non-transfer of tribal land to non-tribal must be strictly adhered to. Provisions of the Scheduled Tribe and Other Forest Dwellers (Reorganisation of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 should be implemented in all tribal areas at the earliest. Replace the concept of sale of private or government land to private company for public purpose, as mentioned in Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and further in Land Acquisition (Amendment) and to a provision for a conditional and timebound lease voluntarily agreed upon by the land holder for any public purpose. Before the start of any project, legislations should be passed for a complete 'rehabilitation' recognising land for land as the 'right'
- At the **Policy** front, a National Rehabilitation Commission should be set up by the Central Government with the power to exercise external oversight over the rehabilitation and resettlement of affected families covered by this policy. This commission must work in line with Ministry of Tribal Affairs. Protection of indigenous people and continuation of their habitation in the natural environment should be linked to larger implications of factors related to climate change and environmental degradation. In order to protect the socio-economic and cultural rights of indigenous peoples India must ratify International Labour Organization Convention 169. Under no circumstances can a SEZ Policy of the Government commit itself to give away as much of its natural resources like mines, water, land and forests as is sought for by a private/foreign company.

Introduction*

Whenever we take up a big task, some people are bound to suffer some losses. The poor farmers in the region were displaced. They have all been resettled elsewhere but it is not a nice thing to be evicted out of your house. I understand that.

Jawaharlal Nehru
Speech at the Inauguration of the Hirakud Dam
Orissa, January 13, 1957¹

After India became independent, the process of national reconstruction became the overriding concern of nationalist leadership. Two broad perspectives divided the leadership, the one represented by Mahatma Gandhi and the other by Jawaharlal Nehru. Whereas Gandhi was content with village life and its austerity, Nehru envisioned making India a modernised society (Siddiqui 2004:58). The latter held sway over post-independence India. This road aimed at a global identity and development. However, the route it took began with the process of displacing the rightful claimants of land, forest and other natural resources. It was accompanied by violence if not by bloodshed. Violence has been physical, social, cultural and spiritual. Today, sixty years after India's independence, we are still treading on the same path, the only difference being that we are now the perpetrators of displacement. Earlier it was the colonial State; today it is the post-colonial State, which in the name of national development has pursued almost the same path as was adopted during the colonial period. In more recent years, however, the proliferation of laws,



Of population and communities affected by the development projects, tribals have been the worse affected. A little over 21 million is estimated to have been displaced by development projects (dams, mines, industries and wildlife sanctuaries) in India during 1951-90.



policies of liberalisation, globalisation and the like, with the dismantling of controls, restrictions and high taxes that were characteristics of the Nehruvian government, have further accentuated the process of displacement. Thus it is important to encapsulate the process of displacement beginning from post-independence era to the present.

Of population and communities affected by the development projects, tribals have been the worse affected. A little over 21 million is estimated to have been displaced by development projects (dams, mines, industries and wildlife sanctuaries) in India during 1951-90. Of the total displaced population, over 16 million have been displaced by dams, about 2.6 and 1.3 million by mines and industries respectively. A little over one million have been displaced by other projects, wild-life sanctuaries being the most important among them. Of the total displaced, as large a number as 8.54 million have been enumerated as tribals. Tribals have thus come to constitute *40 percent of the displaced population* though they comprise only about 8.2 percent of the total population. Their share in the displacement from projects such as mines, wildlife sanctuaries and dams has been to the tune of over 52, 75 and 38 percent respectively. It is only in respect of industrial and other unspecified projects that the size of their share does not exceed 25 percent. And yet, even then the proportion is much higher than the proportion of their population to the total population of the country.

Of over the 21 million displaced, only 5.4 million (24%) have been resettled out of which 2.12 million are stated to be tribals.

Delineating Tribal Society

India has a large population that is designated as tribal. As per the 2001 census, groups/ communities described as tribes have been estimated at 88.8 million representing 8.2 percent of country's population. Though they constitute only 8.2 percent of the total population, they represent an enormous diversity in terms of size, language and linguistic traits, ecological situations, physical features, extent of acculturation, modes of making a living level of development. Notwithstanding these diversities they have all been described as tribes. The term 'tribe' represents a particular stage in the development of society. Anthropologists have, however, gone beyond its usage as a stage of development. They also conceive of it as a society, that is to say, tribes represent all the features characteristic of a society. They represent a distinct language, culture, territory and government. Thus, though they may be small in size, all their distinct features go into the making of a society. The conceptualisation of tribe as a society, however, does not tell us anything about the features that distinguish tribal society from other types of society. Hence, tribal society is also conceived in terms of its distinctive characteristics and features. Now, one of the distinctive features of tribal society is the general lack of social differentiation. There is, for example, lack of an elaborate and complex division of labour. All individuals are engaged in the same kind of occupation. Tribal society is thus characterised by lack of relative hierarchy, social inequality, domination and subjugation, the hallmark of more backward and complex society. Indeed, the distinctive identity of tribal community emerges from the three dimensions referred to in the above discussion.

Tribal Policy

At the dawn of independence, evolving an appropriate policy towards tribals assumed a place of critical concern among the nationalist leadership. However, even before independence, the nature of policy to be adopted had become an issue of heated debate between two scholars viz. Elwin and Ghurye. The issue at the centre of the debate was whether tribes are to be kept in a State in which they are in isolation or should the attempt be to draw them into society at large so that they can enjoy the same benefits as the larger section of society. Elwin was charged with advocating the policy of isolation on the basis of his pamphlet 'Aboriginals'

(1943)² in which he advocated the idea of a national park for protecting tribals from the outside world. His philosophy then was of development by isolating tribals from contact with the outside world.³ Contrary to this position, Ghurye advocated the policy of assimilation.⁴ His view was that the tribes were Hindus or, to put it more aptly, they were backward Hindus. He thought of them as inferior and backward because they stood cut off from the large mass of the Indian population. His considered view was that tribes are to be assimilated with the larger society so that they can be lifted out of their abject poverty and base lifestyle.

Neither of the two policies was thought adequate in independent India by the nationalist leadership. This is evident from the nature and types of provisions laid down in the Indian Constitution for tribals. The provisions point to an approach that was quite different from the ones propagated by the two scholars. They include among other things the provision of statutory recognition, proportionate representation in the legislatures, the right to use their own language for education and other purposes, to profess their own faith, and to development in accordance with their own genius. The Constitution also has a clause that enables State to make provision for reservations in jobs and appointments in favour of tribal communities. Alongside such provisions, the Directive Principles of the Constitution require that educational and economic interests of the weaker

sections of the society including tribals be especially promoted. The Constitution also empowers the State to bring areas inhabited by tribes under the Fifth or the Sixth Schedules for purpose of special treatment in respect of administration of the tribal people. The provisions laid down in the Constitution thus aimed at safeguarding, protecting, as well as promoting the interests of tribal people. Now, if one has to examine the provisions made in the Constitution a little more carefully, one finds that the Constitution clearly reflects articulation of tribal problems in the direction of *integration* rather than isolation or assimilation, without using the term and concept of integration. Indeed there is no official document where the policy of integration is explicitly stated as such. In fact, the five principles mentioned by Nehru in the foreword to Elwin's book '*A Philosophy for NEFA*' (Elwin 1960) and proclaimed as the guide for tribal development, was no more than an enunciation of the principles emerging from the provisions laid down in the Indian Constitution.⁵

The State Agenda for Tribal Development

It is within the above backdrop that the State's agenda towards tribals, needs to be examined and understood. The different measures taken for the upliftment of tribal people are usually divided into three categories. These are: (1) protective; (2) mobilisation oriented; and (3) developmental. The protective measures include



constitutional and legislative rights that safeguard the interest of the tribals. The mobilisation oriented measures include reservations extended to the tribals in different fields. Developmental measures encompass programmes and activities initiated for promoting the welfare of the tribal people. These measures have been at work for over five decades now. However, there has not been much improvement in the situation of the tribal people. The level of persons below poverty line, with high illiteracy and poor access to health facilities, is highest among the tribals.

The reasons for this state of affairs in which tribes are situated are not confined only to problems of implementation as administrators and scholars tend to think and suggest. The reasons are structural too. In fact, issues taken up under development schemes have often been the results of the kind of measures pursued under national development. Hence, until the tribal problem is seen as one linked to national/regional development, the solution to the problem suffered by tribes is going to be partial and inadequate. In fact, development schemes have been acting more as a safety valve for the situations and condition created by national and regional development, rather than as truly development measures. This dimension is however, glossed over by the development planners, administrators and scholars.

Much of the problems that tribals are confronted with are thus the consequence of the pattern/model of national development pursued by the Indian State and society. The model has two fearful consequences: (i) the wasteful lifestyles that are the characteristic feature of the 'developed' North have also managed to permeate into the 'developing' South; and (ii) the pattern of dominance of the North has also penetrated into the South. One of the patterns of such dominance is very clearly visible in the domination of masses of the people by small privileged elites that are westernised and more closely tied to the world metropolitan centres and to the experts and financiers of multinational corporations and lending agencies than to their own people" (Kothari 1988:53-4). In this pattern of development, socio-cultural and economic rights of indigenous communities are no longer valued as important. In the race to becoming strong and developed, one forgets the importance of tribal communities in protecting and preserving mother earth from dying in the 'name of development'.

Earth is the only planet suitable for life and if this planet is destroyed there is no other planet to look for an alternate. It is known that wherever there are indigenous

communities, the forest and environment is protected and there is less impact of climate change. But where there is deforestation and destruction of nature, one can clearly experience the impact in terms of climatic disasters. In the present context of protecting earth, it becomes inevitable to think of protecting indigenous communities, if not in the interest of the indigenous communities, then at least in the interest of protecting the world.

Identity and Development

Identities need not always be centred on a particular caste, religion or sect. Identities can also take the form of something material that we associate with. In India where 70 percent of the population relies on agriculture, land is one of the primary means of establishing identity, as it provides not only a means of livelihood but also identifies the person and his clan along with it. Van der Vlist (1994:22) spells it out in the following way:

In English at least, the words 'land' and 'earth' have become barren, and have all too often been stripped down to signify little more than an exploitable resource. In indigenous language, the one word may mean country, hearth, everlasting home, totem, place, life-source, spirit centre and much more. When I speak of the earth, I may also be speaking of my shoulder or side, of my grandmother, or brother. Removed from our lands we are literally removed from ourselves.

Van der Vlist (1994:22)

It is the above notion of identity that defines and sustains them. The discussion that follows, analyses such identities that were once preserved and that have now undergone a change with the development paradigm. It is not only important to foreground the dominant voices that are heard in this debate, but also to uncover the unheard voices that have been suppressed by the dominant voices under the development rhetoric.

Tribal societies have not been static. Change has been in general, however, slow and gradual. With the contact and incorporation of tribes into the wider economy and society, there has been acceleration of social change among them. This is visible in all domains of their societal lives. The situation of tribes in India has not been different in any way. After they were incorporated into the colonial State to begin with, and then with the process of national reconstruction in post-independence India, the tribal world has been witness to phenomenal and far reaching change.

There has been the integration of tribal areas with the wider world through extension of roads, railways and other forms of communication. Tribal economy has been integrated into the wider market economy. Tribes have now become a part of the land, labour, and credit market. There has also been a tightening incorporation of the tribal people in the larger economic and political processes of the Indian State. One of the most distinguishing features of such developments in tribal society has been with regard to the aspect of social differentiation within them. Tribes have now become differentiated in terms of occupation, income, education, religion, social and political orientation, and social status. These have begun to have bearing on tribal society and identity. Aspects of identity affected by those changes have had more to do with their modes of livelihood such as the transformation from hunting, fishing and food gathering to food production, or from shifting cultivation to settled cultivation, or from settled/shifting cultivation (primary sector) to secondary and tertiary sectors. There have also been changes with regard to the type of the society which is represented. There is a movement from homogeneity of occupation, income, education and status to heterogeneity. More often than not, such transformations has been smooth and gradual. Hence, though there have been changes with regard to certain aspects of their identity, other aspects of identity have remained intact. Aspects that have undergone change, and those that

One of the most distinguishing features of such developments in tribal society has been with regard to the aspect of social differentiation within them. Tribes have now become differentiated in terms of occupation, income, education, religion, social and political orientation, and social status.



continue unchanged, is what we need to explore to understand the dynamics of change and identity. What is important to note is that where tribal people have been participants in change, such change has been smooth and gradual and tribal people have been able to retain their roots and identity. Identity, in a sense, has remained intact despite social transformation in their society.



Tribes are not only existentially dependent on forest but also culturally and religiously. Forests represent their sacred groves and spaces. They are not only the abode of gods and deities but also sites of religious and collective rites.



Such has, however, not been the case in the context of changes arising from development that has brought about displacement. In the case of tribes in India, displacement has been endemic. Such large-scale development-induced displacement has affected the identity of tribes in a very significant way. One of the marked sources from which tribals have drawn their identity is in their mode of making a livelihood. Tribals identify and describe themselves primarily as cultivators – shifting or settled – or as hunters and food-gatherers. Such identification is an important part of their being and they cannot think of themselves outside of this mould. And since in the case of tribes, modes of livelihood are associated with land and forest, their identity is intricately tied with the above. Any dislocation from their modes of livelihood and from the land and forest uproots them from their very existence and hence affects their identity in a very fundamental way. In the case of a hunting and food-gathering tribal community, their dependence on forest and forest resources is almost total. Even in the context of shifting cultivation, tribals are dependent to a great deal on forests and so is the case with tribals engaged in settled cultivation. In case of the latter, much of their basic needs are met from the resources in the forest. Tribes are not only existentially dependent on forest but also culturally and religiously. Forests represent their sacred groves and spaces. They are not only the abode of gods and deities but also sites of religious and collective rites. Tribal identity also emanates from their feasts and festivals, which are more often than not connected with phases of their agricultural cycle. Displacement from

their existing modes of living snaps them off from the core of their social and cultural lives. In the process an important marker of their identity gets eroded. Tribals live in villages which again is an important marker of their identity. It links them with their ancestors and their gods and deities. In addition, it is an important site of collective life and collective identity. It is a source of their identity as a people, which in case of displacement gets dislocated and fragmented. Moreover, the village is not isolated from a wider territory, with which a particular tribe is traditionally and historically associated. Though the territory is not clearly demarcated, tribals have a strong sense of territory, which they consider as their homeland. Displacement dislocates them from their territory and homeland leading to erosion of their identity. In short, dislocation from their territory and homeland and fragmentation of the community lead not only to loss of various aspects of their culture and ways of life but also to loss of their language and territorial identification from which they derive their identity of being a distinct people.

Context and Setting of the Study

Given the above problematic situation, the present study attempts at understanding the so-called development projects in four selected States of India, viz. Andhra Pradesh (AP), Chhattisgarh (CG), Jharkhand (JKH), and Orissa (ORI). Some studies on development induced displacements from 1951-1995 in the above mentioned four States (Fernandes and Asif (1997; 2001), Ekka and Asif (2000)) have already been made by Walter Fernandes and his team (hereinafter referred to as the FERNANDES REPORT). Their study estimates the number of displaced persons and project affected persons (DP and PAP) at 1.5 million in Andhra Pradesh, 3.2 million in Chhattisgarh, 5 million in Jharkhand and 1.4 million in Orissa. Among the displaced and project affected in the States mentioned above, the share of tribals and dalits has been considerably high. In Jharkhand, tribals comprised as large as 41 percent of the displaced and affected. These studies point to massive displacement of the people, especially of the vulnerable section as well as lack of resettlement of these people. Where there had been resettlement, it has been in a bad shape. They also examine the extent and nature of land acquisition and loss of livelihood due to the projects built in the name of development. The studies showed that tribals were the most vulnerable among the displaced persons, and of them women were the worst sufferers. The trauma of displacement is so strong that the social, cultural, economic and psychological loss of the victims is simply irreparable.

In the above studies, the focus has been on the period 1951-1995. In 1991, India adopted a new economic policy aimed at major structural economic reforms encompassing almost all sectors of the economy viz. industry, trade as well as finance. The thrust of these reforms was the integration of the Indian economy with the global economy, the dismantling of controls, welcoming foreign investment and technology, promoting productivity and restructuring the public sector. An important aspect of the reforms was the programme of deregulation, which increased the scope of the private sector in the economy including foreign investment.

Following the economic reforms, there has been a massive entry of private capital including multinational corporations for the exploitation of natural resources for profit. State governments, one after another, have been signing Memorandums of Understanding (MoU) with these companies. Signing of such MoU is more pronounced in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh than in other States. 230 MoU have been entered into in a very short span of time in the four study States, endangering the very survival of their tribal communities (of these 40 MoU have been entered into in the State of Andhra Pradesh, 73 in Chhattisgarh, 70 in Jharkhand and 47 in Orissa). Hence, there is an urgent need to capture this contemporary process of development and the way in which it is affecting the people, especially tribal communities. This study aims to address these concerns.

Aims and Objectives

The aim of the study is to understand the nature and impact of the development-induced displacement especially with reference to the question of identity of displaced and affected people. Accordingly the objectives of the study are to ascertain:

- the extent of the onslaught on natural resources in the four study States of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa and its impact on the tribal communities' control over land, forest, water and other resources;
- extent and scale of DP and PAP in general and among tribals in particular;
- extent and nature of rehabilitation and resettlement of DP and PAP; and
- impact on the identity and socio-cultural lives of tribal communities.

The present study thus makes an attempt to understand and address the real issues of development related displacement. The report has seven chapters. This first chapter of the Report, also its introduction, situates the problems of the study in its perspective and context. The second chapter on methodology delves into the dynamics and nuances of the study. The third chapter of the Report focuses on the background of the four selected States. The fourth chapter discusses the nature and extent of the land acquired in the States under study based on the gazette notifications, government and other secondary



sources. The fifth chapter discusses the number and type of the displaced and deprived. The sixth chapter discusses and analyses the process of deprivation and resettlement and the impact of displacement

respectively. The last chapter of the Report presents conclusions and makes recommendations for addressing the issue of development-induced displacement in a comprehensive manner.

ENDNOTES

*By Professor V. Xaxa, Department of Sociology, University of Delhi

¹ Mushirul Hasan (ed.), 'Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru' (2005:19)

² The pamphlet was a part of the Elwin – Ghurye debate (Ghurye 1943)

³ In his later written work, Elwin however amended his position. Elwin, Verrier, 1960. A Philosophy for NEFA. Reprint with Foreword by J. Nehru. Shillong; The Advisor to the Governor of Assam

⁴ Ghurye 1943 (Subbba, T.B, 2005)

⁵ The principles as enunciated by Nehru were: (1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture. (2) Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected. (3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. We should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory. (4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry with, their own social and cultural institution. (5) We should judge results, not by statistics of the amount of money spent, but the quality of human character that is evolved.

Methodology of the Study

The present study has a three-fold purpose:

- (i) to create a database in the country on the extent and nature of development-induced displacement in the tribal and mineral belt of the eastern part of the country;
- (ii) to situate indigenous communities and the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) in the larger context of displacement in the wake of globalisation, and to examine the consequences of development-induced displacement on tribal life and identity including their culture, socio-economic conditions, environment and so on; and
- (iii) to create awareness with a view to engage tribals in advocacy for interventions in policy at the national and State level in the long run.

Towards this end, four sample States from the eastern belt of the country were chosen for study: Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa.

1. Methodology

The study on displacement of vulnerable communities in the four sample States was conducted in three phases. Phases 1 and 2 concentrated on secondary data while in Phase 3 the emphasis was on primary data.

1.1. Phase 1

Data collection was done from gazettes notifications from the concerned departments of the State Government of each of the four States selected for the study. The gazettes revealed a number of MoU signed by the State, especially for mining, industry and water resource projects.

Through data collected in the first phase from every district in each of the four sample States, sample districts for each State were selected that became the focus of the study in the second and third phases. Selection of these sample districts was based on



the information available in the State gazettes with regard to density and nature of development projects undertaken, MoU signed by the State governments with private/foreign companies in that regard, the extent of tribal population in the area and the presence of ongoing/completed projects.

Sample districts selected for study in each of the four States

ANDHRA PRADESH	CHHATTISGARH
East Godavari	Durg
Khammam	Jashpur
Srikakulam	Raigarh
Vizianagaram	Raipur
Visakhapatnam	Surguja
JHARKHAND	ORISSA
East Singhbhum	Jaipur
Godda	Kalahandi
Lohardaga	Keonjhar
Ranchi	Rayagada
Saraikela-Kharsawan	Sundergarh

In Phase 1, researchers identified 22,755 gazette notifications pertaining to land acquisition of which:

*903 were from Andhra Pradesh
17648 were from Chhattisgarh
1035 were from Jharkhand
3169 were from Orissa*



The study wanted to include the districts of Dantewada, Bastar and Kanker but due to the conflict situation (Salwa Judum) it was not possible to reach the area.

However, the team could not reach the displaced families in the camps and the families that escaped to the Andhra border areas, especially in the district of Khammam. Both official camp data & fact finding reports of Human Rights groups confirmed the presence of more than 50,000 people in the Salwa Judum camps and a similar number of people in the border areas of Andhra Pradesh.

For a more detailed description of the Salwa Judum and its impact on the vulnerable communities who are the subject of this study see Chapter 6.

1.2. Phase 2

The focus in Phase 2 was on the sample districts identified in each of the four sample States in Phase 1. Data on development projects undertaken in these regions was collected from official documents of the projects in record rooms of the District Collectrates, research reports, project sites, State and Central Ministries, the State Assembly, university and research libraries, press clippings, websites of the various project agencies (including State departments, Industrial Development Corporations and private/foreign companies), reports of studies done by others and interviews with knowledgeable persons.

In Phase 2, 1381 government documents from Land Revenue and related departments were scanned of which:

*281 were from Andhra Pradesh
431 were from Chhattisgarh
208 were from Jharkhand
461 were from Orissa*

1.3 Phase 3

The emphasis in Phase 3 of the study was on primary data collected on the basis of interviews and in-depth studies of Displaced Persons (DP), Project-Affected Persons (PAP), Displaced Families (DF), and Project-Affected Families (PAF) of a representative set of projects. The object of the interviews was to analyse

Table 2.1: Project category for secondary data collection

Sl. No.	Project category	State											
		Andhra Pradesh			Chhattisgarh			Jharkhand			Orissa		
		Ph-1	Ph-2	Total	Ph-1	Ph-2	Total	Ph-1	Ph-2	Total	Ph-1	Ph-2	Total
1	Water Resources	127	181	308	14739	220	14959	23	44	67	2704	321	3025
	Industry	182	14	196	170	20	190	5	62	67	332	43	375
3	Mine	3	10	13	54	191	245	30	18	48	79	90	169
4	Non-hydel Power	--	3	3	192	--	192	5	14	19	22	7	29
5	Defence & Security	--	2	2	33	--	33	2	2	4	--	--	--
6	Transport & Com.	5	44	49	18	--	18	93	24	117	--	--	--
7	Environment Protect.	1	1	2	2238	--	2238	761	4	765	--	--	--
8	Human Resources	1	--	1	13	--	13	5	--	5	--	--	--
9	Refugee Settlement	1	--	1	2	--	2	--	1	1	--	--	--
10	Farms and Fisheries	--	--	--	2	--	2	1	3	4	--	--	--
11	Urban Development	67	--	67	20	--	20	--	3	3	2	--	2
12	Housing	440	9	449	41	--	41	10	8	18	--	--	--
13	Social Welfare	34	16	50	3	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--
14	Tourism	3	1	4	1	--	1	3	--	3	--	--	--
15	Health Services	5	--	5	3	--	3	4	1	5	--	--	--
16	Education	31	--	31	5	--	5	12	9	21	--	--	--
17	Govt Off/ Infrastructure	1	1	2	31	--	31	53	2	55	--	--	--
18	NA/Others	2	--	2	83	--	83	28	13	41	30	--	30
19	Total	903	281	1184	17648	431	18079	1035	208	1243	3169	461	3630

Table 2.1 lists the various categories of development projects on which information was collected in Phases 1 and 2.

the impact of the projects on the people in terms of displacement and the socio-economic cost of displacement and rehabilitation, and to measure the efficacy of resettlement and compensation packages, including the uses to which they lend themselves to.

Table 2.2 lists the representative set of projects and number of sample respondents chosen for study in

Phase 3 (through the collection of primary data) in each of the four sample States:

1.3.1 Methodology

The focus in Phase 3 was thus on the collection of qualitative data – data was collected through case studies, group discussions, and interviews with State officials working on displacement, rehabilitation and

Case Studies: Researchers on the project conducted five case studies on separate projects in each State. Thus a total of 20 case studies on different projects were used for qualitative data evaluation.

Group Discussions: Researchers conducted 10-15 focus group discussions in each of the four sample States (about 4 focus group discussions were conducted in each of the 4-5 sample districts in each State) amounting to a total of about 40-50 group discussions in all. The group discussions focused mainly on four variables in terms of social groups: men, women, adivasis, dalits/others.

Interviews: For the purposes of the present study, researchers interviewed around 300-500 individual respondents in each of the four States. Thus, as Table 2.2 demonstrates, of a total of 1717 sample respondents from whom primary data was collected, 310 respondents were from Andhra Pradesh, 503 were from Chhattisgarh, 475 were from Jharkhand and 429 were from Orissa.

Table 2.2: Projects chosen for primary data collection

Sl. No.	Name of the project	Category	Type	Age of project	Sample respondents
Andhra Pradesh*					
1	Bhupathipalem Project	Water resources	Medium	Ongoing	--
2	Indira Sagar Left Main Canal**	Water resources	Major	2 years	104
3	Indira Sagar Project	Water resources	Major	Not yet started	
4	Jamparakota Reservoir	Water resources	Major	Not known	--
5	Janjhavathi Reservoir	Water resources	Major	1-10 years	--
6	Peddagedda Reservoir	Water resources	Medium	1-10 years	50
7	Pedderu Reservoir	Water resources	Medium	3 years	101
8	Urakagedda Reservoir	Water resources	Medium	5 years	--
9	Vamsadhara Project	Water resources	Medium	Ongoing	55
10	Singareni Collieries Phase II	Mines	Major	1-10 years	--
Total					310
Chhattisgarh					
11	Belsunga Irrigation Dam	Water resources	Medium	11-25 years	100
12	Bharat Aluminium Company	Mines	Major	1-10 years	101
13	JSPL	Mines & industry	Major	1-10 years	101
14	Mahadipa Canal	Water resources	Medium	1-10 years	79
15	Raipur Thermal Plant	Non-hydel power	Major	1-10 years	101
16	Sponge Iron Company	Industry	Medium	1-10 years	21
Total					503
Jharkhand					
17	U.C.I.L. Mines	Mines	Major	> 25 years	86
18	U.C.I.L. Turamdih	Mines	Major	11-25 years	15
19	Rajmahal (ECL)	Mines	Major	> 25 years	82
20	Bagru Bauxite Mines	Mines	Major	> 25 years	100
21	Heavy Eng. Corp. (HEC)	Industry	Major	> 25 years	100
22	Kohinur Steel Private Ltd.	Industry	Major	1-10 years	31
23	Swarnrekha Project-Chandil	Water resources	Major	> 25 years	61
Total					475
Orissa					
24	Vedanta Aluminium Plant	Mines & industry	Major	Ongoing	40
25	Basundhara E C (MCL)	Water resources	Major	1-10 years	64
26	Jamkani Coal Mines	Mines	Major	1-10 years	27
27	Jindal Steel Plant Ltd.	Industry	Major	11-25 years	100
28	Sponge Iron, Sundergarh	Industry	Medium	1-10 years	98
29	Utkal Alumina Ind. Ltd (UAIL)	Industry	Major	1-10 years	100
Total					429
Grand Total					1717

its implementation, affected persons, resettled people and civil society groups.

1.3.2. Sample Projects – It will be noted that out of four project categories viz. water resources, industry, mines and infrastructure from which primary data was collected, the highest number of projects – 13 – were water resource projects, 8 were industry projects, and 7 were mine projects.

The following represents the nature of projects chosen in each State for primary data collection:

Andhra Pradesh – 9 projects	Chhattisgarh – 6 projects
8 water resource projects 1 mine project	2 water resource projects 2 industry projects 1 mine project 1 government administration project
Jharkhand – 7 projects	Orissa – 6 projects
2 industry projects 1 water resource project 4 mine projects	1 water resource project 4 industry projects 1 mine project

1.3.3. Demographic Profile of the Respondents – For the purpose of this study, respondents are categorised into five groups – SC, ST, PVTG, OBC, and General/ Others. The sample consists of STs in majority (51%) followed by OBCs (20%). It is quite significant that PVTG constitutes 11 percent of the total sample.

The following tabulation shows the number of males and females among the total respondents interviewed. As is apparent, males are more in number than females among the respondents because of the difficulties researchers faced in drawing women out.

State	Total respondents	Male	Female
Andhra Pradesh	310	220	90
Percentage		70.96	29.03
Chhattisgarh	503	450	53
Percentage		89.46	10.53
Jharkhand	475	427	48
Percentage		89.89	10.10
Orissa	429	372	57
Percentage		86	14
Total	1717	1469	248
<i>Percentage</i>		<i>85.55</i>	<i>14.49</i>

The State-wise demographic profile of respondents indicating their social group membership and age is as follows:

(a) Andhra Pradesh

Social group	Number/percentage
Tribals	159 (51%)
PVTG	144 (46%)
SC	5
OBC	2
General/Others	-

Age group	Number/percentage
20-29	12.6%
30-39	101 (32.6%)
40-49	90 (29%)
50-59	11%
Above 60	13.6%

(b) Chhattisgarh

Social group	Number/percentage
ST	220 (43.73%)
SC	43 (8.54%)
OBC	157 (31.12%)
General/Others	83 (16.5%)

Age group	Number/percentage
20-29	31
30-39	107
40-49	162 (32%)
50-59	160 (31.81%)
Above 60	40

(c) Jharkhand

Social group	Number/percentage
Tribals	378 (79.57%)
PVTG	2
SC	11
OBC	68
General/Others	16

Age group	Number/percentage
15-19	16
20-29	91
30-39	127 (26.47%)
40-49	135 (28.42%)
50-59	71
Above 60	35

(d) Orissa

Social group	Number/percentage
Tribals	127 (29.60%)
PVTG	40 (9.32%)
SC	67
OBC	109
General/Others	86

Age group	Number/percentage
15-19	13
20-29	85
30-39	147
40-49	84
50-59	63
Above 60	37

Fig. 2.2.1: State-wise demographic status of the respondents

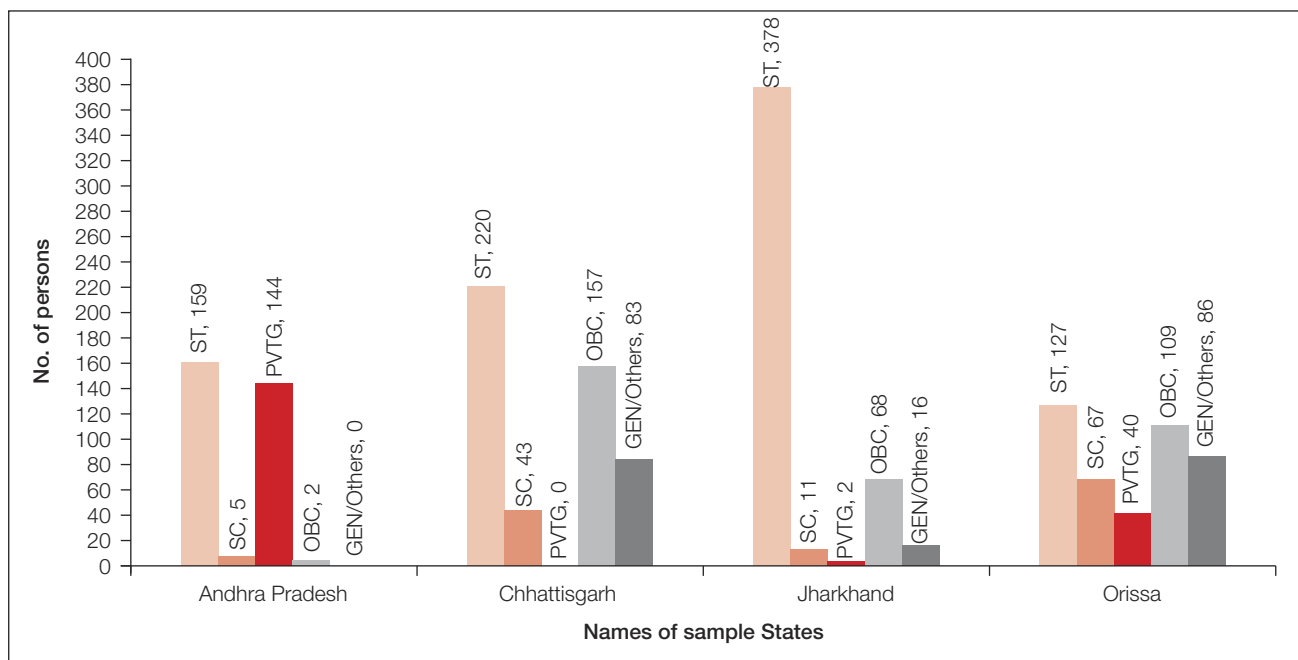
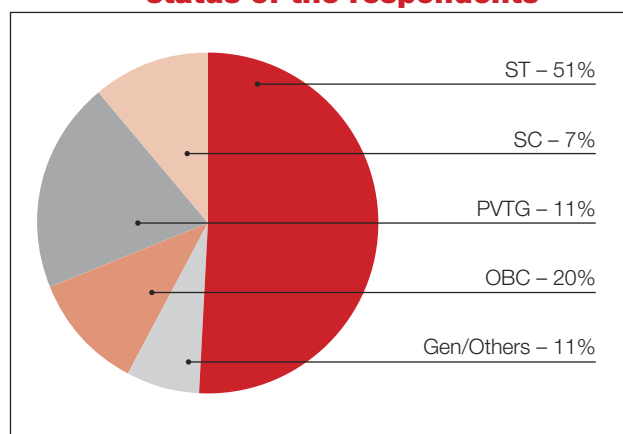


Fig. 2.2.2: Consolidated demographic status of the respondents



2. Limitations of the Study

2.1. Gazette Notifications

The efforts of the researchers who were a part of this study were to obtain all gazette notifications for the period 1947-2007. However, this was not entirely

possible due to various factors including the loss/misplacement of notifications and the newly formed status of States like Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh.

<i>Gazette Notifications were not available for all years. Therefore, the period under study is as follows:</i>	
Andhra Pradesh	1996-2007
Chhattisgarh	1924, 1934, 1982-1990, 1991-2007
Jharkhand	1947-1950, 1993-2007
Orissa	1991-2007

2.2. Extrapolation of Data Relating to DP/PAP

Most gazette notifications until 1990 give data on private land acquired, and not on the acquisition of common revenue land and forest land. Gazette notifications also did not show data on the number and/or caste/tribe status of DP/PAP and their resettlement. Some of this information was collected later from the Land



Acquisition Office of the district concerned. However, constraints of time prevented researchers from obtaining comprehensive secondary data from the Land Acquisition Offices. Much of this data thus had to be extrapolated from information collected from research institutions, government organisations, documentation centres, libraries and knowledgeable persons in the areas under study.

2.3. Paucity of Earlier Studies and Access to Information

With the exception of the Fernandes Report, no other study had been conducted on development related displacement of tribal and other vulnerable communities in the eastern belt of the country. Thus, the study had to rely almost exclusively on official sources for information.

Access to official sources was often difficult. In some cases, access was obtained to the land records of the collectorates in some districts which was cancelled after a couple of days for undisclosed reasons. In some cases where permission to access official records was obtained from officials higher up in the bureaucracy, officials at the lower level denied access. In the process of data collection, a major hurdle was posed by government and company officials in charge of implementing the project, some of whom even threatened the researchers and investigators with dire consequences if they tried to meet displaced people in the colonies. They suspected that the researchers were instigating people to resist the projects.

The other problem was also of inadequacy of documentation on the various projects in the States. As Table 2.1 reveals, for instance, information obtained on the projects in Phases 1 and 2 were not proportionate – while government documents showed a large number of projects under various project categories, this was not always borne out by gazette notifications.

2.4. Constraints of Time

A major limitation was the scope and extent of the study which meant that it was conducted over a long period of time thus resulting in variables of access, change of information sources and so on which could not always be controlled. The time period which was the focus of the study also showed considerable variation – while studies on displacement had been conducted in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand and Orissa in the past, this was the first time such a study was ever conducted in Chhattisgarh and therefore a larger time frame was adopted for the study.

2.5. Constraints in Sample Selection

As will be noticed from Section 1.3.3, the percentage of female respondents is merely 14 percent as opposed to male respondents who constituted 86 percent. This is due to the fact that women were reluctant to be drawn into public interviews as also were unresponsive to male researchers. Every attempt was made to get female researchers to reach out to the female members of these communities but the limited number of female researchers proved to be a problem.

Profile of the States

The eastern zone of India, which includes the four sample States of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa, is very rich in natural resources. It also happens to be the homeland of a large number of tribal groups. In this chapter, the profile of each State in two respects – (i) general features (including demographic profile and resources of the States), and (ii) human development indicators – will be briefly considered to help contextualise and situate the study better.

1. General Features

1.1. Proportion of Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes in the Total Population

Table 3.1 shows the share of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the total population of the four States from 1951 to 2001. As the Census 2001 reveals, Scheduled Tribes accounted for 84.32 million, equivalent to 8.2 percent of the country's total population. Of the total tribal population, Andhra Pradesh has 5,024,104 Scheduled Tribe members

(amounting to 6.6%), Chhattisgarh has 6,616,596 (31.78%), Orissa has 8,577,276 (22.2%) and Jharkhand has 7,087,068 (26.3%). The four States together thus have 2,73,05,044 tribals which constitutes 32 percent of the total tribal population in India.

1.1.1. Andhra Pradesh

The SC population in the State has shown an increase from 13.82 percent of the total State population in 1961, to 14.87 percent in 1981 and to 15.93 percent in 1991. Similarly, the ST population has also shown an increase from 3.68 percent in 1951 to 3.81 percent in 1961 and to 5.93 percent in 1971. As per the 2001 Census, the ST population of Andhra Pradesh is currently 6.6 percent of the total population of the State.

1.1.2. Madhya Pradesh/Chhattisgarh

In Madhya Pradesh, the ST population increased from 11.66 percent in 1951 to 20.63 percent in 1961, then showing a slight decrease to 20.14 percent in 1971. There was a period of growth – from 22.97 percent



Table 3.1: Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1951-2001)

State	Census 1951	Census 1961	Census 1971	Census 1981	Census 1991	Census 2001
Andhra Pradesh/ Hyderabad						
1. State population	18655108	35983447	43502708	53549673	66508008	76,210007
2. SC population	2800184 (15.01)	4973616 (13.82)	5774548 (13.27)	7961730 (14.87)	10592066 (15.93)	12339496 (16.2)
3. ST population	354933 (1.90)	1324368 (3.68)	1657657 (3.81)	3176001 (5.93)	4199481 (6.31)	5024104 (6.63)
4. Other communities/ general	15499991 (83.09)	29685463 (82.50)	36070503 (82.92)	42411942 (79.20)	51716461 (77.76)	58846407 (77.2)
Bihar/Jharkhand						Jharkhand
1. State population	40225947	46447457	56353369	69914734	86374465	26945829
2. SC population	5057812 (12.57)	6504966 (14.00)	7950652 (14.11)	10142368 (14.51)	12571700 (14.56)	3189320 (11.84)
3. ST population	4049183 (10.07)	4204784 (9.05)	4932767 (8.75)	5810867 (8.31)	6616914 (7.66)	7087068 (26.34)
4. Other communities/ general	31118952 (77.36)	35737707 (76.94)	43469950 (77.14)	53961499 (77.18)	67185851 (77.78)	16669441 (61.86)
Madhya Pradesh/Chhattisgarh						Chhattisgarh
1. State population	21247533	32372408	41654119	52178844	66181170	20833803
2. SC population	2898968 (13.64)	4253024 (13.14)	5453690 (13.09)	7358533 (14.10)	9626679 (14.54)	2418722 (11.6)
3. ST population	2477024 (11.66)	6678410 (20.63)	8387403 (20.14)	11987031 (22.97)	15399034 (23.27)	6616596 (31.8)
4. Other communities/ general	15871541 (74.70)	21440974 (66.23)	27813026 (66.77)	32833280 (62.92)	41155457 (62.19)	11798485 (56.6)
Orissa						
1. State population	14645946	17548846	21944615	26370271	31659736	36804660
2. SC population	2630763 (17.96)	2763858 (15.75)	3310854 (15.09)	3865543 (14.66)	5129314 (16.20)	6082063 (16.5)
3. ST population	2967334 (20.26)	4223757 (24.07)	5071937 (23.11)	5915067 (22.43)	7032214 (22.21)	8145081 (22.1)
4. Other communities/ general	9047849 (61.78)	10561231 (60.18)	13561824 (61.80)	16589661 (62.91)	19498208 (61.59)	22577516 (61.2)
India						
1. State population	356879394	439234771	548159652	683329097	846302688	1028610328
2. SC population	51343898 (14.39)	64417366 (14.67)	80005398 (14.60)	104754622 (15.33)	138223277 (16.33)	166635700 (16.2)
3. ST population	19116498 (5.36)	29879249 (6.80)	37998041 (6.93)	51628638 (7.56)	67758380 (8.01)	84326240 (8.2)
4. Other communities/ general	286418998 (80.25)	344938156 (78.53)	430156213 (78.47)	526945837 (77.11)	640321031 (75.66)	7776483.88 (75.6)

in 1981 to 23.27 percent in 1991 – with another subsequent steep decline to 20.3 percent in 2001. The State of Chhattisgarh, which was carved out of the State of Madhya Pradesh in 2000, recorded 31.8 percent of ST population in the 2001 Census.

1.1.3. Bihar/Jharkhand

In Bihar, while the SC population increased from 12.57 percent in 1951 to 14.56 percent in 1991, the ST population declined drastically from 10.07 percent in 1951 to 0.90 percent in 2001. The newly created State of Jharkhand, which was bifurcated from Bihar in

2000, recorded 26.34 percent of ST population in the 2001 Census.

1.1.4. Orissa

In Orissa, the SC population declined from 17.96 percent in 1951 to 15.75 percent in 1961 and to 15.09 percent in 1971. It showed a further decline to 14.66 percent in 1981 but then rose to 16.20 percent in 1991. The ST population in Orissa in the last 60 years showed a *consistent decline*, from 24.07 percent in 1961, to 23.11 percent in 1971, 22.43 percent in 1981, 22.21 percent in 1991 and finally 22.1 percent as per 2001.

Consolidated Data on SC/ST Population in India

At the all India level, both social groups – SC and ST – have shown considerable increase in their population. Thus, while the SC population was 14.39 percent of the total population of the country in 1951, it rose to 14.67 percent in 1961, declining slightly to 14.60 percent in 1971, and then rising again to 15.33 percent in 1981, and 16.33 percent in 1991. Similarly, the ST population rose from 5.36 percent of the total population in 1951, to 6.80 percent in 1961, 6.93 percent in 1971, to 7.56 percent in 1981, 8.01 percent in 1991 and finally to 8.2% in 2001.

1.2. Demographic Profile

The key demographic features of each of the four sample States as per the 2001 Census are as follows:

Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh
Total Population – 76,210,007	Total Population – 20,833,803
Scheduled Castes – 12,339,496 (16.20%)	Scheduled Castes – 2,418,722 (11.60%)
Scheduled Tribes – 5,024,104 (6.60%)	Scheduled Tribes – 6,616,596 (31.80%)
Males – 38,527,413	Males – 10,474,218
Females – 37,682,594	Females – 10,359,585
Rural Population – 55,223,944 (72.92%)	Rural Population – 16,667,042 (80.00%)
Urban Population – 20,503,597 (27.08%)	Urban Population – 41,66,761 (20.00%)
Sex Ratio (Females Per Thousand Males) – 978	Sex Ratio (Females Per Thousand Males) – 989
Density of Population (Per Square km.) – 275	Density of Population (Per Square km.) – 151
Jharkhand	Orissa
Total Population – 26,945,829	Total Population – 36,804,660
Scheduled Castes – 3,189,320 (11.84%)	Scheduled Castes – 6,082,063 (16.50%)
Scheduled Tribes – 7,087,068 (26.34%)	Scheduled Tribes – 8,145,081 (22.10%)
Males – 13,861,277	Males – 18,612,340
Females – 13,048,151	Females – 18,094,580
Rural Population – 20,952,088 (77.75%)	Rural Population – 31,287,422 (85.10%)
Urban Population – 5,993,741 (22.25%)	Urban Population – 55,17,238 (14.90%)
Sex Ratio (Females Per Thousand Males) – 941	Sex Ratio (Females Per Thousand Males) – 972
Density of Population (per sq. km.) – 338	Density of Population (per Sq. km.) – 236

1.3. Tribal Groups

1.3.1. Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh is the traditional home of 33 tribal groups, which are notified as Scheduled Tribes. The main tribal groups are Chenchus of Nallamalai hills (mainly hunters and gatherers), Banjaras, Lambadas and Goudus (mainly pastorals), Yerukula, Yanadi, and Sugali or Lambada. The tribal population constitutes 6.6 percent of the total population of the State.

1.3.2. Chhattisgarh

The main tribal groups in Chhattisgarh are Abuj Mariha, Baiga, Birhor, Hill Korba, Kamar, Koya, Gotu Koya, Kol, Oraons, Kodakus and Gond.

1.3.3. Jharkhand

Jharkhand has 31 primitive tribal groups – Munda, Santhal, Oraon, Gond, Kol, Kanwar, Savar, Asur, Baiga, Banjara, Bathudi, Bedia, Binjhia, Birhor, Birjia, Chero, Chick-Baraik, Gorait, Ho, Karmali, Kharwar, Khond, Kisan, Kora, Korwa, Lohra, Mahli, Mal-Paharia, Parhaiya, Sauria-Paharia and Bhumij.

1.3.4. Orissa

The State has a total of 62 Scheduled Tribe communities enumerated in the 2001 Census. 13 out of these 62 communities have been identified and declared as primitive tribal groups. In the State context, the tribal population is predominantly rural, with 85.10 percent residing in villages. Some of the major tribals are Kondh, Bhumij, Bhuiya, Oraon, Santal and Munda.

1.4 Natural Resources

The following represent the key natural resources in the four sample States:

Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh
<p>Total Area – 275,000 sq. km.</p> <p>Forest Area – 63814 sq. km.</p> <p>Rivers – Nearly 75 percent of area is covered by the river basins of Godavari, Krishna and Pennar, and their tributaries. There are 17 smaller rivers like the Sarada, Nagavali Yeleru, Gundlakamma, Paleru, Munneru, Kunleru and Musi, as well as several streams.</p> <p>Rainfall – High average rainfall (925 mm.)</p> <p>Minerals – Second largest store house of minerals in India. 48 minerals are found like manganese, asbestos, iron ore, ball clay, fire clay, gold, diamonds, graphite, dolomite, quartz, and good resources of oil and natural gas.</p>	<p>Total Area – 443,000 sq. km</p> <p>Forest Area – 59772.389 sq. km.</p> <p>Rivers – Important rivers flow through the State including the Mahanadi, Sheonath, Indravati, Arpa, Hasdeo, Kelo, Son, Rehar, Kanhar etc. with 137, 360 sq. km. of the State's land falling in river basin area.</p> <p>Rainfall – Average rainfall approx. 1400 mm.</p> <p>Minerals – Substantial deposits of limestone, iron-ore, copper ore, rock phosphate, manganese ore, bauxite, coal, asbestos and mica. Chhattisgarh is one of the mineral rich States of India. It contains about 525 million tonnes of dolomite reserves, accounting for 24 percent of the country's share. It has healthy bauxite reserves of an estimated 73 million tonnes, impressive reserves of iron ore at about 2,000 million tonnes and coal at 29,000 million tonnes. Tin ore reserves exceed 27,000 million tonnes.</p>
Jharkhand	Orissa
<p>Total area – 79, 714 sq. km.</p> <p>Forest Area – 23,605 sq. km. Forests and woodlands occupy more than 29 percent of the State which is amongst the highest in India.</p> <p>Rivers – Several rivers pass through Jharkhand, though the Ganga and its tributaries play a dominant role. Other rivers include Damodar, the Suvarnarekha, the Barakar and the Koel.</p> <p>Rainfall – Annual average rainfall 1400 mm.</p> <p>Minerals – Rich mineral resources like uranium, mica, bauxite, granite, gold, silver, graphite, magnetite, dolomite, fireclay, quartz, feldspar, coal (32% of India), iron, copper (25% of India)</p>	<p>Total Area – 155,707 sq. km.</p> <p>Forest Area – Approx 48374 sq. km.</p> <p>Rivers – 4 groups of 14 rivers such as Subarnarekha, Brahmani, Mahanadi, Budhabalanga, Baitarini, Salandi etc. as well as lakes such as Chillika, Ansupa and Kanjia.</p> <p>Rainfall – High average rainfall (1482 mm)</p> <p>Minerals – Rich reserves of minerals such as bauxite, iron ore, manganese, granites, gem stones, mineral sands etc.</p>

2. Human Development Indicators

The **Human Development Index (HDI)** is an index combining normalised measures of life expectancy, literacy, educational attainment, and GDP per capita for countries worldwide. It is claimed as a standard means of measuring human development — a concept that, according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), refers to the process of widening the options for people, giving them greater opportunities for education, health care, income, employment, etc. The basic use of HDI is to rank countries by level of “human development”, which usually also implies to determine whether a country is a developed,

developing, or underdeveloped country. The HDI combines three basic dimensions:

- Life expectancy at birth, as an index of population health and longevity
- Knowledge and education, as measured by the adult literacy rate (with two-thirds weighting) and the combined primary, secondary, and tertiary gross enrollment ratio (with one-third weighting)
- Standard of living, as measured by the natural logarithm of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita at purchasing power parity (PPP) in United States dollars.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_Development_Index

Table 3.2: Human development index in sample States (1981-2001)

State	1981		1991		2001	
	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank
Andhra Pradesh	0.298	9	0.377	9	0.416	10
Chhattisgarh	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Jharkhand	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Orissa	0.267	11	0.345	12	0.404	11
India	0.302	-	0.381	-	0.472	-

Source: Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 5459, dated 17.05.2002

Mere economic indicators do not help us understand the social health of a country or society – high economic growth rates do not indicate that a country is ‘developed’ in real terms if it has a poor record in human rights, gender sensitivity and social justice issues. The HDI described above seeks to add a qualitative dimension to mere economic indicators and as such takes into account such conditions as life expectancy, literacy and standard of living. Table 3.2 gives the HDI for the four sample States. The HDI has, however, been criticised for its blindness to gender concerns and concerns of social justice and human rights. For the purposes of the current study, a few indicators of development have been chosen for analysis in each of the four study States.

2.1. Per Capita Income

Per capita income refers to how much each individual were to receive, in monetary terms, of the yearly income generated in the country, if such income were to be divided equally. It is one of the main economic indicators of development and points out whether there are enough resources to take care of basic human needs and provide for the means of progress such as education, health and other civic amenities.

State	Per capita income (1965-66)	Per capita income (2001-02)
Andhra Pradesh	Rs. 387	Rs. 16373
Madhya Pradesh/Chhattisgarh	Rs. 298	Rs. 10803
Bihar/Jharkhand	Rs. 332	Rs. 5108
Orissa	Rs. 329	Rs. 8547

Within a period of 30 years (from 1965-66 to 2001-02), there has been a steady growth in the per capita income of the States at the end of each Five Year Plan. Out of the four States, the growth rate has been the highest in Andhra Pradesh and the lowest in Bihar. (Source: Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 3255, dated 12.03.2003)

Table 3.3 reveals the State-wise per capita income and Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) in India in the periods 1993-94 and 1999-2000. As per the above data, the compound annual growth rate of GSDP has been the highest (5.40) percent in Andhra Pradesh, which is less than the growth rate of India (6.60%). The annual growth rate of GSDP in Chhattisgarh (2.90%), Jharkhand (3.40%) and Orissa (3.60%) is much lower than the national average.

Table 3.3: State-wise per capita income & GSDP in India (1993-94 & 1999-2000)

State	Per capita income in Rs. (1993-94 prices)		Compound annual average growth rate of GDSP*
	1993-94	1999-2000	1993-94 to 1999-2000
Andhra Pradesh	7447	9457	5.40%
Chhattisgarh	6539	6692	2.90%
Jharkhand	5898	6651	3.40%
Orissa	4797	5265	3.60%
India	7690	10068	6.60%

Note: For the States, per capita incomes are defined as Per Capita Net State Domestic Product, for all of India; Per Capita Net National Product (NNP) is the Measure of Per Capita Income. *For all India, Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Source: Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 1045, dated 27.02.2003

2.2. Poverty

The trend of households below poverty line (BPL) in *Andhra Pradesh* is 25.68 percent. It should be noted that the number of BPL households in *Andhra Pradesh* in 1995 was 156.43 lakh, which rose to 158.21 lakh in 1999. As of September 2, 2002, the percentage of BPL households in proportion to the total population was 4.77 percent in comparison to the Indian average of 5.51 percent.

The data on the percentage of population below poverty line in *Orissa* is revealing. On the one hand, while there is a huge gap in the percentage of BPL category between rural and urban population, there is a big difference between the BPL percentages of *Orissa* and *India* as a whole. While the rural BPL percentage in *Orissa* has been 67.28 percent and urban 55.62 percent in 1973-74, in 1990-2000 it has come down to 48.01 percent in rural areas and 42.83 percent in urban areas. The BPL percentage at the all *India* level (54.88%) is lower than in *Orissa* where the BPL percentage is 66.18 percent in the period 1973-74.

A comparative study of the number and percentage of population living below poverty line in 2006-07 shows that while in *Andhra Pradesh*, 68.72 lakh persons (8.49%) are below poverty line, in *Orissa* the size of the BPL category is much larger, that is 162.69 lakh (41.04%). (Source: *ISI Archives*)

Table 3.4 shows the social group wise percentage of population below poverty line. Scheduled tribes in rural areas have higher numbers below poverty line and are considerably disadvantaged in urban areas as well.

2.3. Literacy and Sex Ratio

Education is an important HDI indicator. As indicated in Table 3.4, the literacy rate of SC and ST at the State and national levels is quite low. Among them, tribal women (whether in comparison with their caste/tribe group or in comparison with women in general) have



the lowest literacy rate. As is evident from Tables 3.5 and 3.6, there is a considerable gap between literate males and females as also between urban and rural literacy. Table 3.5 reveals that the sex ratio among tribals is healthier than the all *India* average.

2.4. Civic Facilities

The availability of the civic facilities to ST households in all four States is reported to be quite low. These facilities include drinking water, electricity and latrine.

Drinking water and sanitation is a major problem in the tribal areas. For instance, during the 2007 monsoon, hundreds of tribal people died of cholera in *Orissa*. In these areas, either there are no hand pumps or even if installed these are dysfunctional and the community is forced to drink contaminated river water. Facility for latrine is nearly absent and majority of villages are not electrified.

Table 3.4: Percentage of population (social groups wise) below poverty line (2004-05)

States	Rural				Urban			
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	ST	SC	OBC	Others
Andhra Pradesh	30.5	15.4	9.5	4.1	50.0	39.9	28.9	20.6
Chhattisgarh	54.7	32.7	33.9	29.2	41.0	52.0	52.7	21.4
Jharkhand	54.2	57.9	40.2	37.1	45.1	47.2	19.1	9.2
Orissa	75.6	50.2	36.9	23.4	61.8	72.6	50.2	28.9
All India	47.2	36.8	26.7	16.1	33.3	39.9	31.4	16.0

Table 3.5: Literacy rates of SC & ST in India (Census 1991 & 2001)

States	1991 Census						2001 Census					
	SC			ST			SC			ST		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Andhra Pradesh	31.59	41.88	20.92	17.16	25.25	8.68	63.51	43.35	53.52	47.66	26.11	37.04
Chhattisgarh	-	-	-	-	-	-	78.7	49.22	63.96	65.04	39.35	52.09
Jharkhand	-	-	-	-	-	-	51.59	22.55	37.56	53.98	27.21	40.67
Orissa	36.78	52.42	20.74	22.31	34.44	10.21	70.47	40.33	55.53	51.48	23.37	37.37
India	37.41	49.91	23.76	29.6	40.65	18.1	66.64	41.9	54.69	59.17	34.76	47.1

Table 3.6: ST population, literacy & sex ratio in samples States (2001)

State		General Population			Lit	Sex	ST			Lit	Sex
		P%	M%	F%	%	R	P%	M%	F%	%	R
AP	T	76210007 7.4%	38527413 50.6%	37682594 49.4%	P 60.5	978	5024104 6.6%	2548295 6.6%	2475809 6.57%	P 30.7	972
	R	55401067 72.7%	27937204 50.4%	27463863 49.6%	M 70.3		4646923 8.4%	2353939 8.4%	2292984 8.3%	M 39.5	
	U	20808940 27.3%	10590209 50.9%	10218731 49.1%	F 50.4		377181 1.8%	194356 1.8%	182825 1.7%	F 21.6	
CG	T	20833803 2.03%	10474218 50.3%	10359585 49.7%	P 64.7	989	6616596 31.7%	3287334 31.4%	3329262 32.2%	P 42.7	1013
	R	16648056 79.9%	8307443 49.9.0%	8340613 50.1%	M 77.4		6264835 37.6 %	3106086 37.4 %	3158749 37.8 %	M 53.3	
	U	4185747 20.1%	2166775 51.7%	2018972 48.3%	F 51.9		351761 8.4 %	181248 8.4 %	170513 8.5 %	F 32.3	
JKH	T	26945829 2.6%	13885037 51.5%	13060792 48.5%	P 53.6	941	7087068 26.3%	3565960 25.7%	3521108 27.0%	P 33.0	987
	R	20952088 77.7%	10679596 51%	10272492 49.0%	M 67.3		6500014 31.0%	3267181 30.6%	3232833 31.5%	M 43.8	
	U	5993741 22.3%	3205441 53.5%	2788300 46.5%	F 38.9		587054 9.8%	298779 9.4%	288275 10.4%	F 22.1	
ORI	T	36804660 3.6%	18660570 50.7%	18144090 49.3%	P 63.1	972	8145081 22.1%	4066783 21.8%	407829 22.5%	P 30.8	1003
	R	31287422 85.0%	15748970 50.3%	15538452 49.7%	M 75.3		7698358 94.5%	3837410 49.8%	3860948 50.2%	M 42.3	
	U	5517238 15.0%	2911600 52.8%	2605638 47.2%	F 50.5%		446723 8.0%	229373 51.3%	217350 48.7%	F 19.3	
India	T	1028610328	532156772 51.7%	496453556 48.3%	P 64.8	933	84326240 8.2%	42640829 8.0%	41685411 8.4%	P 38.4	978
	R	742490639 72.2%	381602674 51.4%	360887965 48.6%	M 75.2		77338597 10.4%	39045650 10.3%	38292947 10.6%	M 48.2	
	U	286119689 27.8%	150554098 52.6%	135565591 47.4%	F 53.6		6987643 2.5%	3595179 2.4%	3392464 2.5%	F 28.4	

2.5. Work Participation Rate

From the point of view of work, the entire population of India can be divided into two categories – the first category is of those who are workers or are economically active, and the second category is of those who are

non-workers or who are not economically active. 'Workers' in the Census of India are defined as those who produce economic goods or perform economic services. Moreover, main workers are those who work for six months or more in a year. Those workers are

considered as 'marginal' workers who work for less than six months. These two categories are called 'total workers'. On the other hand, housewives, students, retired persons, beggars and other dependants constitute non-workers (Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India 1971:123-24). In some cases, the definition of workers has been changed to include those housewives whose contribution to the economy is recognised to some extent. It should be

remembered that a vast majority of the population is engaged in informal economy without any recognition to their contribution to production. However, things are changing and their contribution is also slowly getting recognition as 'main work'.

Tables 3.7 and 3.8 present the worker data profile of the selected States with special reference to the Scheduled Tribes vis-à-vis the general population.

Table 3.7: ST worker data profile in sample States (2001)

State	General population			ST			
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	
AP	Total workers	34893859 45.8%	21662192 56.2%	13231667 35.1%	2705636 53.9%	1418849 55.7%	1286787 52.0%
	Main workers	29040873 38.1%	19455492 50.5%	9585381 25.4%	2146002 42.7%	1222118 48.0%	923884 37.3%
	Marginal workers	5852986 7.7%	2206700 5.7%	3646286 9.7%	559634 11.1%	196731 7.7%	362903 14.7%
	Non-workers	41316148 54.2%	16865221 43.8%	24450927 64.9%	2318468 46.1%	1129446 44.3%	1189022 48.0%
CG	Total workers	9679871 46.5 %	5531859 52.8 %	4148012 40.0%	3534195 53.4%	1864045 56.7%	1670150 50.2%
	Main workers	7054595 33.9%	4742935 45.3%	2311660 22.3%	2381916 36.0%	1553293 47.3%	828623 24.9%
	Marginal workers	2625276 12.6%	788924 7.5%	1836352 17.7%	1152279 17.4%	310752 9.5%	841527 25.3%
	Non-workers	11153932 53.5%	4942359 47.2%	6211573 60.0%	3082401 46.6%	1423289 43.3%	1659112 49.8%
JKH	Total workers	10109030 37.5%	6659856 48.0%	3449174 26.4%	3280434 46.3%	1850860 51.9	1429574 40.6%
	Main workers	6446782 23.9%	5134067 37.0%	1312715 10.1%	1949462 27.5%	1362912 38.2%	586550 16.7%
	Marginal workers	3662248 13.6%	1526789 11.0%	2136459 16.4%	1330972 18.8%	487948 13.7%	843024 23.9%
	Non-workers	16836799 62.5%	7225181 52.0%	9611618 73.6%	3806634 53.7%	1715100 48.1%	2091534 59.4%
ORI	Total workers	14276488 38.8%	9802006 52.5%	447442 24.7%	3990007 49.0%	2226837 54.8%	1763170 43.2%
	Main workers	9589269 26.1%	8004740 42.9%	1584529 8.7%	2288475 28.1%	1687439 41.5%	601036 14.7%
	Marginal workers	4687219 12.7%	1797266 9.6%	2889953 15.9%	1701532 20.9%	539398 13.3%	1162134 28.5%
	Non-workers	22528172 61.2%	8858564 47.5%	13669608 75.3%	4155074 51.0%	1839946 45.2%	2315128 56.8%
India	Total workers	402234724 39.1%	275014476 51.7%	127220248 25.6%	41369321 49.1%	22683728 53.2%	18685593 44.8%
	Main workers	313004983 30.4%	240147813 45.1%	72857170 14.7%	28516480 33.8%	18562153 43.5%	9954327 23.9%
	Marginal workers	89229741 8.7%	34866663 6.6%	54363078 11.0%	12852841 15.2%	4121575 9.7%	8731266 20.9%
	Non-workers	626375604 60.9%	257142296 48.3%	369233308 74.4%	42956919 50.9%	19957101 46.8%	22999818 55.2%

Source: Census of India, 2001

Table 3.7 shows that in *Andhra Pradesh*, ST workers are 53.9 percent of whom male workers constitute 55.7 percent and female workers constitute 52 percent. Marginal workers among STs are 11.1 percent. The number of non-workers among STs in the State is very high (46.1%) of whom 44.3 percent are males and 48 percent are females. In *Chhattisgarh*, the total percentage of ST workers

was much higher than in *Andhra Pradesh* with 53.4 percent, of whom males and females constituted 56.7 percent and 50.2 percent respectively. ST workers in *Jharkhand* constituted 46.3 percent of the total work force of which 51.9 percent and 40.6 percent were males and females respectively, thus constituting a lower percentage than in *Chhattisgarh*. In *Orissa*, ST workers were 49 percent of the total

Table 3.8: ST sector-wise labour in sample States (2001)

State		General population			ST		
		P%	M%	F%	P%	M%	F%
AP	Cultivators	7859534 22.5%	5201564 24.0%	2657970 20.1%	928354 34.3%	550401 38.8%	377953 29.4%
	Agricultural labourers	13832152 39.6%	6453741 29.8%	7378411 55.8%	1322950 49.3%	581197 41.0%	751753 58.4%
	Workers in household industries	1642105 4.7%	710222 3.3%	931883 7.0%	80038 3.0%	35435 2.5%	44603 3.5%
	Other workers	11560068 33.1%	9296665 42.9%	2263403 17.1%	364294 13.5%	251816 17.7%	112478 8.7%
CG	Cultivators	4311131 44.5%	2466477 44.6%	1844654 44.5%	2000510 56.6%	1154100 61.9%	846410 50.7%
	Agricultural labourers	3091358 31.9%	1262559 22.8%	1828799 44.1%	1155609 32.7%	452701 24.3%	702908 42.1%
	Workers in household industries	198691 2.1%	115860 2.1%	82831 2.0%	41294 1.2%	21357 1.1%	19937 1.2%
	Other workers	2078691 21.5%	1686963 30.5%	391728 9.4%	336782 9.5%	235887 12.7%	100895 6.0%
JKH	Cultivators	3889506 38.5%	2405371 36.1%	1484135 43.0%	1724473 52.6%	1011615 54.7%	712858 49.9%
	Agricultural labourers	2851297 28.2%	1485322 22.3%	1365975 39.6%	1016123 31.0%	475216 25.7%	540907 37.8%
	Workers in household industry	430965 4.3%	237466 3.6%	193499 5.6%	96902 3.0%	47601 2.6%	49301 3.4%
	Other workers	2937262 29.1%	2531697 38.0%	405565 11.8%	442936 13.5%	316428 17.1%	126508 8.8%
ORI	Cultivators	4247661 29.8%	3347691 34.2%	899970 20.1%	1330518 33.3%	943943 42.4%	386575 21.9%
	Agricultural labourers	4999104 35.0%	2587196 26.4%	241190 53.9%	1869452 46.9%	828276 37.2%	1041176 59.1%
	Workers in household industry	701563 4.9%	320011 3.3%	381552 8.5%	190174 4.8%	46658 2.1%	143516 8.1%
	Other workers	4328160 30.3%	3547108 36.2%	781052 17.5%	599863 15.0%	407960 18.3%	191903 10.9%
India	Cultivators	127312851 31.7%	85416498 31.1%	41896353 32.9%	18494338 44.7%	10800962 47.6%	7693375 41.2%
	Agricultural labourers	106775330 26.5%	57329100 20.8%	49446230 38.9%	15246483 36.9%	6866494 30.3%	9379989 44.8%
	Workers in household industries	16956942 4.2%	8744183 3.2%	8212759 6.5%	879608 2.1%	334103 1.5%	545505 2.9%
	Other workers	151189601 37.6%	123524695 44.9%	27664906 21.7%	6748892 16.3%	4682169 20.6%	2066723 11.1%

Source: Census of India, 2001

Table 3.9: Incidence of crimes against SCs & STs in sample States (2001)

States	Murder	Rape	Kidnapping & abduction	Dacoity	Robbery	Arson	Hurt	PCR Act	SC/ST (P) of atrocities act	Other crimes against SC	Total
A.P.	4	21	5	0	0	1	106	26	129	220	512
CG	18	87	5	1	7	1	63	2	6	296	486
JKH	20	22	6	0	4	64	28	0	20	118	282
ORI	4	28	6	0	2	4	124	4	153	409	734
India	167	573	67	16	73	108	756	58	1667	2732	6217

Source: Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 840, dated 10.12.2003

Initially the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 had been enacted to abolish the practice of untouchability and social disabilities arising out of it against members of the Scheduled Castes. It was amended later and it became the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955. Under the revised Act the practice of untouchability was made both cognizable and non-compoundable and stricter punishment was provided for the offenders. To check the commission of atrocities on SC and ST, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes

(Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, came into force on 31-1-90. The Act, inter alia, specifies some types of offences as atrocities, provides for imposition of stricter penalties for the guilty and setting up of Special Courts for speedy trial of such cases. The crimes under the PCRA were brought under the purview of the 1989 ACT as the latter provides for stricter punishment to the offenders, with steps taken to provide relief, rehabilitation to victims and for the setting up of Special Courts for cases registered under these Acts.

Source: 2nd Report of the National Commission for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes
<http://education.nic.in/cd50years/g/S/I6/0SI60701.htm>

work force, of whom female workers constitute 43.2 percent and male workers constitute 54.8 percent.

Table 3.8 presents data on sector-wise ST labour in the four sample States. The four main sectors represented are: cultivators, agricultural labourers, workers in household industries and other workers. Interestingly, the data in Table 3.8 reveals that a large number of ST workers are enumerated as 'cultivators' and 'agricultural labourers' demonstrating that more and more STs are dependent on hiring out their labour as their land is being taken away from them or because their subsistence agricultural methods are unable to sustain them anymore for the entire year.

2.6. Human Rights

Human rights violations against SC and ST communities are startlingly of a high order. As Table 3.9 demonstrates, there were a total of 6217 incidents of murder, rape, kidnapping, abduction, dacoity, robbery, arson, hurt, violations of Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 and other crimes against SC/ST in India. A comparative analysis of crimes committed against SC and ST shows that the maximum number of crimes against these marginalised groups (734) occurred



in the State of Orissa, followed by Andhra Pradesh (512). Chhattisgarh registered 486 such incidents. (Source: Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 840, dated 10.12.2003). However, if we were to take into consideration the elimination of ST through Salwa Judum (see Chapter 6 for a detailed description), which is nothing but an organized crime of the State, the percentage of crimes committed against STs will go up.

Patterns of Land Acquisition

We will not sell our God for your profit

Niyamgiri Suraksha Samiti, Orissa

The attempt in this chapter is to map the manner and extent of land acquisition through an analysis of 22,755 gazette notifications in the four States of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa.

Gazette Notifications for the various reasons stated in Chapter 2 were not available for all years. Therefore, the period under study is as follows:

Andhra Pradesh	1996-2007
Chhattisgarh	1924, 1934, 1982-1990, 1991-2007
Jharkhand	1947-1950, 1993-2007
Orissa	1991-2007

1. 'Development' Projects

1.1 Land Acquisition for Water Resource Projects (including irrigation, hydro-electrical dams, canals and their infrastructural facilities)

In this category irrigation and hydro-electrical dams, canals and their infrastructural facilities are included.

1.1.1 Andhra Pradesh

The irrigation projects in the State are, as in most other states, classified into three categories: major, medium and minor. The gazette notifications in Andhra Pradesh show that 2651.03 acres of land have been acquired for water resource schemes, among which predominant are irrigation projects. The land acquired for water resource projects district-wise is as below:

Table 4.1 Land acquisition for water resource projects in Andhra Pradesh (land in acres)

District	Notification issued in the year in acres		
	1996-2000	2001-06	Total
Adilabad	641.46	0	641.46
East Godavari	4.6		4.6
Karimnagar	115.26	0	115.26
Kurnool	181.55		181.55
Mahabubnagar	430.39		430.39
Nalgonda	1239.73	0	1239.73
Nizamabad	18.05		18.05
Prakasam	16.36	0.33	16.69
Warangal	3.3		3.30
Total	2650.7	0.33	2651.03

Source: Gazette Notification – 1996 - 2006



1.1.2 Chhattisgarh

A very high number of water resource projects were identified in the gazette notifications in Chhattisgarh within the given time frame as is shown in table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Land acquisition for water resource projects in Chhattisgarh (land in acres)

District	1924 & 1934	1982-1990	1991-2007	Total in acres
Bastar	NA	2025.00	1002.9	3027.90
Bilaspur	NA	41498.04	3790.87	45288.91
Dantewada	NA	NA	224.88	224.88
Dhamtari	NA	NA	121.24	121.24
Durg	NA	423.16	2766.49	3189.65
Janjgir-Champa	NA	36.32	10852.75	10889.07
Jaspur	NA	1.28	1040.89	1042.17
Kabirdham	NA	NA	1544.25	1544.25
Kanker	NA	NA	372.35	372.35
Korba	NA	NA	1026.26	1026.26
Koriya	NA	NA	153.94	153.94
Mahasamund	NA	NA	922.55	922.55
Raigarh	NA	78.56	1820.55	1899.11
Raipur	NA	1468.66	8575.73	10044.39
Rajnandgaon	NA	1860.31	3558.47	5418.78
Sarguja	6.13	1604.45	13655.42	15266.00
Total	6.13	48995.78	51429.54	100431.45

Source: Gazette Notification – 1924-2007

The available gazette notifications thus demonstrate the escalation of land acquisition from 6.13 acres in 1924 and 1934, to 48995.78 during 1982-90, to a total of 51429.54 acres during 1991-07, amounting to a total of 100431.45 acres of land acquired within the period under study. Clearly, as the data indicates, the quantities of land acquired have demonstrably risen in the post-liberalisation period.

Table 4.2.1: Acreage under acquisition

No. of water resource projects	Land acquired by each (in acres)
6275	Less than 1
8345	1-50
71	51-100
34	101-200
1	301-500
1	1001-1500
1	1501-2000
4	Above 2001

Source: Gazette Notification – 1924-2007

During the period under study, a total of 14,739 water resource projects were undertaken in Chhattisgarh. It is interesting to note the temporality of the notifications:

Under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894:
3 projects were notified in 1924 and 1934
2237 projects were notified in 1982-1990
12438 projects were notified in 1991-2007

Under the Forest Act, 1846:
27 projects were notified in 1982-1990
33 projects were notified in 1991-2007

Of the total 14739 water resource projects:

8655 projects were notified once
6078 projects were notified twice

1.1.3. Jharkhand

Data on land acquisition in Jharkhand for water resource projects was collected from Bihar gazettes prior to the creation of Jharkhand in 2000 and also from the Jharkhand gazettes after the new State came into existence.

As per the findings, there were 23 water resource projects notified for land acquisition under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 in Jharkhand. The district-wise distribution shows the notification of three projects in West Singhbhum, two in Bokaro and Ranchi respectively, and one each in Dumka, Hazaribagh, and Saraikela Kharsawan districts.

Table 4.3: Land acquisition for water resource projects in Jharkhand (land in acres)

District	1947-2007
Bokaro	76.37
Dhanbad	46.9
Dumka	11.66
Hazaribagh	225.2
Koderma	193.74
Palamau	21.35
Ranchi	245.24
Saraikela Kharsawan	13.65
West Singhbhum	46.42
Total	880.53

Source: Bihar, Jharkhand Gazette, 1947-2007

1.1.4. Orissa

The gazette notifications in this State demonstrate a very high rate of land acquisition during the period 1991-2007 for water resource projects, as is clear from the Table 4.4.

The Table 4.4 shows that out of the total 96160.76 acres of land acquired during 1991-2007, most of them fall under those districts which have *maximum tribal populations*, such as Sundergarh (25257.47 acres), Keonjhar (2589.66 acres), Kalahandi (6166.12 acres), and Rayagada (831.63 acres).

Table 4.4: Land acquisition for water resource projects in Orissa (land in acres)

District	Land in acres
Angul	2863.94
Balangir	15565.07
Balasore	151.99
Baragarh	1182.20
Bhadrakh	45.94
Boudh	504.41
Cuttack	376.63
Deogarh	74.87
Dhenkanal	5948.01
Gajapati	95.14
Ganjam	2034.71
Jagatsinghpur	881.44
Jajpur	107.99
Jharsuguda	199.68
Kalahandi	6166.12
Kandhamal	4.55
Kendrapara	271.74
Keonjhar	2589.66
Khurda	134.98
Koraput	1687.87
Malkangiri	319.83
Mayurbhanj	3162.66
Nawapara	23686.79
Navrangpura	286.17
Nayagarh	324.98
Puri	483.42
Rayagada	831.63
Sambalpur	879.90
Sonepur	40.98
Sundergarh	25257.47
Total	96160.76

Source: Orissa Gazette 1991-2006

Table 4.4.1: Acreage under acquisition

No. of Projects	Land acquired by each (in acres)
37	Less than 1
2449	1-50
94	51-100
58	101-200
17	201-300
27	301-500
9	501-1000
2	1001-5000
4	Above 5001

Table 4.4.2: Acreage under acquisition: key districts

No. of Projects	Land acquired by each (in acres)
<i>District of Angul</i>	
136	1-50
11	101-200
8	Less than 1, 51-100
<i>District of Balangir</i>	
127	1-50
12	51-100
<i>District of Dhenkanal</i>	
4	Less than 1
510	1-50
14	51-100
2	101-200

Water resource projects constitute the highest proportion of development projects in Orissa. In the state, Dhenkanal district has the largest number (554) of development projects and of these, almost 532 are water resource projects. Out of the 2704 water resource projects in the state notified in the years 1991-2007:

2699 come under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894
5 projects come under the Forest Act, 1846

1546 projects were notified once
1141 projects were notified twice





1.2. Industry Projects

1.2.1. Andhra Pradesh

Gazette notifications from 1996 to 2007, covering all major and medium industrial units across 15 districts, indicate the extent of land acquisition as below:

Table 4.5: Land acquisition for industry projects in Andhra Pradesh (land in acres)

District	1996 - 2000	2001 - 2006	Total
Cuddapah	0.03		0.03
East Godavari	147.50	114.8	262.30
Guntur	85.74	59.77	145.51
Karimnagar	23.04		23.04
Khammam	16.44		16.44
Krishna	776.60	111.20	887.79
Kurnool	6.29		6.29
Medak	12.7		12.7
Nellore	18.85		18.85
Prakasam	2	6.15	8.15
Rangareddy	46.68	21.67	68.35
Visakhapatnam	90.64	41.22	131.85
Vizianagaram	66.98		66.98
Warangal		2.55	2.55
West Godavari	239.28	1.1	240.38
Total	1532.76	358.45	1891.21

Source: District Gazettes, Andhra Pradesh, 1996-2006

During the period under study:

Highest land acquisition in the state was in Krishna district (887.79 acres)

Lowest land acquisition was in Cuddapah district (0.03 acres)

Of the total 170 industrial projects:

168 of these projects came under the purview of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894:

153 were notified in 1982-1990

15 were notified in 1991-2007

The remaining two projects, both in Raipur came under the Forest Act, 1846, the one notified in 1982-1990 and the other in 1991-2007

1.2.2. Chhattisgarh

Table 4.6 tabulates data derived from gazette notifications regarding the extent of land acquired in the state. Four key districts – Rajnandgaon, Raipur, Raigarh and Durg – show very high industrialisation both before and after its bifurcation from the state of Madhya Pradesh.

As Table 4.6 demonstrates, land acquisition in Chhattisgarh escalated from 279.73 acres in 1982-90 to 5434.11 acres in 1991-2007.

Table 4.6: Land acquisition for industry projects in Chhattisgarh (land in acres)

District	1982-1990	1991-2007	Total
Bastar	NA	801.61	801.61
Bilaspur	7.97	53.18	61.15
Dantewada	NA	6.42	6.42
Durg	222.75	0.40	223.15
Janjgir-Champa	NA	3.17	3.17
Jashpur	NA	4.28	4.28
Kabirdham	NA	45.70	45.70
Korba	NA	140.87	140.87
Raigarh	NA	986.51	986.51
Raipur	44.45	1243.18	1287.63
Rajnandgaon	0.95	2143.73	2144.68
Sarguja	3.61	5.07	8.67
Total	279.73	5434.11	5713.84

Source: Gazette Notifications

133 projects were notified once

37 projects were notified twice

The district of Raipur has the highest number of industrial projects in the state – 53 in number

Table 4.6.1: Acreage under acquisition

No. of industrial projects	Land acquired by each (in acres)
39	Less than 1
100	1-50
9	51-100
9	101-200
9	201-300
3	301-500

Source: Gazette Notification – 1924-2007

1.2.3. Jharkhand

The post-independence period, from 1947 to 2007, witnessed the acquisition of 16478.3 acres in the districts of Hazaribagh, Jamtara, Koderma, Ranchi, and West Singhbhum as is revealed in Table 4.7:

Table 4.7: Land Acquisition for Industry Projects in Jharkhand (Land in acres)

District	1947-2007
Hazaribagh	130.43
Jamtara	225.96
Koderma	8059.91
Ranchi	4850.00
West Singhbhum	3212.00
Total	16478.3

Source: Bihar, Jharkhand Gazette, 1947-2007

Table 4.7.1: Acreage under acquisition: key districts

District	Land acquired (in acres)
Hazaribagh	101-200
Jamtara	201-300
Koderma	Above 5000
Ranchi	2001-5000
West Singhbhum	2001-5000

During the period under study (1947-2007), 5 industrial projects were notified for land acquisition in Jharkhand, one each in the districts of Hazaribagh, Jamtara, Koderma, Ranchi and West Singhbhum.

3 projects were notified twice
2 projects were notified once

1.2.4. Orissa

The available gazette notifications, in the period 1993-2007, evidence the acquisition of 62747.34 acres of land in these years alone.

Table 4.8: Land acquisition for industry projects in Orissa (land in acres)

District	1993-2007
Angul	18150.07
Cuttack	51.56
Dhenkanal	1755.30
Ganjam	7852.25
Jagatsinghpur	3172.85
Jajpur	1692.77
Jharsuguda	8296.74
Kalahandi	2686.67
Keonjhar	4504.74
Koraput	694.89
Puri	3450.63
Raygada	2170.23
Sambalpur	7109.59
Sundergarh	1159.07
Total	62747.34

Source: Orissa Gazette, 1993-2007

During the period under study, the districts in which the maximum land was acquired are:

Anugul-18150.07 acres
Jharsuguda-8296.74 acres

Lowest land acquisition was in the district of Cuttack (51.56 acres). This district has the least number of projects notified in it (3), and the acreage acquired was between 1 and 50 acres.

Of the total 332 industrial projects notified in the period 1991-2007:

331 projects came under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894
1 project came under the Forest Act, 1846

184 projects were notified once
147 projects were notified twice

1.3 Mines Projects

1.3.1. Andhra Pradesh

According to the data collected from gazette notifications, 107.76 acres have been acquired for mining in Andhra Pradesh mainly from the districts of East Godavari, Guntur, Karimnagar and Krishna. The impact of globalisation on land acquisition for mining is evident from the fact that 101.68 acres of the 107.76 acres were acquired between 2001 and 2006.

Table 4.9: Land acquisition for mining projects in Andhra Pradesh (land in acres)

District	1996-2000	2001-2006	Total
East Godavari	1.02		1.02
Guntur		5.97	5.97
Karimnagar	5.06		5.06
Krishna		95.71	95.71
Total	6.08	101.68	107.76

Source: Andhra Pradesh Gazette, 1996-2006

1.3.2. Chhattisgarh

The data collected from the state indicate that many of the notifications for land acquisition for mining were issued in the period 1991-2007.

Table 4.10: Land acquisition for mining projects in Chhattisgarh (land in acres)

District	1982-90	1991-2007	Total
Bastar	36.28	0	36.28
Bilaspur	NA	118.59	118.59
Dantewada	NA	9.18	9.18
Durg	3.41	0	3.41
Janjgir-Champa	NA	182.27	182.27
Kabirdham	NA	322.94	322.94
Korba	NA	11.27	11.27
Raigarh	NA	319.37	319.37
Raipur	NA	13.78	13.78
Rajnandgaon	0.37	0	0.37
Sarguja	21.99	453.36	475.35
Total	62.05	1430.76	1492.81

Source: Chhattisgarh Gazette, 1982-2007

All 54 mining projects in the State came under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and the bulk of them were located in the two districts of Raigarh and Sarguja alone.

9 projects were notified in 1982-1990
45 projects were notified in 1991-2007

25 projects were notified once
29 projects were notified twice

Table 4.10.1: Acreage under acquisition

No. of Industrial Projects	Land acquired by each (in acres)
11	Less than 1
34	1-50
5	51-100
1 (Sarguja District)	201-300

Source: Chhattisgarh Gazette 1982-2007

1.3.3. Jharkhand

As per the available gazette notifications, 14269.24 acres of land has been acquired for mining projects in the state from 1947 to 2007.

Table 4.11: Land acquisition for mining projects in Jharkhand (land in acres)

District	1947-2007
Bokaro	215.32
Dhanbad	1730.93
Giridih	9781.50
Hazaribagh	2441.72
Koderma	43.4
Pakur	31.00
West Singhbhum	25.37
Total	14269.24

Source: Bihar & Jharkhand Gazette, 1947-2007

During 1947-50, land acquisition for 16 mines was notified once.

Acreage acquired:

18 mining projects acquired land in the range of 1-50 acres

1 mining project alone acquired more than 5000 acres of land

1.3.4. Orissa

In recent times, there has been civil unrest in Orissa due to land acquisition by companies primarily for mining operations. The table below shows some interesting trends during 1993-2007.

Table 4.12: Land acquisition for mining projects in Orissa

District	Land in acres
Angul	1108.69
Bhadrak	18.23
Cuttack	8.78
Dhenkanal	562.73
Jajpur	7819.57
Jharsuguda	218.87
Kalahandi	634.83
Keonjhar	9267.53
Koraput	162.48
Malkangiri	7.13
Nawapara	17.92
Rayagada	1138.37
Sundergarh	7125.26
Total	28090.39

Source: Orissa Gazette, 1991-2007

Table 4.12.1: Acreage under acquisition

No. of industrial projects	Land acquired by each (in acres)
26	1-50
1	51-100

Gazette notifications show that in the above districts of the State, in the period of 1993-2007, as many as 28090.39 acres of land was acquired for mining projects. Highest land acquisition (9267.53 acres) was from Keonjhar district followed by Jajpur (7819.57 acres) and Sundergarh (7125.26 acres) as per the data available from gazette notifications. It may be noted here that all three districts are tribal.

During the period 1991-2007, 79 mining projects came under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894

56 projects were notified once
23 projects were notified twice

1.4 Non-hydro Power Projects

1.4.1 Andhra Pradesh

Land acquisition in this category of projects in the state was mainly from the three districts of Guntur, Krishna and Medak accounting for a total of 37.78 acres of land.

Table 4.13: Land acquisition for non-hydro power projects in Andhra Pradesh (land in acres)

District	1996 - 2000	Total
Guntur	2.82	2.82
Krishna	0.85	0.85
Medak	34.11	34.11
Total	37.78	37.78

Source: Andhra Pradesh Gazette, 1996-2000

1.4.2 Chhattisgarh

A total of 4088.29 acres was acquired in the period 1982-2007 for non-hydro power projects in the State. It is interesting to note that between 1982 and 1990, only 5.25 acres were acquired, while acquisition escalated to 4083.04 acres in the period 1991-2007.

Table 4.14: Land acquisition for non-hydro power projects in Chhattisgarh (land in acres)

District	1982-90	1991-07	Total
Bastar	5.25	101.57	107.82
Bilaspur	0	1612.86	1612.86
Durg	0	3.72	3.72
Janjgir-Champa	0	102.10	102.10
Korba	0	1224.97	1224.97
Raigarh	0	631.29	631.29
Raipur	0	131.76	131.76
Sarguja	0	274.77	274.77
Total	5.25	4083.04	4088.29

Source: Chhattisgarh Gazette, 1982-2007

Of the total 192 non-hydro power projects in the State, all of which came under the purview of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894:

1 project was notified in the period 1982-1990
191 projects were notified in the period 1991-2007

96 projects were notified once
96 projects were notified twice

Table 4.14.1: Acreage under acquisition

No. of industrial projects	Land acquired by each (in acres)
36	Less than 1
120	1-50
Bilaspur (51)	
Korba (34)	
Jangir Champa (19)	
20	51-100
Korba (10)	
Bilaspur (5)	
Raigarh (5)	
11	101-200
5	201-300

Source: Chhattisgarh Gazette, 1982-2007

1.4.3 Jharkhand

A total of 2037.73 acres of land was acquired for non-hydro power projects in three districts of Bokaro, Dhanbad and Hazaribagh which are now in the state of Jharkhand from 1947 to 2007.

Table 4.15: Land acquisition for non-hydro power projects in Jharkhand (land in acres)

District	1947-2007
Bokaro	859.00
Dhanbad	761.22
Hazaribagh	417.51
Total	2037.73

Source: Bihar Gazette, 1947-2000; Jharkhand Gazette, 2001-2007

1.4.4. Orissa

The data collected shows high rate of land alienation for non-hydel projects in 1993-2007 with the acquisition of 5820.33 acres of land in the period.

Table 4.16: Land acquisition for non-hydro power projects in Orissa (land in acres)

District	1991-2007
Angul	493.36
Balasore	10.00
Cuttack	15.45
Ganjam	0.62
Jharsuguda	5289.95
Mayurbhanj	10.95
Total	5820.33

Source: Orissa Gazette, 1991-2007

In Hazaribagh, two projects acquired land in the region of 1-50 acres

In Bokaro, one project acquired land in the region of 1-50 acres and another acquired land in the region of 51-100 acres

A total of 22 non-hydro power projects have been notified in the state under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894

14 projects were notified once
8 projects were notified twice

1.5 Defense Establishment Projects

Data collected in *Andhra Pradesh* from gazette notifications shows that the total land acquired for defense establishment projects was in the region of 9273.41 acres. It is however, estimated that the Naval Alternative operating base has acquired 12732.24 acres of land out of which 7835.09 acres was from common land and 4897.15 acres was from private land. Information in this category of projects is difficult to obtain as the data is kept confidential in the name of national security and the gazettes do not contain details of all land acquired in this regard.

In *Chhattisgarh*, 3902.14 acres of land was acquired for defense and security purposes. The pattern of land acquisition demonstrates a significant escalation from 3.74 acres in 1982-90 to 3898.40 acres in 1991-2007. Of the total 33 defense and security projects (all of which come under the purview of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894) in the state, it is interesting to note that two projects alone were notified during the period 1982-90, while the remaining 31 were notified between 1991 and 2007. Bastar has the highest number of such projects (25) constituting as much as 75.76 percent of the total. 22 projects were notified once and 11 were notified twice. Twenty-two projects acquired land in the range of 1-50 acres. The number of projects that occupy land in the range of less than one acre, 101-200 acres, 301-500 acres, and 2001-5000 acres were three, five, two and one respectively.

In *Jharkhand*, land acquisition for one defence and security project was notified twice in Lohardaga district during the period 1991-2007. The land notified for acquisition was 551.03 acres of which 535.20 acres was notified in 1947-50 and 15.83 acres in 1993-2007.

1.6. Environment Protection Projects

Data collected in this category of projects includes the acquisition of land for use as wildlife sanctuaries, national parks, embankments and for drainage and soil conservation. It also includes land acquired for zoos, museums and other developments meant to protect natural as well as man made heritage.

National parks and sanctuaries mainly use forest land that is transferred for the purpose either by reallocation of lands within the forest department or through an inter-departmental transfer. For this reason, government notifications are not available for much of the land used by parks and sanctuaries.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, the gazette notifications evidence the acquisition of only 32.25 acres of land towards environment protection in the period 2001-2007. In *Chhattisgarh*, there is data showing the notification of 18 environmental projects under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. Out of these, 12 were notified during 1982-1990 and remaining six in the period 1991-07. Sarguja had the highest number of environmental projects (six), out of which five projects acquired land in the region of 1-50 acres and one project acquired less than one acre. The number of projects that acquired land in the range of less than one acre and 1-50 acres were ten and eight respectively. *Jharkhand* shows land acquisition for environmental projects in five districts in the period of 1993-2007 with the largest size of land acquired in the district of Sahebganj.

1.7 Transport and Communication

Data collected in this category of projects includes the acquisition of land for roads, railways, the postal services, telephones and media.

Data from gazette notifications in *Andhra Pradesh* evidence the acquisition of 72.41 acres for bridges, railways, water ways, link roads, national highways, telecommunication and resettlement colonies during the period 1996-2007 in the districts of East Godavari, Khammam, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, and Vizianagaram.

The total land acquired for transport and communication in *Chhattisgarh* is 37262.83 acres of which 1474.53 acres was acquired in 1982-90 and 35769.41 acres in 1991-07. Of the total 2238 transport projects in Chhattisgarh, 10 came under the purview of the Forest Act, 1846 and the remaining came under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. The

Table 4.16.1: Acreage under acquisition in Chhattisgarh for transport and communication

No. of industrial projects	Land acquired by each (in acres)
862	Less than 1
736	1-50
1	51-100
3	101-200
8	201-300
15	301-500
20	501-1000
22	1001-1500
1	Above 5001

district of Raipur had the maximum number of such projects (584) amounting to 26.09 percent of the total projects notified. Of those projects that came under the LAQ 1894, it is interesting to note that 3 projects were notified before 1946, 673 were notified in

1982-1990 and 1552 projects were notified during 1991-2007. 862 projects were notified once while 1376 projects were notified twice.

In *Jharkhand*, 3549.11 acres of land was acquired between 1947 and 1950 while between 1993-07 more than 17721.59 acres of land was acquired for transport and communication projects, amounting to a total of 21270.7 acres of land acquired in this category alone. In 1947-1950, land acquisition for seven transport projects was notified in Dumka, East Singhbhum, Godda, and Jamtara districts. During 1991-2007, land acquisition for six transport projects was notified in Lohardaga district. In case of 24 transport projects, land acquisition to the tune of 1-50 acres was notified in Bokaro, Chhatra, Dumka, East Singhbhum, Godda, Hazaribagh, Jamtara, and Lohardaga districts. The land notified for acquisition in Latehar district was to the tune of 1001-1500 acres.

1.8 Human Resource Development Projects

Researches in this category of projects recorded the acquisition of land for stadiums, playgrounds, theatres, research centres, training centres and so on.

The government records in *Andhra Pradesh* did not give any data under this category. In *Chhattisgarh*, a total of 95.78 acres of land was acquired under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 between 1982 and 2007 in

this category. Of these projects, 1 project was notified in 1982-1990 while 12 were notified in 1991-2007. Of the 13, four projects were located in the district of Sarguja alone. Nine projects were notified once and another four were notified twice. Five projects acquired less than one acre of land, 7 acquired between 1 and 50 acres and 1 project acquired between 51 and 100 acres of land.

In *Jharkhand*, in 1947-1950, land acquisition for five Human Resource Development projects was notified in Dhanbad, East Singhbhum, Ranchi and West Singhbhum districts. In case of three projects, acquisition of 50.82 acres of land was notified in Dhanbad, East Singhbhum and West Singhbhum districts.

1.9 Refugee Resettlement Projects

Land was acquired for two refugee resettlement projects in the State of *Chhattisgarh*, one each in the districts of Rajnandgaon and Raipur. Both of them were notified under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and were notified during the period 1982-90. These projects were notified twice in 1982-90 and they acquired 5.22 acres of land.

1.10 Farms and Fisheries

Land was acquired for two farms and fisheries projects under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 in *Chhattisgarh* between 1991 and 2007. One was notified once and the other was notified twice and both acquired land in the range of less than one acre each. One project was in Bilaspur and the other was in Raigarh.

In *Jharkhand*, land acquisition of 89.08 acres for one farm and fisheries project was notified in the district of Dumka between 1947 and 1950.

1.11 Urban Development Projects

Large tracts of private land have been acquired by governments for this category of projects.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, the gazettes show that 2764.67 acres of land was acquired for urban development projects, of which acquisition of 1303.96 acres was notified in 1996-2000 and 1460.72 acres in 2001-07. These projects included landscapes, parks, flyovers, etc.

The urban development projects in *Chhattisgarh* acquired 421.59 acres of land between 1982 and 2007 as per information available in the gazettes.

Out of 20 such projects in the State, 15 were in Raipur, two each in Jashpur and Sarguja, while the remaining were located in Bilaspur. All 20 projects were notified under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 – 1 was notified in the period of 1982-1990 and 19 were notified in the period 1991-2007. 16 projects were notified once and 4 were notified twice. Two projects acquired less than one acre, 17 projects acquired between 1 and 50 acres, and 1 project acquired between 201 and 300 acres.

In *Orissa* 17.82 acres of land was acquired for urban development projects during 1993-07. Two projects were notified (twice) in the state under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, one each in the districts of Ganjam and Sundergarh. Both the projects acquired land in the range of 1-50 acres.

1.12 Housing Projects

Data in this category of projects includes land acquisition for housing, temple construction, etc.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, gazette notifications evidence the acquisition of 34581.62 acres of land in this category of which 1990.42 acres were notified during 1996-2000 and 32591.19 acres during 2001-2006. 939.22 acres were acquired for rural housing projects under social welfare schemes.

In *Chhattisgarh*, the gazette notifications evidence the acquisition of 249.52 acres for housing projects, of which the acquisition of 57.34 acres was notified in 1982-90 and the acquisition of 192.18 acres was notified in 1991-2007. Of the total 41 housing projects in the state, 12 were notified in 1982-90 and 29 were notified in 1991-2007 under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. The most number of projects (14) were notified in the district of Raipur, closely followed by Bastar in which 9 projects were notified. 27 projects were notified once and 14 were notified twice. 14 projects acquired less than one acre of land and 27 projects acquired land between 1 and 50 acres. Out of the 14 projects in Raipur, 2 projects acquired less than one acre of land and 12 projects acquired land in the range of 1-50 acres. The districts of Bilaspur, Jashpur, Korba and Koriya had only one such project each.

In *Jharkhand*, 95.42 acres of land was notified for acquisition for five housing projects in the districts of Bokaro, Dhanbad, Giridih, and Ranchi districts

under the Land Acquisition Acts between 1947 and 1950. Another five projects were notified in the same period under the Forest Act, 1846 in Dhanbad, Hazaribagh and Simdega districts. In the case of 10 housing projects, land acquisition in the range of 1-50 acres was notified in Bokaro, Dhanbad, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Simdega districts.

1.13 Social Welfare Projects

In Chhattisgarh, 41.24 acres of land was acquired between 1982 and 2007 for this category of projects in the districts of Bilaspur, Raigarh and Raipur. Three projects were notified under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, one each in the districts of Bastar, Raigarh and Raipur. One project was notified in the period 1982-1990 and two projects were notified during 1991-2000. One project was notified once and two were notified twice. One project acquired less than one acre of land while two projects acquired land in the range of 1-50 acres.

1.14 Health Services Projects

This category of projects includes the acquisition of land for the provision of medical and paramedical services. Under this, notifications were issued for 24.32 acres in the States of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh.

There was not enough data in the gazettes regarding land acquisition for health services projects in *Chhattisgarh*. The gazettes showed acquisition of only 7.07 acres land during 1991-2007. There is one health services project each in Kabirdham, Raipur, and Rajnandgaon districts. They were notified during 1991-2000 under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. One was notified once and the other two were notified twice. The number of projects that acquired land in the range of less than one acre and 1-50 acres were one and two respectively.

Health services projects in *Jharkhand* in 1947-50 acquired 19.72 acres of land. In the same period, land acquisition of less than one acre for one health services project was notified in Dhanbad district under Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and acquisition for three other projects in the range of 1-50 acres was notified under the Forest Act in Dhanbad, Pakur and Ranchi districts. In the case of three health services projects in Dhanbad Pakur and Ranchi, land acquisition was in the range of 1-50 acres.

1.15 Education Projects

In this category, land acquisition for the construction of schools, colleges, universities, technical and professional institutions is included.

The gazettes in *Andhra Pradesh* show that 8767.02 acres of land was acquired for educational projects.

In *Chhattisgarh*, out of the five education projects (all of which acquired land in the range of 1-50 acres) in the State as per gazette notifications, three were in Bastar, one in Jashpur and the remaining one was in Raipur. Four of them were notified once under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. Three projects were notified during 1982-90 and remaining in the period 1991-2000.

Data from *Jharkhand* shows land acquisition of 189.42 acres during 1947-50 for the purpose of education projects in the erstwhile undivided Bihar. During this period, land acquisition for eight education projects was notified in Dhanbad, East Singhbhum, Palamau and Ranchi districts under the Land Acquisition Act. Another four projects in the same period were notified under the Forest Act in Dhanbad, Giridih, Hazaribagh and Ranchi districts. In case of 12 education projects, land acquisition in the range of 1-50 acres was notified in Dhanbad, East Singhbhum, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Palamau and Ranchi districts. In another project, acquisition of less than one acre of land was notified in the district of Hazaribagh.

1.16 Government Offices

Projects under this category include the construction of office buildings, Courts, legislatures and offices of the local bodies. Data from *Chhattisgarh* shows land acquisition of 408.43 acres between 1982 and 2007 for the construction of government offices and infrastructure. Out of the 31 government administration projects, eight (amounting to 25.81% of the whole) were in Raipur district followed by seven (a further 22.58%) in the district of Sarguja. Only one project came under Forest Act, 1846 while the others were notified under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. One project was located in Raigarh and was notified in the period 1991-2007. Out of the other 30 projects, eight projects were notified in the period 1982-90 and 22 projects were notified in the period 1991-2000. Twenty-one projects were notified once while the other 10 were notified twice. Seventeen projects acquired less than one acre of land, 12 projects acquired between 1 and 50 acres of land and 2 projects acquired land in the region of 101-200 acres.

During 1947-50, 2276.16 acres of land was acquired in *Jharkhand* for this category of projects. Surprisingly, there seems to have been no land acquisition for this category in the period 1993-2007. In the period 1947-50, land acquisition for nine government administration projects was notified in the districts of Bokaro, Dhanbad, Dumka, Hazaribagh, Koderma and Pakur under the Land Acquisition Act. As many as 44 projects in the same period were notified under the Forest Act in Dhanbad, Dumka, East Singhbhum, Giridih, Gumla, Hazaribagh, Koderma, Latehar, Palamau, Ranchi, Simdega and West Singhbhum districts. Out of these 44 projects, 11 (constituting 84.62% of the total) were in Dhanbad and Ranchi districts. In the case of 29 projects, land acquisition in the region of 1-50 acres was notified in the districts of Dhanbad, Dumka, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Koderma, Pakur, Palamau, Ranchi, Simdega and West Singhbhum. In the case of another 19 projects, less than one acre of land was acquired in Dhanbad, Giridih, Gumla, Hazaribagh, Latehar, Ranchi, Simdega and West Singhbhum districts. In the district of Hazaribagh, land in the region of 51-100 acres was notified for acquisition. In case of two projects, one each in the districts of Bokaro and East Singhbhum, acquisition of 501-1000 acres land was notified. In Bokaro district, 301-500 acres land was notified for acquisition.

1.17 Tourism Projects

For tourism projects, gazette notifications in the state of *Andhra Pradesh* showed the acquisition of 6.55 acres. It is likely that the acquisition of land is minimal for tourism projects owing to the underdeveloped nature of the sector in the State.

Chhattisgarh notified one tourism related project under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 in the period 1991-2007 which acquired 0.37 acres of land in the district of Janjgir-Champa. The project was notified twice.

In *Jharkhand*, data from gazettes evidence the notification of one tourism project in the district of Dhanbad under the Forest Act, 1846 in the period 1947-1950. Another two projects were notified in the period 1991-07 under the Forest Act in Gumla and Ranchi districts. The three projects acquired 54.27 acres in all: 4.21 acres in Dhanbad, 9.45 acres in Gumla and 40.61 acres in Ranchi.

2. Amount and Type of Land Acquired

A Note on Sources:

Data regarding the extent and type of land acquisition was inadequately available in gazette notifications alone, for these provided data only with regard to the acquisition of private lands under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act, 1984. There was no data available in them on the acquisition of government and forest lands. The acquisition of land by companies (as in the case of land for the setting up of small units of sponge iron factories) was also not evidenced by gazette notifications for obvious reasons.

Data was thus collected from a variety of sources including government files, records, project reports, articles, media reports and interviews with key officials and activists in addition to gazette notifications.

2.1 Andhra Pradesh

In the period 1996-2007, 300880 acres of land was acquired in the state across various categories of projects, of which 33924.51 acres was acquired from private lands, 66245.16 acres from forest land, 14055.21 acres from common land and 186618.4 acres from land whose categorisation is unknown.

Table 4.17 details acreage acquired for each of the categories of projects under study, Table 4.18 gives the district wise distribution of land acquisition and Table 4.19 details the type of land acquired in the various project categories:

Table 4.17: Category-wise projects and land acquisition in Andhra Pradesh

Category of project (1996-2007)	Acreage acquired
Water Resources	197743.4
Industry	58994.77
Mines	5543.13
Non-Hydel Power Projects	2145.86
Housing	1355.55
Defence and Paramilitary	3425.12
Social Welfare	8.39
Transport and Communication	19177.61
Tourism	12481.61
Government Offices	4.57
Total	300880.00

Table 4.18: Total land acquired for different projects in sample districts of Andhra Pradesh (land in acres)

District	Acreage
East Godavari	33917.06
Khammam	129939.1
Srikakulam	40868.35
Visakhapatnam	30722.36
Vizianagaram	11906.99
West Godavari	53526.18
Total	300880.00

Every district in the state has a water resource project. The districts with the maximum projects are:

Janjgir-Champa (27%)
Bilaspur (14.17%)
Raipur (13.73%)

Table 4.19: Project-wise type of land acquired in Andhra Pradesh

Category of Project	Private land	Sharecroppers	Common land	Forest land	NC* land	Total
Water Resources	13576.28	26.08	3417.33	64233.54	116490.2	197743.4
Industry	4607.68	0	30.18	0	54356.9	58994.77
Mines	2166.58	0	0	2003.71	1372.833	5543.12
Non Hydel Power Projects	1370.2	0	775.64	0	0	2145.85
Housing	533.49	0	799.70	7.67	14.67	1355.54
Defense and Paramilitary	1373.12	0	2051.99	0	0	3425.11
Social Welfare	8.38	0	0	0	0	8.39
Transport and Communication	10282.86	10.63	6980.34	0.23	1903.53	19177.61
Tourism	1.31	0	0	0	12480.3	12481.61
Government Offices	4.57	0	0	0	0	4.58
Total	33924.51	36.71	14055.21	66245.16	186618.4	300880.00

* Not categorised

Of the total 17,648 projects:

99.58 percent was notified under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894

0.41 percent was notified under the Forest Act, 1846

10425 projects (59.07%) were notified once

7217 projects (40.89%) were notified twice

2.2 Chhattisgarh

Across the 10 categories under study, 17,648 projects have been notified for acquisition in the State. Of this total number, 14,739 projects, constituting 83.52 percent of the whole, are water resource projects alone. The second largest category of projects is transport – there are 2238 transport projects in the state constituting 12.68 percent of the whole.

Table 4.19.1: District-wise data on notification of projects

Districts	Notification
Kanker	60% of projects notified once
Jaspur	
Dantewada	
Kabirdham	
Korba	
Mahasamund	
Raigarh	
Rajnandgaon	
Raipur	
Sarguja	
Bilaspur	
Jangir- Champa	
Koriya	33.68% notified once
Kanker	26.92% notified twice

One project in Jangir-Champa falls neither under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 nor under the Forest Act, 1846

The projects in Dhamtari, Jashpur, Kabirdham, Kanker, Korba, Koriya and Mahasamund fall under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894

27 projects in Raipur fall under the Forest Act, 1846

Table 4.20: Category of project and land acquired in Chhattisgarh (land in acres)

Category of the project	Acreage acquired
Water Resources	3971.18
Industry	51744.61
Mines	90798.64
Total	146514.45

Types of projects in sample districts

Jangir- Champa	Raipur	Bilaspur
Total projects – 4207 Water resource projects – 4072 Transport projects – 104 Non-hydro power projects – 24	Water resource projects – 2024 Transport projects – 584 Industry projects – 53	Water resource projects – 2088 Transport projects – 173 Non-hydro power projects – 88

Researches on the extent of land acquisition demonstrate that 3971.18 acres of land have been acquired for water resource projects, 51744.61 acres for industry projects and 90798.64 acres for mines projects. It is thus evident that the largest acquisition of land has been for mining projects in the State.

As per the government and non-government sources in Chhattisgarh, the land acquisition of the private land was to the tune of 61744.61 acres, share cropper land 19.02 acres and forest land 9720.601 acres. Thus, the total land acquired as per the sources other than gazette notifications comes to 146514.4 acres within the study time.

The table below shows the extent of land alienation with reference to the selected categories of projects, namely water, industry and mines. The total acquired land as per the government and non-government documents other than gazettes comes to the tune of 146514.4 acres in the given time period, that is 1924 and 1934, 1982-90 and 1991-2007.

Table 4.21: Total land acquired for different projects in sample districts of Chhattisgarh (land in acres)

Name of the district	Acreage
Durg	8736.03
Jashpur	408.00
Raigarh	22293.5
Raipur	8190.04
Sarguja	63536.86
Bastar	17609.00
Dantewada	25741.00
Total	146514.43

2.3 Jharkhand

A total of 549776.15 acres of land was acquired for various development projects in Jharkhand in the period 1947-50 and in the period 1993-2007. Of this, the largest acreage of land (390280.83) was acquired for water resource projects, followed closely by the acquisition of 90244.32 acres of land for industry

Table 4.22: Project-wise type of land acquired in Chhattisgarh (land in acres)

Category of the project	Private land	Share croppers	Common land	Forest land	NA land	Total
Water Resources	2398.572	11.1	830.59	542.0082	189.68	3971.18
Industry	45275.15	0	175.76	947.37	5346.33	51744.61
Mines	14070.89	7.92	11224.71	8231.223	57264.15	90798.64
Total	61744.61	19.02	12231.06	9720.601	62800.16	146514.4

District-wise notification of projects:

Ranchi – 173 projects – 16.71%
 Dhanbad – 137 projects – 13.24%
 Hazaribagh – 132 projects – 12.75%
 Palamau – 68 projects – 6.57%
 Deogarh – 6 projects – (0.58%)
 Jamtara – 6 projects – (0.58%)

Of the total 1035 notifications issued in the period under study:

98 (9.46%) were under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894
 937 (90.53%) were under the Forest Act, 1927
 81 (7.83%) were notified once
 940 (90.82%) were notified twice

projects. It is estimated that 48058.69 acres of land was acquired for environment protection. The lowest acquisition of land – 81.66 acres – was for the purpose of construction of Government offices.

As the data above indicates, the Forest Act, 1927 was extensively used to acquire land in Jharkhand. Of the total 1035 projects, 914 development projects (constituting 88.31% of the whole) were notified for acquisition in the period 1947-50. The highest number of projects in this period were notified in the district of Ranchi – 125 projects (13.68%). In the period 1991-2007, 117 projects (constituting 11.30% of the total) were notified for acquisition. Again, the highest number of projects were notified in the district of Ranchi – 48 projects (41.03%).

Of the total 549776.5 acres of land acquired in Jharkhand in the period of study, the largest acquisition of land was from private lands (415983.2 acres), followed by forest lands (63818.77 acres) and then from uncategorised land (55602.34 acres).

The largest acquisition of land (384525.61 acres) was in the district of Saraikela Kharsawan.

2.4 Orissa

A total of 3169 development projects were notified in Orissa in the period under study, of which the largest number (2704 projects constitute 85.33%) was water resource projects. 332 industry projects, 79 mining

Table 4.23: Category of project and land acquired in Jharkhand (land in acres)

Category of the project	Acreage acquired
Water Resources	390280.83
Industry	90244.32
Mines	8754.78
Non-Hydel Power Projects	978.89
Housing	1190.11
Defence and Paramilitary	2015.83
Environment Protection	48058.69
Transport and Communication	4131.16
Human Resource Development	121.03
Farms and Fisheries	815.92
Urban Development	551.78
Health Services	603.71
Education	1555.94
Government Offices	81.66
Not Known/Others	391.49
Total	549776.15

Table 4.24: Total land acquired for different projects in sample districts of Jharkhand (land in acres)

District	Acreage
East Singhbhum	113894.38
Godda	1180.51
Lohardaga	1066.03
Ranchi	49109.61
Saraikela Kharsawan	384525.61
Total	549776.15



Table 4.25: Project-wise type of land acquired in Jharkhand (land in acres)

Category of the project	Private land	Share croppers	Common land	Forest land	NA land	Total
Water Resources	367166.3	0	7695.13	14538.11	881.3244	390280.83
Industry	36127.81	0	1123.37	0	52993.14	90244.32
Mines	3324.2	0	4252.62	635	542.96	8754.78
Non Hydel Power Projects	937	0	34.92	6.97	0	978.89
Housing	770.42	0	296.42	0	123.27	1190.11
Defence and Paramilitary	2000	0	15.83	0	0	2015.83
Environment Protection	0	0	0	48058.69	0	48058.69
Transport and Communication	3364.22	0	145.54	580	41.4	4131.161
Human Resource Development	0	0	0	0	121.03	121.03
Farms/Fisheries	157.67	0	317.82	0	340.43	815.92
Urban Development	181.34	0	100	0	270.44	551.78
Health Services	500	0	103.71	0	0	603.71
Education	1195.21	0	262.22	0	98.51	1555.94
Government Offices	40.86	0	24.24	0	16.56	81.66
Not Known/Others	218.21	0	0	0	173.28	391.49
Total	415983.2	0	14371.82	63818.77	55602.34	549776.15

projects, 22 non-hydro power projects, 2 urban development projects and 30 uncategorised projects were notified.

The selected development projects in the selected districts of Orissa show land acquisition from 1991-2007 to the tune of 207351.01 acres in area of water resources, industry and mines. Land

Of the total 3169 projects notified in the period under study:

3160 were under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894
9 were under the Forest Act

1811 were notified once
1340 were notified twice
18 projects come under the unknown category

Of the nine projects notified under the Forest Act:

1 is in Cuttack
2 are in Mayurbhanj
3 are in Kalahandi and Keonjhar each

acquired for mines is the highest (1,62,222.5 acres) followed by industry and water resources in the State of Orissa.

Of the total land acquired, 31476.57 acres was from private lands, 7210.612 acres from common lands, 24855.46 acres from forest lands, and 143808.4 acres from uncategorised lands.

Researches demonstrate that in the period 1991-2007, 207351.01 acres of land was acquired in seven districts of the State. 33252.68 acres was acquired from the district of Raygada and 60270.71 acres was acquired from Keonjhar district. *These districts have heavy concentration of tribal population.*

Table 4.26: Category of project and land acquired in Orissa (land in acres)

Category of the project	Acreage acquired
Water Resources	14786.45
Industry	30334.09
Mines	162222.5
Non-Hydro Power Projects	7.96
Total	207351.01

Table 4.27: Total land acquired for different projects in sample districts of Orissa (land in acres)

Name of the district	Acreage
Angul	35822.36
Jajpur	22179.99
Kalahandi	11337.59
Keonjhar	60270.71
Rayagada	33252.68
Sundargarh	44487.67
Total	207351.01

Table 4.28: Project-wise type of land acquired in Orissa (land in acres)

Category of the project	Private land	Share croppers	Common land	Forest land	NA land	Total
Water Resources	5816.09	0	2438.292	1538.512	4993.56	14786.454
Industry	13466.82	0	831	9230.27	6806	30334.094
Mines	12185.7	0	3941.32	14086.68	132008.8	162222.5
Non Hydel Power Projects	7.96	0	0	0	0	7.96
Total	31476.57	0	7210.612	24855.46	143808.4	207351.01

Table 4.28.1: District wise data on notification of projects

Districts	Notification
Deogarh	60% of projects notified once
Gajapati	
Jharsuguda	
Keonjhar	
Khurda	
Nawapara	
Sundargarh	
Dhenkanal	Highest notifications of projects: 316 projects notified once 232 projects notified twice
Kalahandi	272 projects notified once 212 projects notified twice

Table 4.28.2: Number of projects notified in the districts

Districts	Number of projects
Dhenkanal	554
Kalahandi	488
Ganjam	312
Angul	233
Nawapara	218
Mayurbhanj	181
Balangir	168
Sundargarh	93
Deogarh	6
Sonepur	3
Kandhamal	2

Tables 4.28.1 and 4.28.2 demonstrate the district wise distribution of number of projects and data on notification of projects.

2.5. A Bird's Eye View: Manner and Extent of Land Acquisition in the Four States

Table 4.29 presents consolidated data on acreage acquired in each of the four States obtained from gazette notifications. Despite the inadequacy of the data on land acquisition in the gazettes, they are being presented here to highlight the trends of the process of planned development.

While gazette notifications give information on extensive land acquisition for various large scale development projects, the information from the land revenue offices and district collectorates offer insights into the relevant projects undertaken for planned development. The figures of both can surely be compared and contrasted, but they cannot be added.

The data generated from both the sources throw light on the dynamics of the implementation of these development projects, which often mean loss of livelihood and life itself for those who have a symbiotic relationship with nature. Tribal vulnerability is exploited with impunity even in a democracy that India is, demonstrating a strong bias in favour of the rich and the powerful.

Type of land acquired for projects – Total land acquired for various projects in the four States

Table 4.29: Total land acquired for various projects in sample States (land in acres)

States	Land acquisition (in acres)
Andhra Pradesh	300880.03
Chhattisgarh	146515.45
Jharkhand	549776.15
Orissa	207351.01
Total	1204522.64

Table 4.30: Type of land acquired for development projects – Overall for four sample states (and in acre)

Projects	Private land	Share croppers	Common land	Forest land	NA land	Total
Water Resources	388957.00	37.18	14381.35	80852.17	122554.8	606782.7
Industry	99477.5	0	2160.31	10177.64	119502.4	231317.8
Mines	31747.4	7.92	19418.65	24956.62	191188.7	267319.3
Non-Hydel Power Projects	2315.17	0	810.56	6.97	0	3132.71
Housing	1303.91	0	1096.12	7.68	137.95	2545.66
Defence and Paramilitary	3373.13	0	2067.82	0	0	5440.95
Environment Protection	0	0	0	48058.69	0	48058.69
Transport and Communication	13647.1	10.63	7125.89	580.23	1944.94	23308.77
Human Resource Development	0	0	0	0	121.03	121.03
Farms and Fisheries	157.67	0	317.82	0	340.43	815.92
Urban Development	181.34	0	100	0	270.44	551.78
Health Services	500	0	103.71	0	0	603.71
Education	1195.21	0	262.22	0	98.51	1555.94
Government Offices	45.43	0	24.24	0	16.56	86.23
Social Welfare	8.39	0	0	0	0	8.39
Tourism	1.31	0	0	0	12480.3	12481.61
Not Known/Others	218.21	0	0	0	173.28	391.49
Total	543129	55.74	47868.7	164640	448829.3	1204522.6

during the period under study is 1204523 acres, primarily for water resource, industry, mining, non-hydro power, transport and communication, housing, environment and defence projects. While as much as 5,43,129 acres of private land has been acquired, much of the common and forest land has also been acquired. However, researchers were unable to identify the type of 448829.3 acres of land that was acquired, which proved a major obstacle to research. Table 4.30 presents the consolidated data on the type of land acquired for development projects in the four study States:

Table 4.31 shows consolidated data of land acquired for the major development projects in the four study States. A total of 1108551 acres of land has been acquired for four major categories of

projects. The highest acquisition of land has been in the State of Jharkhand (490258.8 acres) and the lowest, comparatively, in Orissa (203751 acres). The largest acreage of land has been acquired for water resource projects (60678.9 acres) and the lowest, in comparison, for non-hydro power projects (3132.707 acres).

The figure 4.1 indicates that 45 percent of total land acquired is from private land, 14 percent is from forest land, 4% from common land and 37 percent from land whose specification was not available in the documents.

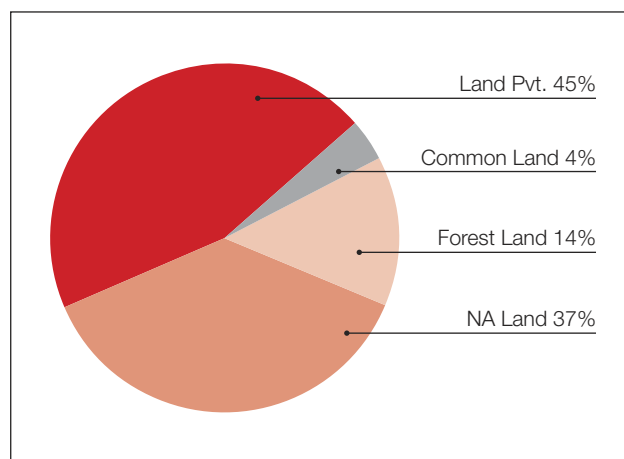
3. Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter reveal the extent and type of land acquisition in the four States of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa for the purpose of various categories of development

Table 4.31: State and project-wise consolidated table of land acquired (land in acres)

States	Water	Industry	Mines	Non-Hydro Power	Total
Andhra Pradesh	197743.4	58994.77	5543.13	2145.86	264427.2
Chhattisgarh	3971.18	51744.61	90798.64	0	146514.4
Jharkhand	390280.8	90244.32	8754.78	978.89	490258.8
Orissa	14786.45	30334.09	162222.5	7.96	207351
Total	606781.9	231317.8	267319	3132.707	1108551

Fig. 4.1: Type of land acquired in four sample States



projects. From the data analysed, it is evident that four categories of development projects have acquired the maximum land: water resource, transport, non-hydro power projects and mining projects.

A total of 1204522.64 acres have been acquired in the four States in the periods under study. The land acquired has been drawn from private land, common land and forest land. Large extents of land whose categorisation is unknown (37% of the total land acquired) have also been acquired. While the State understands common land as belonging to it, turning over such land for development projects in effect denies tribal populations their customary rights to the land, thus resulting in their loss of livelihood and displacement.

The Displaced and the Deprived

Where colonialism left off, development took over.

Rajni Kothari

The four States under study – Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa – have Scheduled Areas as defined in the Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution and special provisions apply to these States for the protection of Scheduled Tribes. A variety

of sources including gazettes, official documents, reports, indicate that between 13 and 18 categories of development projects are officially supported by governments across the country. These categories of development projects are as follows:

Sl. No.	Project	Nature of projects
1	Water Resources	Hydel, Irrigation, Multipurpose, Canal
2	Industry	Iron & Steel, Aluminium, Fertilisers, Paper, Machinery, Cement, Sugar, Electricals, Engineering, Chemicals, Gems, Mineral Processing, Cotton, Jute & Textiles, Automobiles & Autoparts, Coal Washeries, Coke Oven Plant, Glass Works, Refractory & Ceramics, Refinery, Export Promotion Industrial Park, Petrochemical, SEZ, Industrial Estate etc.
3	Mines	Bauxite, Uranium, Coal, Iron-ore, Limestone, Dolomite, Graphite, Copper, Manganese, Lead & Zinc, Chinaclay, Fireclay, Quartz & Quartzite, Chromite, Mica, Kyanite & Apatite, Silica, Sterlite, Lignite
4	Non-Hydro Power Projects	Thermal, Nuclear, Non-conventional Energy, Power distribution
5	Defence and Security	Army, Navy, Air Force, Central Para-military Forces, State Armed Forces, State Police, Homeguard, CBI Outpost, Central Industrial Security Force
6	Environment Protection	Biosphere reserve, project tiger, wildlife sanctuaries, national parks, museum/zoo, pollution control, embankments and flood control
7	Transport	Roads, railways, air, water TV & radio, telecommunications, newspapers
8	Human Resource Development	Technical, sports, research centres, training centres
9	Refugee Settlement	1947 refugees, Tibetan refugees, 1971 refugees
10	Farms and Fisheries	Central and state farms, estates and plantations, fisheries, nursery
11	Urban Development	Office complex, commercial centre, slum development
12	Housing	Urban housing, staff quarters
13	Social Welfare	Housing for the poor, land distribution, welfare centre, handicapped
14	Tourism	Cottage industry, amusement parks, holiday home/resort, hotel, monuments
15	Health Services	Hospitals, dispensary, hygiene, water supply
16	Education	University, college, schools
17	Government Offices	Central government, state government, local government
18	Not Known	Nature of project not specified



It is interesting to note that the four States under study – despite receiving protection as Scheduled Areas – evidence the notification of development projects in as many as 10-13 categories. Needless to say, such development projects, for water resources, industries, mining, environment protection, tourism and so on, are most disadvantageous to the tribal population as their habitat and sources of livelihood are directly affected. Much of the land taken over for project use from tribal areas is from common lands – the incursion of development then is legitimised by inverting the relationship of the tribal with the land, marking their

status as that of ‘encroachers’ rather than as legitimate users of the lands.

In the previous chapter, the attempt was to map as extensively as possible the manner and extent of land acquisition for the various development projects in the four study States, with a view to ascertaining the extent of tribal displacements in the name of State supported development. The data presented in this chapter takes the attempt forward through mapping of the number and type DP and PAP in the four States.

A Note on Sources and Methodology:

Owing to the limited information available in official documents in this regard, our researches have looked beyond official sources to identify the relevant data. Estimates thus, in the absence of aggregate statistics on the number of DP and PAP, rely on other indicators that allow the extrapolation of the necessary information, which were then cross-verified with other sources. Where no official figures were available, an average was taken from a representative sample.

Further, it should be noted that government notifications pertain to private lands alone and not to common property resources. Also, the number of affected families were often available from various sources but not of affected persons. Researchers had to thus convert the number of families into the number

of persons. While the Fernandes Report estimated 5.5 persons per family, the current study draws upon the 2001 Census and estimates 4.5 persons per family in Andhra Pradesh, 5.1 persons in Chhattisgarh, 5.6 persons in Jharkhand and 4.8 persons in Orissa.

For the purposes of this study, DP and PAP are defined as follows:

DP: Displaced Persons are those who are physically uprooted from their homeland by a development project.

PAP: Project Affected Persons are those who may not necessarily have lost their land, or for that matter may not even be displaced at all, but whose economy is badly hit by the event of dispossession of land due to development projects.

1. Displaced Persons/Project Affected Persons in the Four States

Researchers on the project estimate that a total of 32,09,239 persons come under the category of DP and PAP in the four States during the period under study. Of this total number, 9,94,355 persons

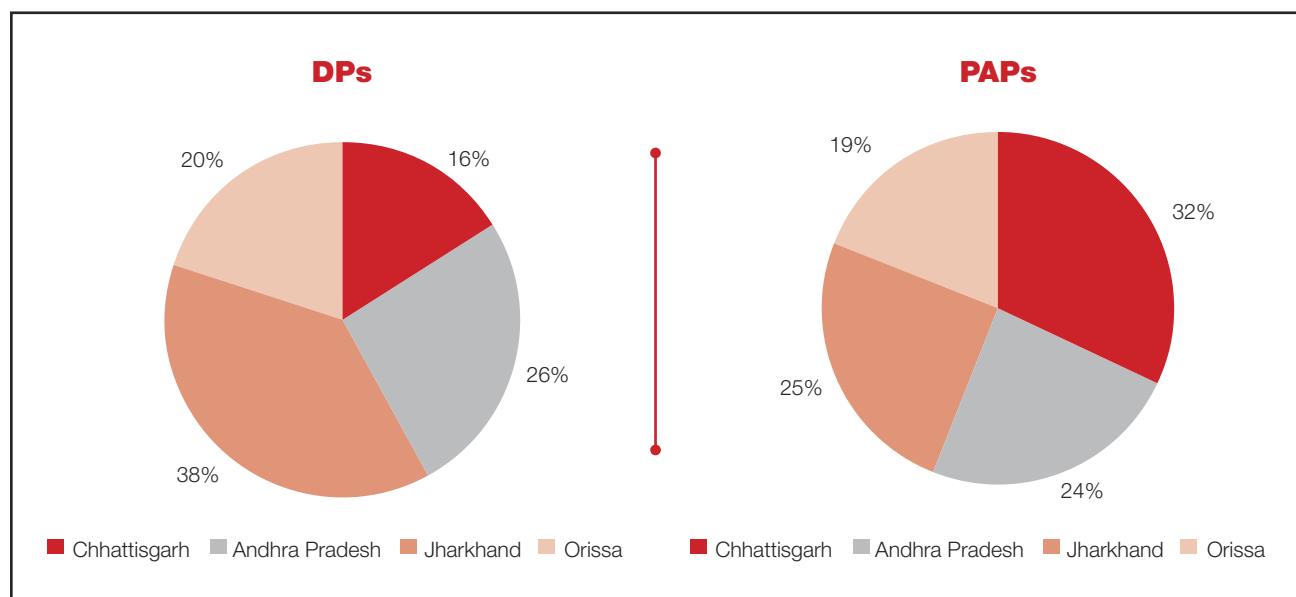
were DP and 22,14,884 were PAP. In effect, these numbers mean that 2,05,189 families were displaced and 4,79,992 families were project affected. **Of the total PAP, 17,24,369 were members of tribal communities.**

Table 5.1: Overall number of the displaced and affected families in sample States

State	DFs	PAFs	DPs	%	PAPs	%	Total (DP+PAP)	Percentage of DP+PAP
Chhattisgarh	31865	157681	157159	16	700934	32	858093	27
Andhra Pradesh	52356	112791	256544	26	541397	24	797941	25
Jharkhand	68581	98273	383278	39	551853	25	935131	29
Orissa	52387	111247	197374	20	420700	19	618074	19
Total	205189	479992	994355	100	2214884	100	3209239	100

Source: Government records, research documents, project reports and knowledgeable persons

Figure 5.1: Percentage of DPs and PAPs in four sample States



2. The Impact of Development Projects

2.1. Water Resource Projects

The representative sample of water resource projects are as follows:

ANDHRA PRADESH	CHHATTISGARH
10 major projects	2 medium projects
29 medium projects	96 minor projects
43 minor projects	
JHARKHAND	ORISSA
5 major projects	3 major projects
3 medium projects	6 medium projects
10 minor projects	135 minor projects
3 uncategorised projects	21 uncategorised projects

Table 5.2 demonstrates that water resource projects in the State of Jharkhand have displaced the most number of persons among the four States, while such projects have affected the most number of persons adversely in the State of Andhra Pradesh. A total of 78780 families have been displaced and a total of 98932 families have been affected in the four States in the period under study.

Jharkhand has the highest aggregate of persons displaced and otherwise adversely affected by water resource projects.

Table 5.2: DF/DP/PAP of representative set of water projects in sample States

State	DFs	DPs	PAFs	PAPs	TOTAL (DP+PAP)
Chhattisgarh	965	3032	3087	10743	13775
Andhra Pradesh	34561	121860	24470	319090	440950
Jharkhand	35517	198121	44553	249543	447664
Orissa	7737	29074	26822	101398	130473
Total	78780	352087	98932	680774	1032862

Source: Government records, research documents, project reports and knowledgeable persons

Table 5.3: DF/DP/PAP of representative set of industry projects in sample States

State	DFs	DPs	PAFs	PAPs	Total (DP+PAP)
Chhattisgarh	30165	152242	150398	676059	828301
Andhra Pradesh	1688	14103	72974	180311	194414
Jharkhand	14735	82515	28882	150745	233260
Orissa	11545	43502	23430	90066	133569
Total	58133	292362	275685	1097181	1389543

Source: Government records, research documents, project reports and knowledgeable persons

2.2 Industry Projects

The representative sample of industry projects is as follows:

Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand
15 large projects 7 medium projects 10 minor projects 6 uncategorised projects	1 large project 3 medium projects	13 large projects 12 medium projects 22 small scale projects 4 uncategorised projects

Table 5.3 demonstrates that industry projects have displaced and otherwise adversely affected the most number of persons in the State of Chhattisgarh. Across the four study States, a total of 13,89,543 persons have been displaced and affected due to industry projects in the period under study.

2.3. Mine Projects

Table 5.4 demonstrates that the mining projects in Orissa have displaced/ otherwise adversely affected the most number of persons. Across the four study States, 587620 persons have been displaced and affected by mining projects in the study period.

The representative sample of mining projects is as follows:

Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh
1 opencast 1 underground	106 opencast 9 underground 1 medium scale 20 small scale
Jharkhand	Orissa
3 opencast 7 underground 2 uncategorised	31 opencast 1 major 3 minor 12 uncategorised

Table 5.4: DFs/DPs/PAPs of representative set of mines projects in sample States

State	DFs	DPs	PAFs	PAPs	Total (DP+PAP)
Chhattisgarh	735	1885	4196	14132	16017
Andhra Pradesh	8264	61599	11345	31691	93290
Jharkhand	18204	101942	4080	22848	124790
Orissa	33103	124787	60858	228737	353523
Total	60306	290212	80479	297408	587620

Source: Government records, research documents, project reports and knowledgeable persons

2.4. Non-Hydro Power Projects

The representative sample of non-hydro power projects are as follows:

Andhra Pradesh	Orissa	Jharkhand
2 large projects 1 minor project	2 large projects	Jharkhand 5 medium projects

The most number of persons displaced and affected by non-hydro power projects are in the State of Jharkhand, while the sources in Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh give no figures of the displaced/affected persons.

2.5. Other Development Projects in Some Sample States

Four representative environment projects (such as forests, sanctuaries, parks, etc.), eight representative transport and communication projects (for roads, railways, bridges, bus stations, depots and media), three representative farms and fisheries projects (such as dairy and horticulture), urban development projects (for public markets and municipal buildings) and nine education projects (for engineering colleges, research centres, etc.) were notified in the State of *Jharkhand*. Five housing projects in the district of Ranchi for Heavy Engineering Corporation (HEC), Attorney General (AG) Housing Society, Central Coalfield Limited (CCL), HSL, MECON, and so on were also notified. As many as 11 miscellaneous representative development projects for purposes such as sewerage, oxygen cylinder manufacturing, animal husbandry, and so on were also notified. A naval alternative operating base project in *Andhra Pradesh* was notified.

Figure 5.2 shows that the overall number of DP/PAP in the four sample States is 3124336, of which 939615 persons have been displaced primarily by

water resource, industry and mines projects and 2184721 persons have been affected adversely by the same projects.

3. Socio-economic Identity of DP/PAP

Analysis of the data collected indicates clearly that members from Scheduled Tribes are dominant among the DP/PAP. Among the four States, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand show almost equal number of STs being either displaced or affected by development projects in the period under study.

Social group membership in proportion to the whole is demonstrated in Figure 5.3a: 79 percent of the DP/PAP from STs SCs 9 percent each from OBCs and SCs 3 percent from the general category.

Tables 5.6 shows the number of DP/PAP belonging to STs, SCs, OBCs and the general category across the four States. *A total of 2532462 members from STs have been displaced/ adversely affected by development projects across the four study States.*

4. Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter reveals that tribal populations and the other socially and economically weaker sections are the worst victims of development-induced displacement. As Table 5.6 reveals, without exception, the highest number of DPs and PAPs are from among the STs. The highest number of DPs and PAPs are from water resource projects; these projects have displaced 352087 persons and have affected 680774 persons.

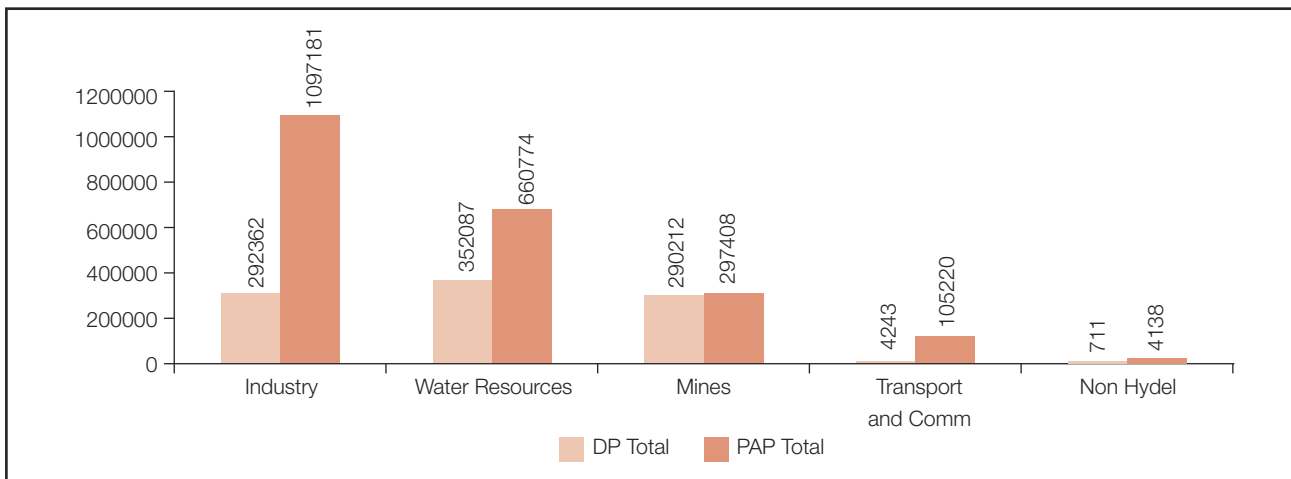
The State resettlement and rehabilitation policies dictate that DPs are entitled to compensation and resettlement while the PAPs are entitled to compensation alone without resettlement. Thus,

Table 5.5: DFs/DPs/PAPs of representative set of non-hydro power projects in sample States

State	DFs	DPs	PAFs	PAPs	Total (DP+PAP)
Chhattisgarh	0	0	0	0	0
Andhra Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0
Jharkhand	125	700	101	3639	4339
Orissa	3	11	137	499	510
Total	128	711	238	4138	4849

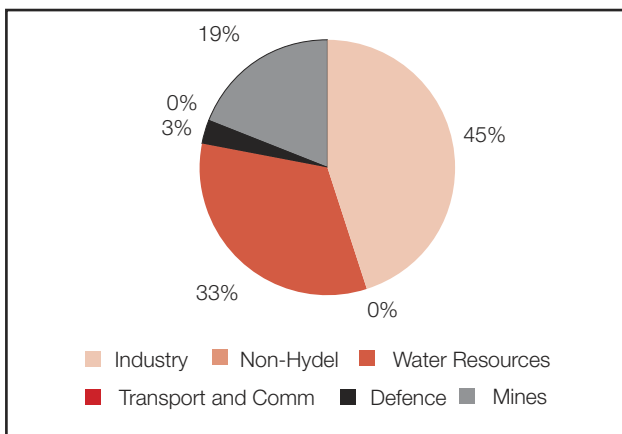
Source: Government records, research documents, project reports and knowledgeable persons

Figure 5.2: DPs and DAPs by Select Projects In Sample States



Source: Government records, research documents, project reports and knowledgeable persons

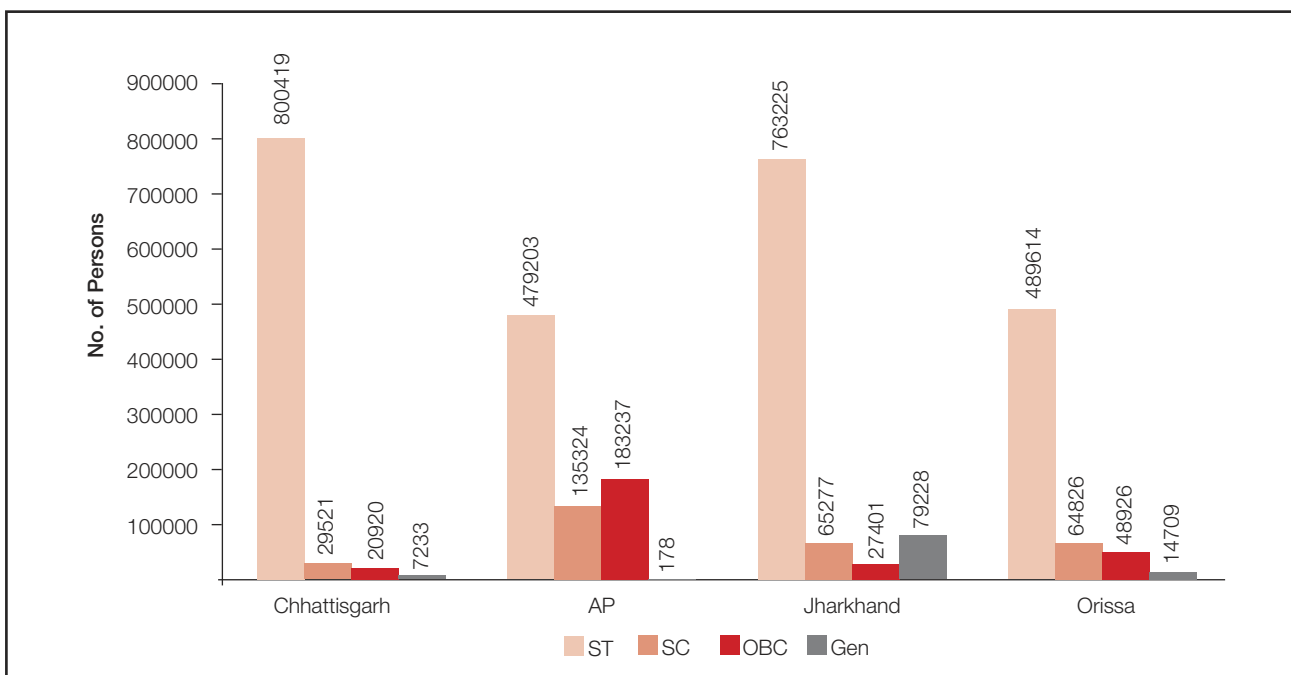
Figure 5.2a: Percentage distribution of DPs/PAPs in the four States by select development projects



As indicated in Figure 5.2A:
 45 percent of DP/PAP were by industry projects
 33 percent by water projects
 19 percent by mines
 3 percent by transport and communication, and defence projects

Source: Government records, research documents, project reports and knowledgeable persons

Figure 5.3: Social group-wise distribution of DPs and PAPs in sample States



Source: Government records, research documents, project reports and knowledgeable persons

Table 5.6: Consolidated social group membership of DP/PAP in the four States

States	STs					SCs				
	DPs	%	PAPs	%	Total	DPs	%	PAPs	%	Total
Chhattisgarh	149847	18.5	650572	38	800419	4382	5	25139	13	29521
Andhra Pradesh	196571	24.3	282632	16	479203	44270	46	91054	46	135324
Jharkhand	289656	35.8	473569	27	763225	29775	31	35502	18	65277
Orissa	172018	21.3	317596	18	489614	17060	18	47765	24	64826
Total	808092	100.0	1724369	100	2532462	95487	100	199460	100	294947
% On Grand Total		81		78			10		9	

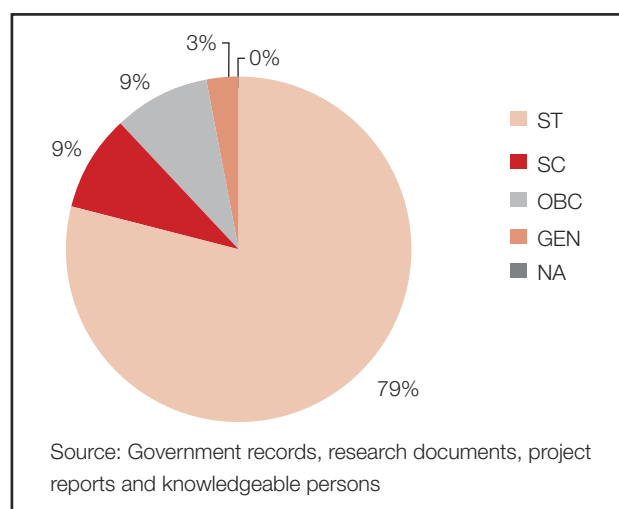
States	MBC/OBC					General				
	DPs	%	PAPs	%	Total	DPs	%	PAPs	%	Total
Chhattisgarh	2444	8	18476	7	20920	486	1	6747	16	7233
Andhra Pradesh	15646	49	167591	67	183237	57	0	121	0	178
Jharkhand	8051	25	19350	8	27401	55796	95	23432	55	79228
Orissa	6003	19	42923	17	48926	2293	4	12416	29	14709
Total	32144	100	248339	100	280483	58631	100	42716	100	101348
% On Grand Total		3		11			6		2	

lakhs of people who are project affected, don't have adequate protection by State policies. A total of **1724369 persons** are PAP from STs, **199460 persons** are PAPs from SCs and **248339 persons** are PAPs from MBC/OBC, and they are not entitled to resettlement.

The violence of a State and law that reorders the relationship of tribal/indigenous communities to the land of their ancestors in the name of a development that displaces, alienates and results in loss of livelihood for the weakest sections of society is apparent. It is apparent that the development projects have impoverished and alienated tribals and the weaker sections of society from their land and livelihood.

The data collected on the various development projects initiated by the State and their impact on society demonstrates clearly that whatever the benefits of these development projects are, they are most certainly not trickling down to the tribal communities and the other weaker sections of society. Ironically, the very sections in whose names

Figure 5.3a: Social group wise distribution of DP and PAP in all four sample States



the projects are launched are neither consulted nor their consent obtained for the consequences of their 'development'. Rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced and project affected are not serious concerns of the State as the next chapter will demonstrate.

The Realities of Displacement

When the company comes they will take our forests and the smoke will fill our skies

Daisingh Manjhi, Niyamgiri Suraksha Samiti

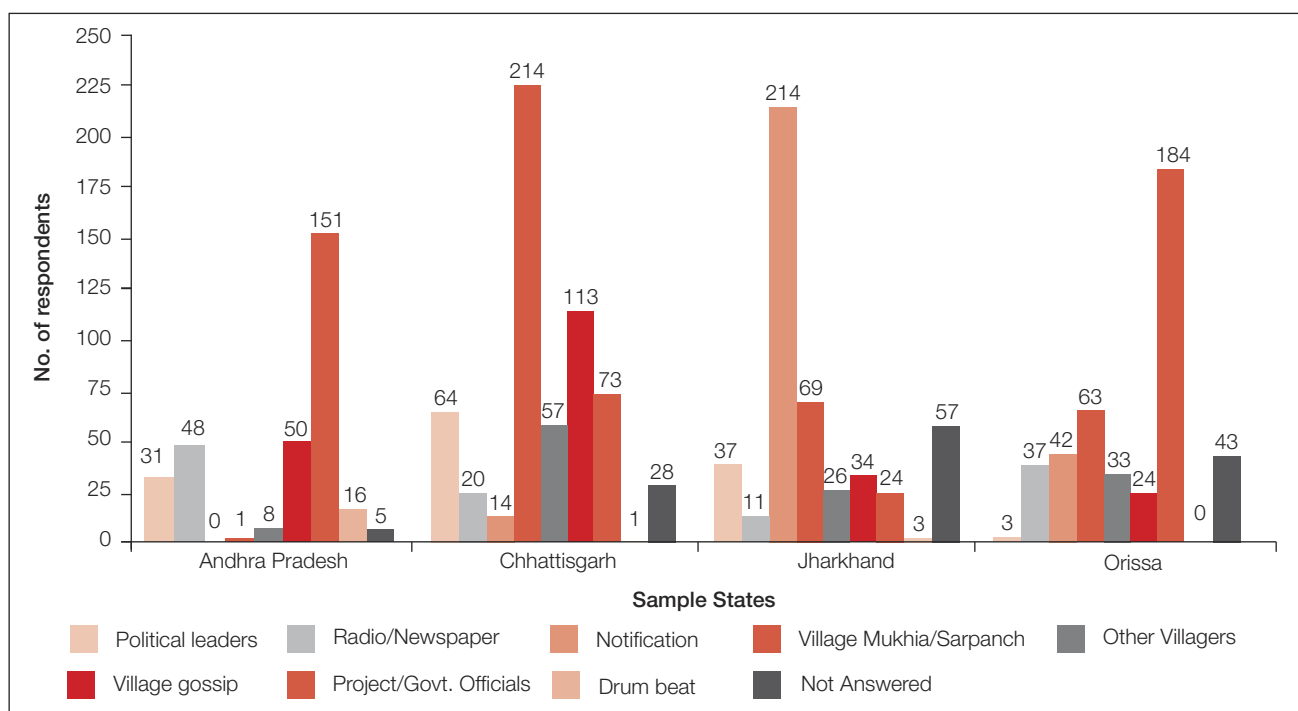
Displacement and Deprivation in the Race for Publicity

The processes of displacement and deprivation are inaugurated when the ruling party of a State announces the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding with a multinational company for the setting up of a giant 'development' project in the State that will create more jobs, develop the region and significantly enhance the GDP of the region. The publicity carnival that is unleashed around the MoU in the news and popular media gives the project messianic status and the politicians the imagery of conquering heroes who struggle for the masses in the face of severe obstacles.

It is the aim of this report to document and report the secret underbelly of these celebrated 'development' projects that immiserise, displace and adversely affect the weakest sections of society and then abandon them completely without adequate State support for rehabilitation and resettlement.



Fig. 6.1: Primary information on development projects (state-wise)



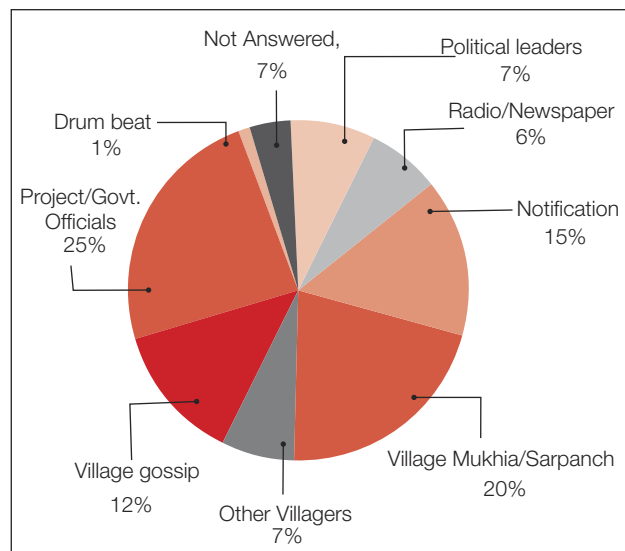
Researchers interviewed and collected data from a total of 1807 respondents of which:

- 310 were from Andhra Pradesh
- 593 were from Chhattisgarh
- 474 were from Jharkhand
- 429 were from Orissa

1. Information flow to displaced/project affected persons

As counter-intuitive as it may seem, the persons who are most directly affected by development projects are often least informed about the projects.

Fig. 6.2: Sources of information to the respondents regarding development projects (consolidated)



Researchers identified that DP/PAP come to know of development projects that directly affect them broadly through two sources: *official* (through official notifications, government officials, radio broadcasts) and *social* (through gossip, drumbeat announcements, grassroots activists and political leaders).

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 give State-wise and consolidated data on the various sources through which DP/PAP obtain information on development projects and their consequences for their continued access to land and livelihood. The consolidated data reveals that 46 percent of DP/PAP obtained the relevant information from government sources, 50 percent from social sources and 4 percent were unable to respond to questions about the projects.

The figures above indicate the proportion of persons who receive information through official and sources and those who were uninformed about the projects due to geographical inaccessibility, lack of State willingness or otherwise.

Official sources	Social sources	Uninformed
Andhra Pradesh – 64.19 percent	Andhra Pradesh – 34.19 percent	Andhra Pradesh – 1.61 percent
Chhattisgarh – 18 percent	Chhattisgarh – 80.43 percent	Chhattisgarh – 1.52 percent
Jharkhand – 54.52 percent	Jharkhand – 41.26 percent	Jharkhand – 4.21 percent
Orissa – 61.3 percent	Orissa – 28.67 percent	Orissa – 10.02 percent

It is obvious that State dissemination of information on development projects is strongest in Andhra Pradesh and that social networks substitute for the same function for an alarmingly large number of DP/PAP in Chhattisgarh. It is also evident that social networks are co-terminus with government dissemination of information in all States with maybe the exception of Orissa. This is a cause for concern as the possibility of rumour and gossip creating more anxiety and conflict in the concerned communities cannot be ruled out in the absence of effective State informational machinery.

2. Reactions to Development Projects

2.1. People's Reactions

Any development project can generate acute non-acceptance/negative feelings (anger, fear, frustration), or positive feelings linked to the hope of a job or other development potential, or mixed feelings (of a sense of sacrifice combined with an uncertainty about the future or an inability to discern how to feel about the project) among the DP/PAP.

To understand peoples' reaction to the projects the following question was posed to them in the questionnaires:

Q: What was your/your family's reaction to the announcement of the project? (More than one answer possible)

- Happiness
- Anger
- Fear of losing house/land
- Opportunity to sacrifice
- Despair/fatalism for national development
- Hope for a job
- Helplessness
- NA/Do not know/Do not remember
- NP (Not applicable)

Non-acceptance	Positive feelings	Mixed feelings
Andhra Pradesh – 82.25 percent	Andhra Pradesh – 0.64 percent	Andhra Pradesh – 0.64 percent
Chhattisgarh – 55 percent	Chhattisgarh – 20.11 percent	Chhattisgarh – 2.14 percent
Jharkhand – 48 percent	Jharkhand – 20.63 percent	Jharkhand – 23.78 percent
Orissa – 77 percent	Orissa – 15.70 percent	Orissa – 0.60 percent

Figures 6.3 and 6.4 indicates the first reactions of the people to the notified projects. In brief, the following are the reactions researchers recorded:

The above data presents a damning picture of the impact of the projects on the emotional lives of the DP/PAP: feelings of non-acceptance, fear and frustration are significantly the predominant emotions generated by the various development projects.

Fig. 6.3: First reactions of the people to be displaced (state-wise)

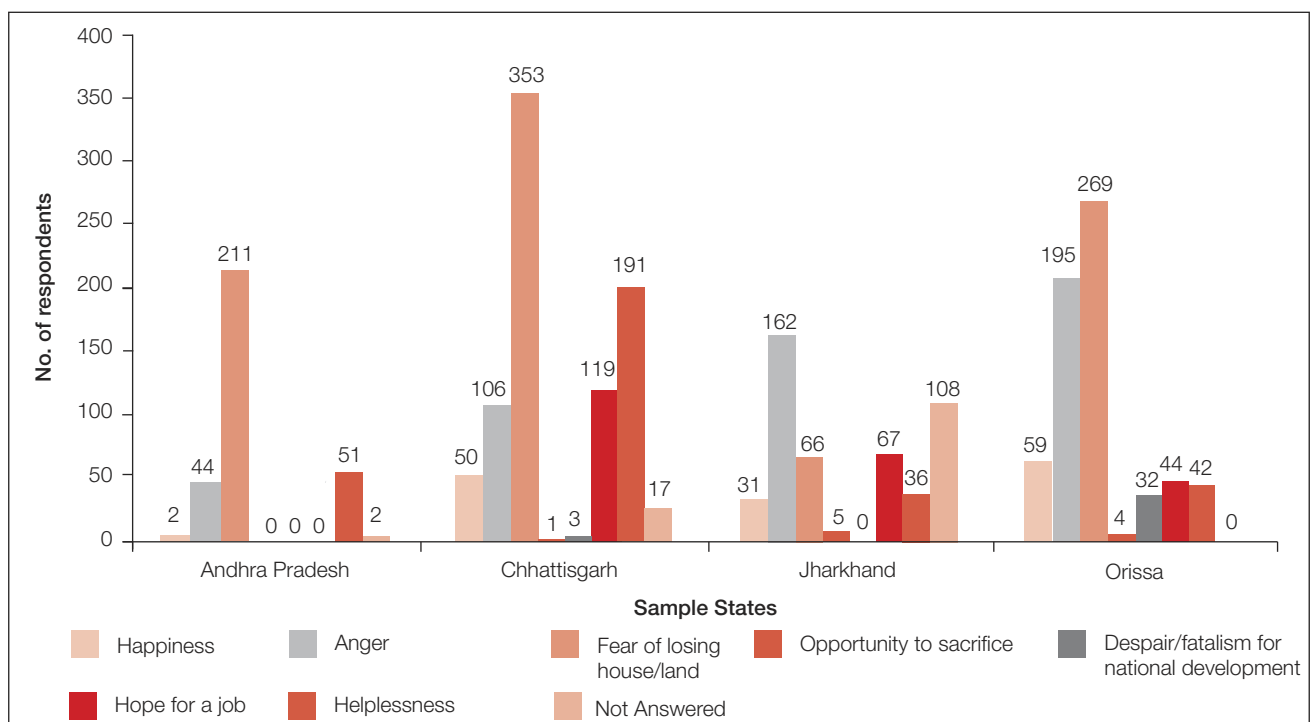
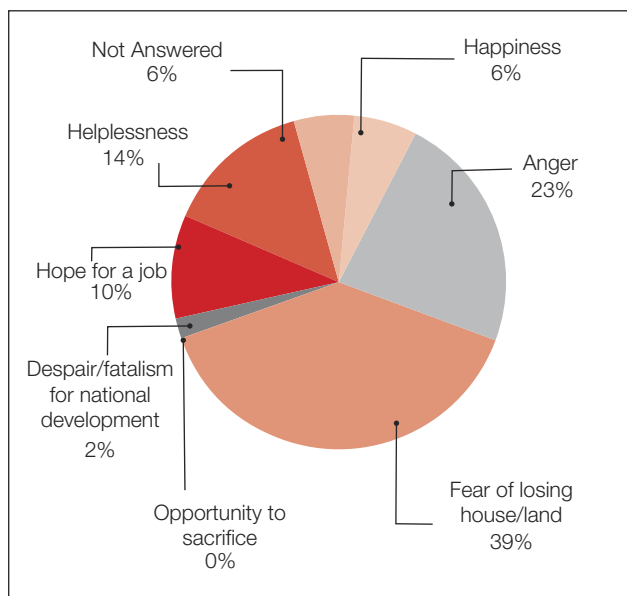


Table 6.1: Reactions of the leaders

Sl. No.	Reactions	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa	All
1	Did nothing	90	188	101	133	512
	Percentage	29.03	22.01	15.23	23.75	21.96
2	Tried to unite people against it	17	181	131	116	445
	Percentage	5.48	21.19	19.76	20.71	19.09
3	Discussed among themselves	170	279	65	109	623
	Percentage	54.84	32.67	9.80	19.46	26.73
4	Supported the Project	0	30	8	19	57
	Percentage	0.00	3.51	1.21	3.39	2.45
5	Called people's meeting	25	152	161	90	428
	Percentage	8.06	17.80	24.28	16.07	18.36
6	Became dalals of the project	0	4	26	6	36
	Percentage	0.00	0.47	3.92	1.07	1.54
7	Forced people not to leave	0	0	8	8	16
	Percentage	0.00	0.00	1.21	1.43	0.69
8	NA/Cannot Say	8	20	107	79	214
	Percentage	2.58	2.34	16.14	14.11	9.18
	Total	310	854	663	560	2331

Source: Study Questionnaires

Fig. 6.4: First reactions of the people to be displaced (consolidated)



2.2. Reactions of the Leaders

The leaders are the local elites whom the displaced people look to for solutions to take the issue with higher authorities. As per the respondents' perception, leaders played three types of roles – they opposed, supported or remained indifferent to the notified projects.

The data from Table 6.1 and Figure 6.5 demonstrate that the proportion of leaders who opposed, supported or were indifferent to the project is roughly as follows:

Opposition	Support	Indifference
Andhra Pradesh – 68.37 percent	Andhra Pradesh – 0 percent	Andhra Pradesh – 31.66 percent
Chhattisgarh – 21.19 percent	Chhattisgarh – 3.51 percent	Chhattisgarh – 24.35 percent
Jharkhand – 20.96 percent	Jharkhand – 1.21 percent	Jharkhand – 31.37 percent
Orissa – 22.14 percent	Orissa – 3.39 percent	Orissa – 37.85 percent



Fig. 6.5: Reactions of the leaders after the information of displacement

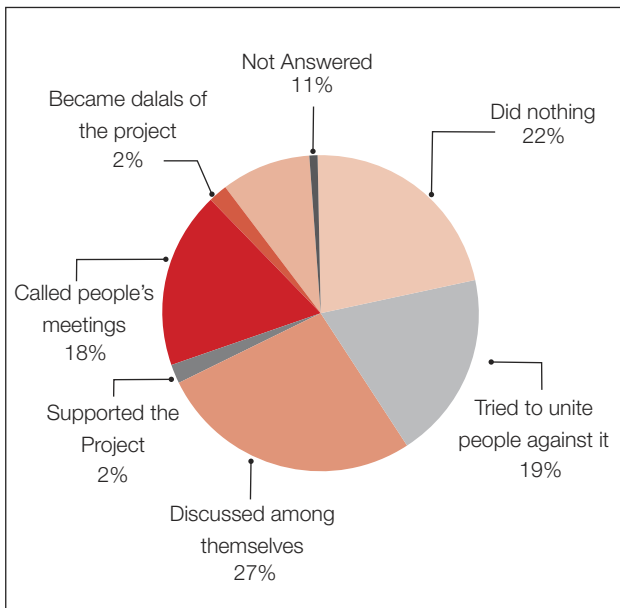


Fig. 6.6: Forced displacement

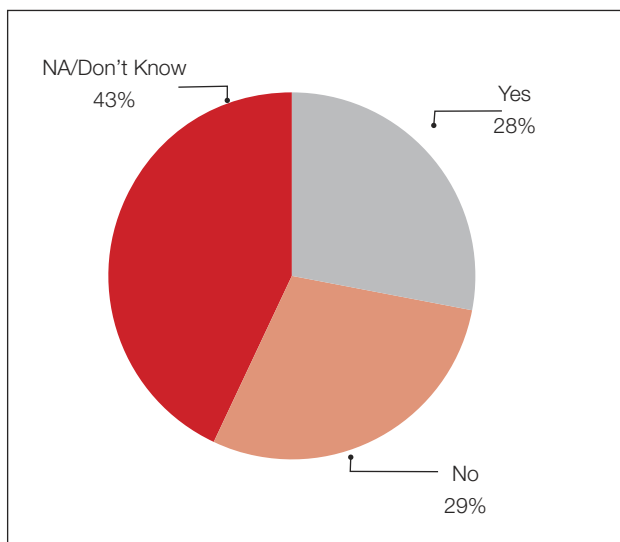
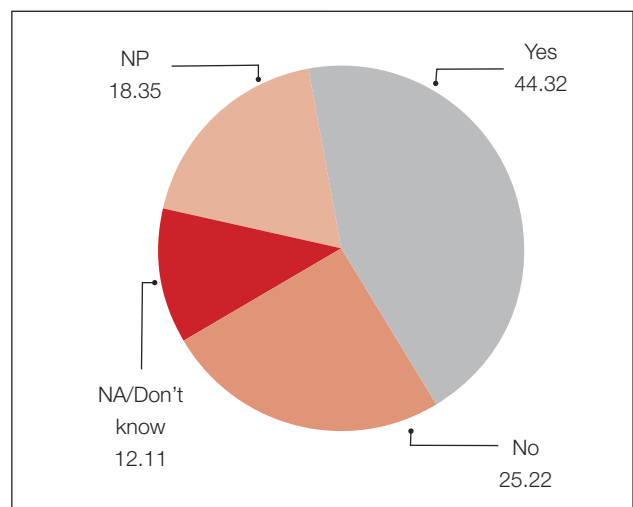


Fig. 6.7: Protest against displacement



2.3. Forced Displacement

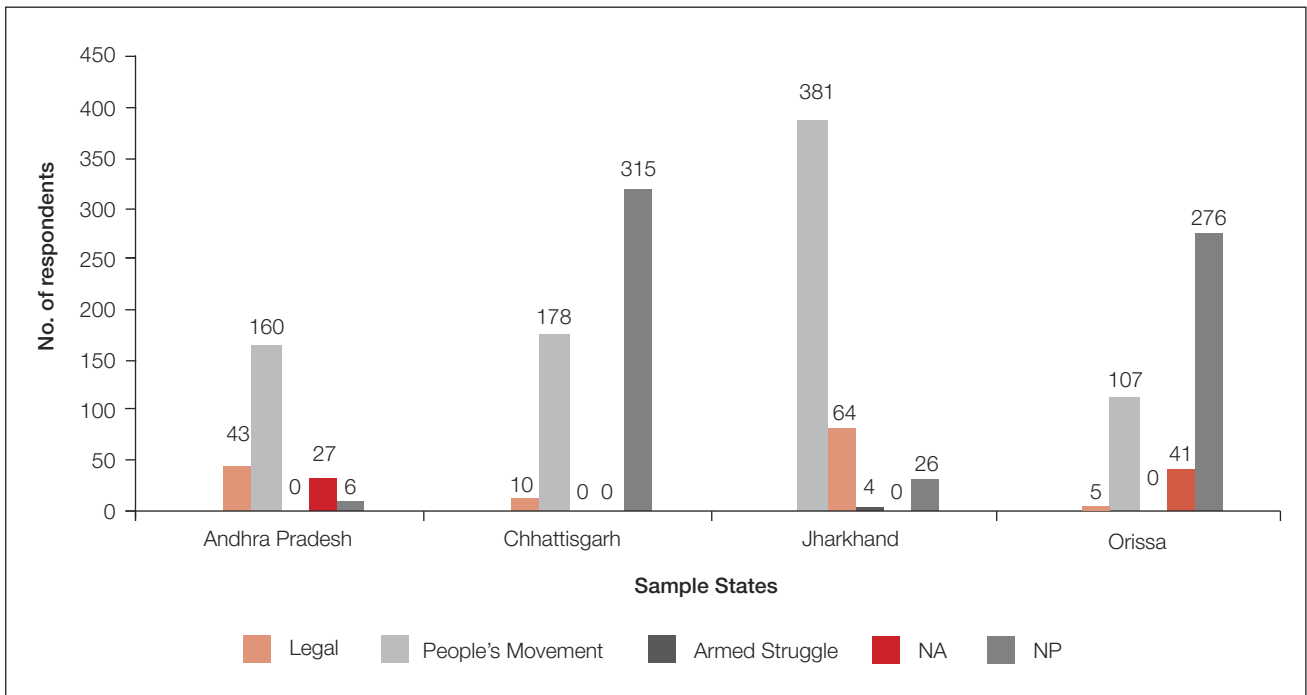
Figure 6.6 demonstrates that 28 percent of the respondents were forcibly evacuated, 29 percent said they had not been evacuated forcibly and 43 percent did not respond. The data collected makes it evident that 10 percent of the respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 23 percent in Chhattisgarh,

Table 6.2: Protest against displacement

S.N.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa	All
1	Yes	180	138	323	120	761
	Percentage	58.06	27.44	68.00	27.97	44.32
2	No	109	97	148	79	433
	Percentage	35.16	19.28	31.16	18.41	25.22
3	NA /Don't know	5	0	0	203	208
	Percentage	1.61	0.00	0.00	47.32	12.11
4	NP	16	268	4	27	315
	Percentage	5.16	53.28	0.84	6.29	18.35
	Total	310	503	475	429	1717

Source: Study Questionnaires

Fig. 6.7: Nature of opposition against displacement (state-wise)



60 percent in Jharkhand and 10 percent in Orissa were forcibly evacuated from their original habitation.

2.4. Protests against Displacement

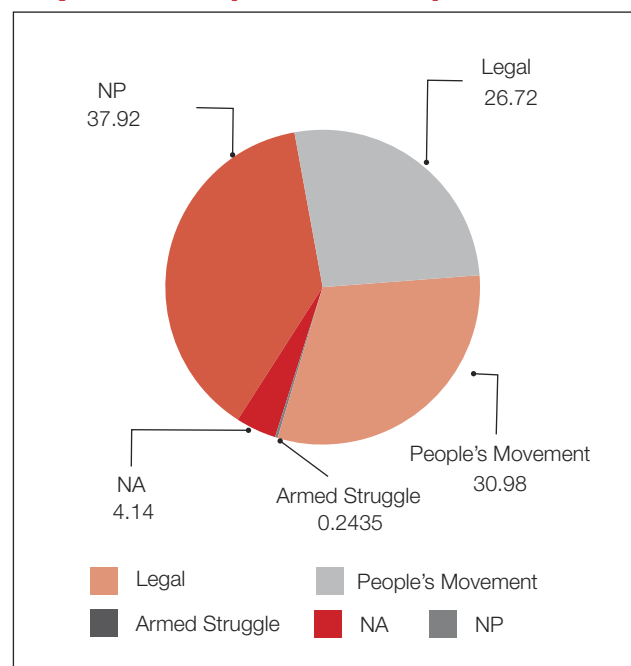
The first reaction of the displaced people was to organise protests against the development projects and their instigators. Table 6.2 and Figure 6.7 demonstrate that 44.32 percent of total respondents protested against the project. 58.06 percent in Andhra Pradesh, 27.44 percent in Chhattisgarh, 68 percent in Jharkhand, and 27.7 percent in Orissa organised protests against the notified projects.

The opposition to the projects mainly took the form of either participation in people's movements or legal intervention. Figure 6.8 shows that 30.98 percent opposed through people's movement and 26.72 percent through legal. 51.61 percent in Andhra Pradesh, 35.39 percent in Chhattisgarh, 13.47 percent in Jharkhand and 25 percent in Orissa participated in people's movements against displacement. Comparatively legal intervention was 13 percent in Andhra Pradesh, 2 percent in Chhattisgarh and 1 percent in Orissa with the maximum in Jharkhand at 80.21 percent.

The State has witnessed heightened resistance of the people against its indiscriminate acts of

land acquisition and displacement of people in the past decade. The period 1996-2007 witnessed systematic, organised, and determined protests questioning the very legitimacy of the principle of eminent domain on the basis of which the State acquires property through its legal arm (the Land Acquisition Act, 1894). Though participation in these movements was principally by persons directly

Fig. 6.8: Nature of opposition against displacement (consolidated)



Adivasi, Dalits & Women Protesting on Land Issues Killed by Orissa Police during 1997-2006

- On 7 August, 1997, two women processionists were killed as a result of the police firing on a mass rally at Sindhigaon protesting against the land acquisition for Tata Steel Company at Gopalpur-on-sea.
- On 30 May, 1999, the police firing on fishermen protesting against the land-grabbing mafia at Chilika Lake in Khurda district led to death of five persons belonging to SC.
- On 30 December, 1999, the police shot dead nine persons that included eight tribals at Mandrabaju in Gajapati district.
- On 16 December, 2000, the police firing at village Maikanch led to death of three tribals protesting against the UAIL's bauxite mining and alumina factory in Kashipur, Rayagada district.
- In two successive incidents in October-November 2001, five tribals were killed by the police firing in Raigarh area of Nabarangapur district in connection with their protest on land related issues.
- On 2 January, 2006 the police killed 12 tribals protesting the forcible erection of a boundary wall on their land for Tata Steel Plant at Kalinga Nagar in Jajpur district; another tribal injured in the incident died later in the hospital; the palms and private parts of some of these dead persons were chopped off by the police.

Sources:

Samantra Prafulla, President Loka Shakti Abhijan Orissa Unit, Press release at Chennai, 2/2/2006 on 'The Kalinganagar Massacre, Tribal land, Industrialisation and Justice in Orissa;

Das Achyut, Jagatikarana O' Sangramrata Manisa (Struggling people), an Oriya book, published by Sikshasandhan, Bhubaneswar, 2007:163

displaced and affected by the impugned projects, there was wide support and collaboration from civil society groups, media, intelligentsia, and academia. The escalating violence of the State in its drive towards inequitable 'development' resulted in general public sympathy, in Orissa, for the acts of militancy, road blockade, kidnapping and detention of officials of the South Korean steel-maker POSCO which had proposed a \$10 billion steel plant in the State, and installation of 'no entry' barricades in several villages that agitators and affected persons engaged in.

The decade 1996-2007 also witnessed the re-surfacing of long forgotten agitations, in an organised manner this time around, of people displaced by projects such as the Hirakud, Machhkund, Upper Indravati and Rengali Dams and the Rourkela Steel Plant and who were still awaiting compensation/rehabilitation.

A Note on Resistance Movements in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand and Orissa

Andhra Pradesh

1. Resistance against Polavaram Dam in AP

The Polavaram dam is located about 42 Km upstream of Godavari barrage at Dowlaiswaram, the governments

of Orissa and Chhattisgarh have given consent to it. The power house with an installed capacity of 720 MW is also envisaged on the left bank of the Polavaram dam. The land will be acquired to the extent on 24840 acres with an investment Rs 8000 crores. The project authorities are claiming the submergence of 250 settlements in three States. Actually, around 365 settlements would be affected. A recent study by the Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Hyderabad, made for the AP Irrigation Department, identified 276 settlements coming under submergence in AP alone. The claims of the benefits of the project are also shifting - first, it was primarily to irrigate lands in East & West Godavari districts which are relatively well irrigated, and now the AP government says that it is mainly for power generation. It would displace about two lakh people out of which the tribal population is around 1,25,000.

The Koya movement is protesting against the dam. They have given written appeal to withdraw Polavaram Dam (Lokayan Bulletin 11:5, 1995 (pp 82 -86). This dam would disturb and destroy their habitat and collective identity and life of Koya people. They grow Jonna (sorghum), Makka jonna (maize), rice, mirch, tobacco, dal etc, of several varieties with bio-fertilisers and rain water so they don't want to lose their source of livelihood and fertile lands.

The reason for their resistance "We are people of the forest and nature. Forests are the abode of sacred spirits. They are the source and part of our economy- our daily food, agriculture, livestock, housing, implements; our belief system and worship; our song and dance; and our life world. Our practices, lifestyles and beliefs protect nature and are shaped by it. We have festivals for the produce of all plants - Chikkudu pandum, Pacha pandum, Ippa pandum, Bhoomi pandum. We consume vegetables, cereals, pulses, mohua and several other things only after conserving the same for the next season. We do not like to lose our life dependent on nature for one based on and dictated by money."

2. Struggle against proposed Bauxite mining in Visakhapatnam district

Twenty seven hills in the Visakhapatnam district have been identified for bauxite mining. Each mining site has at least 10 villages surrounding it, which means that approximately 270 villages will be adversely affected. The affected that include the tribal people from Visakhapatnam and Vijayanagaram districts and agriculturists near the proposed smelters in Sabbavaram and S Kota Mining of bauxite deposits would displace 247 villages, 9,312 families comprising 44,000 tribals and displace 60,000 families dependent on coffee plantation and cultivation. It would also cause denudation of 8,000 hectares of forest area.

Open cast mining would cause dust pollution within a radius of 10 km exposing the tribals to various diseases associated with respiratory system.

DHIMSA network (DHIMSA network is a network of tribal headed groups working for tribal rights in the State) made attempts to organise people around the issue, formation of anti bauxite protest committees with the people, exposure visit to mining places, survey, data collection, file a case against MoU between APMMDC and Jindhal etc. The court has dismissed the MoU between Jindhal and APMD C for their agreement with getting clearances. The Anti Bauxite Committees (ABC) are formed in 45 villages in 2006 and 2007 and are protesting against the bauxite mining.

Jharkhand

1. 30 YEARS LATER, A TRIBAL TRIUMPH – Koel Karo Movement (source: The Times of India)

For most people in Jharkhand, the Koel Karo project has been a familiar name since the last three decades. The project was initiated by the then Bihar government

in 1973 with the objective of harnessing the Koel and Karo rivers to produce hydroelectric power. In 1980, the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) was given the task of building dams on the two rivers. Since the announcement of the project it was vehemently opposed by the tribals in Gumla, Ranchi and Singhbhum districts of Jharkhand. They felt the project would submerge a large part of their agricultural land and a number of religious places, especially forest groves called as 'Sarnas' that have from ancient times, been considered sacred by the tribals.

Official assessment of the projects scope showed the number of villages affected to be 42. This was revised to 112. Tribal leaders however claimed that 256 villages would come under the projects submergence area. Also 50,000 acres of forest area and 40,000 acres of agricultural land would be affected besides 300 'sarnas', 175 churches and 120 mandirs.

Although the government offered to resettle the affected villages, the tribals insisted on a total resettlement package. The Koel Karo Jan Sanghatan (formed by the tribals to oppose the project) demanded for resettlement, provided it was including social, environmental and religious factors. They proposed that 2 villages be resettled as a model. If the people were satisfied they would go ahead with the resettlement. However the govt. decided to go ahead with the project. Police were dispatched to the area in 1985. The tribals boycotted the police personnel. They were not allowed to set up their camps and no daily provisions were sold to them, making their daily existence difficult. The project died down. In 1995, PV Narasimha Rao, the then Prime Minister decided to lay the foundation stone. More than 30,000 people mostly tribals agitated. Police opened fire and 8 people were killed. The stone laying was postponed. The Jan Sanghatan then resolved not to hold any more talks for resettlement. The Sanghatan thrives from the 16,000 families, most of whom contribute Rs 100 a year for the cause.

In 2005, the govt. scrapped the project. But the Sanghatan vows to spread awareness till the project is officially announced as closed in the gazette. They share their experiences with the Narmada Bachao Andolan and Singur.

"The villagers are being misguided by some elements who are not interested in the development of Bastar region," the minister said.

When the members demanded that the government should relax the norms and force Tata Steel to accept all the demands of the villagers, Agrawal said the government could consider the suggestion.

2. People's movement against Jindal in Ghatsila Sub-division covering Ghatsila, Musabani and Potka Block

A MoU was signed between Jindal and Government of Jharkhand in 2002. Jindal needed 5200 acres of land which includes forest land, revenue land and private agricultural land to set up a steel factory. Initially Jindal started its survey work in Hesalong, Chandil block in Saraikela-Kharswan district but due to the strong people's resistance they had to shift to Asambhani area in Potka block in East Singhbhum District.

People's movement:

Movement started in 2003, when community saw in the newspaper and heard that company has come to their area to do survey. Initially 2-3 villages participated in the movement led by Muniram Murmu and Digar Soren and they formed 'Bhumi Raksha Sangharsh Samittee' in Khairboni in Jamshedpur Block and Asanboni of Potka block. Sh Kumar Chandra Mardi from Potka block initially took initiative to strengthen the movement to protest against the Jindal.

On 15th November, 2005 an inauguration programme was planned in Potka block in which then Chief Minister Sh Arjun Munda had to come for the same. Around 15000 people protested against that 'bhumi puja' programme and submitted memorandum to the CM to stop the project. So the work did not start in 2005.

Again in November 2006 villager received notice from the government, to organise Gram Sabha and pass a resolution to provide land to Jindal. But the 'Bhumi Raksha Sangharsh Samittee' did not allow holding the meeting. Ultimately Jindal had to drop its project in Ghatsila.

Orissa

1. Campaigns and social actions against Displacement in Orissa

Sustained campaigning by people's organisation against their eviction from arable lands is clearly visible in districts like Sundergarh, Keonjhar, Koraput Lanjigarh, where government has initiated large-scale mining operations. People have come to understand that organised action against displacement is the

only mean to defend their legitimate rights. People's organisations like **Sachetan Nagarika Manch**, **Niyamgiri Surakhya Samity** in Lanjigarh, **Keonjhar surakhya parisad** in Keonjhar have been able to bring positive results by influencing the report of Central Empowered Committee (CEC) in favour of affected people. The right to work and equal and minimum wages campaign by **SHAKTI Network** in Sundergarh, an initiative of 12 NGOs/CBOs including three DA's has come up as a great force of people to assert for their right to work and get equal wages for women and men. This network has successfully mobilised people to put claims on so-called encroached forestland. Network has initiated actions against displacement due to mining and other industrial operations. Community groups and their leaders are more aware and vigilant than before on consequences of trafficking in women and children in these areas. People's movement in Keonjhar district prepares for struggle to protect their natural resources for livelihood. **Bisthapan Birodhi Manch**, a tribal movement in Kalinga Nagar industrial area of Jajpur district has successfully federated people to blockade Express Highway for more than 300 days, compelling State government and district administration to come to softer terms. In southern districts of Koraput and Malkangiri, people's solidarity groups like **Machkund displaced committee** and **RITES** are accredited with several achievements against displacement due to dams and hydroelectric projects.

2. Agitation against Tata Steel at Kalinga Nagar, Orissa

Tata Steel signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Govt of Orissa on 17th November 2004 for setting up of a 6 million ton per annum integrated steel plant in Kalinganagar Industrial Complex at Duburi in Jajpur district of Orissa with an investment of Rs 15,000 crore. The project will be completed in two module of 3 million ton, with the first module getting commissioned in 2008. Govt of Orissa has allotted around 2000 acres of land to the Steel Company for the project in Kalinganagar, which has been registered in favour of Tata Steel. The Nippon Steel Corporation, Japan has been appointed as the Technical Consultant to the Kalinganagar Steel project.

On 2nd January, 2006, 13 tribals were killed in police firing in Kalinga Nagar while peacefully opposing State government taking away their land. Since then road block continued for Paradeep – Daitari express highway no. 200 at Kalinga Nagar – for 14 months and

6th days. Based on a PIL, filed on November 2006, by Chambra Soy of village Gobaraghati for the death of his son Sanjay Soy in fever in May, 06 due to road block. Whereas, all the passenger vehicles were allowed on the road. The local group believes this to be the foul game of the ruling party. Orissa High Court asked the Government to lift this blockade by March 9th, as it was posing problems for common citizens. During the hearing of this PIL, the petitioner (apparently sponsored by mining companies) and the Government of Orissa cleverly hid the fact that the blockade by the Kalinganagar tribals allowed all other traffic except mining trucks and govt. vehicles, and that in fact there was no inconvenience faced by local people who wanted to travel by the Highway.

Bistapan Birodhi Jan Manch (BBJM) says that State has betrayed them and has not kept their demand and is trying to forcefully open the roadblock. Already 13 tribals have sacrificed their lives for protecting the land and the others want to continue their struggle. State govt. has returned the palms to the Manch on 7th. On 8th evening State has given written assurance to withdraw cases filed on the leaders of the Manch. But some of the areas of concern still remain. Even after opening the road, Manch has two demands –

- Not allow TATA Company to come up with the industry in that area.
- Not allow police to enter the villages of the area
- Not allow TATA officials to enter the area

Because of the Tribals movement (Bistapan Birodhi Jan Manch and Kalinganagar Surakshya Samiti) against displacement in the Orissa government has decided to drop the plan to provide special Economic Zone (SEZ) status to Kalinganagar. The State had received 17 proposals from various industrial houses for setting up SEZs in the State and the Centre had approved 13 of them.

3. Movement against Vedanta Alumina Ltd

The Niyamagiri Hills (4248 feet high) is home to a varied range of wild and largely endangered species. Lions, tigers, elephants and all manner of rare flora and fauna can be found in the dense forest. It is an area of extraordinary natural beauty that is protected under Section 18 of the Indian Wildlife Act. The area is also home to several tribes of 'Original Peoples' (pre Aryan) that have special status under Indian law. The Dongaria Kondhs, Kutia Kondhas and Jharania Kondhas live here in about 200 villages near the forest

and the streams. They worship the Mountain as a living God. It is the source of 32 rivulets contributing to Bansadhara and Nagavali River flowing through Kalahandi and Rayagada. These rivers flowing through Andhra Pradesh will affect the water requirement of 1000 villages located on its bank

M/s Vedanta Aluminium Ltd. (VAL) has signed MoU with the Orissa government on 5th august 2004 for a new alumina refinery and bauxite mine in the Niyamgiri area in the State of Orissa. Production of 1m tpa, but with capacity for 1.4m tpa. The Refinery to be constructed by M/s. VAL at Lanjigarh at an estimated cost of Rs. 4000 crores. The alumina refinery project will require 3 million tones per annum bauxite which is proposed to be sourced from the nearby Niyamgiri hills. The land required for the alumina refinery and the mines are 723.343 ha. and 721.323 ha., respectively. Through Vedanta 300 villages with 15000 families will be affected, 12 villages will be displaced. The environmental clearance for the project was accorded by the MoEF on 22nd September, 2004 wherein it is Stated that the project does not involve any diversion of forest land and that the source of bauxite for the alumina refinery will be the Niyamgiri bauxite mines near Lanjigarh. At the time of the grant of the environmental clearance, a proposal for the diversion of 58.943 ha. of the forest land for the alumina refinery was pending with the MoEF. The proposal for the use of 672.018 ha. forest land for mining is at present pending with the Ministry of Environment and Forests. Permission for the use of 30,000 cu. mtrs. of water per day from River Tel has been accorded by the State Government on 31.10.2003. It has only completed the refinery but yet to get the bauxite mining, the matter has been pending since 2004.



The International level pressure and media advocacy

has influenced the NORWAY to drop British mining and metals group Vedanta Resources from its \$350 billion oil fund at the recommendation of the fund's ethics council, which blamed it for environmental damage and human rights violations, the finance ministry said.

3. Rehabilitation and Resettlement Post-displacement

3.1. Compensation

3.1.1. Adequacy of Compensation

Both the project officials and the government claim they adequately compensate the displaced families. However the compensation packages do not account for landless households who work as hired labourers on peasant-owned land, or tribal households that hold customary rights to land they have been cultivating for many generations without formal land records,

or pastoral communities that customarily graze their cattle on common lands. With the incursion of the development project, these tribals are recast as encroachers on government lands and thus lacking in entitlement for compensation. The rehabilitation and resettlement policies in the State of Orissa, for example, framed after the post-Kalinga Nagar incident in 2006 publicised by the State government as one of the best in India, nevertheless excluded these households without formal land claims. Thus it is that many tribal tenants without land deeds (*patta*) are displaced but not compensated both by the government and project authorities.

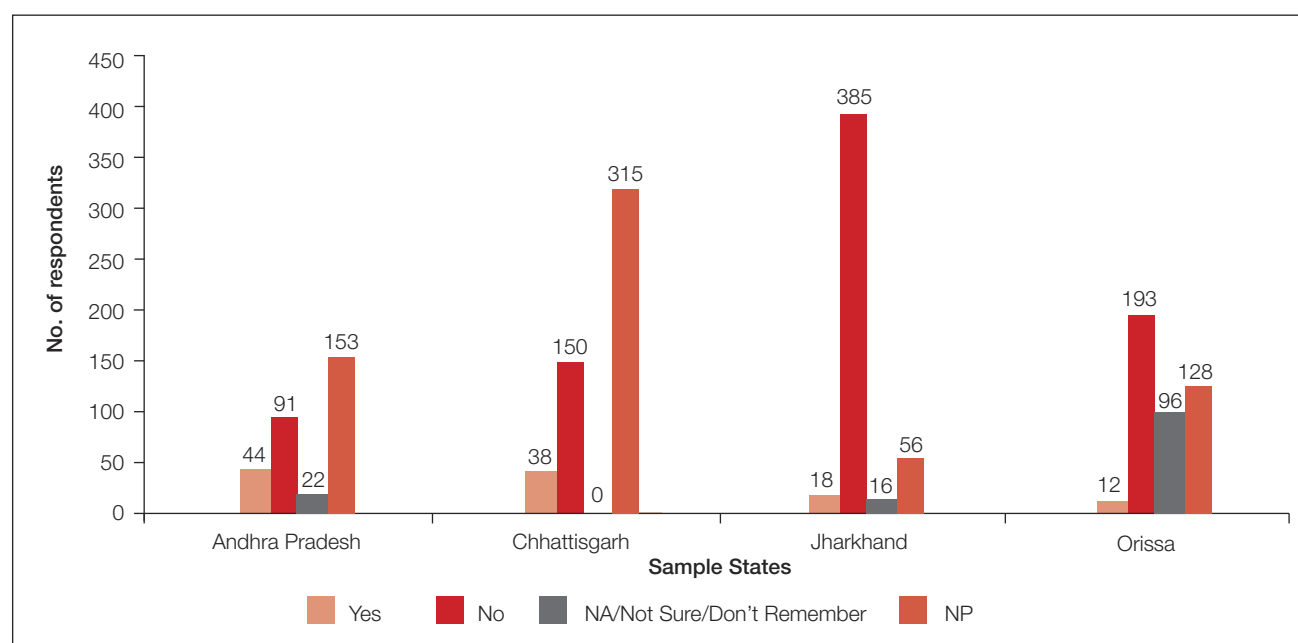
Table 6.3 shows that only 9.35 percent of the respondents in Andhra Pradesh and 2.19 percent in Jharkhand were aware of the compensation package paid by the government and project

Table 6.3: Awareness on criteria of compensation

Sl. No.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa	All
1	Yes	29	11	44	12	96
	Percentage	9.35	2.19	9.26	2.80	5.59
2	No	281	442	431	207	1361
	Percentage	90.65	87.87	90.74	48.25	79.27
3	NA	0	50	0	210	260
	Percentage	0.00	9.94	0.00	48.95	15.14
	Total	310	503	475	429	1717

Source: Study Questionnaires

Fig. 6.9: Respondents' opinion whether compensation adequate (state-wise)



implementing authorities. As much as 90.65 percent in Andhra Pradesh, 87.87 percent in Chhattisgarh, 90.74 percent in Jharkhand and 48.25 percent in Orissa were not aware of the compensation packages paid by the project implementing agencies.

Data collected reveals that 85 percent of the respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 85.9 percent in Chhattisgarh, 96.2 percent in Jharkhand and 97.2 percent in Orissa felt they were not adequately compensated.

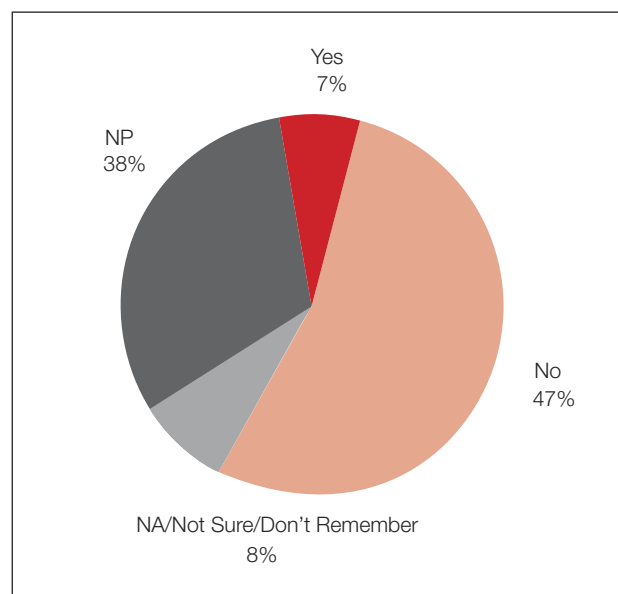
Thus, in spite of the claims made by the respective State governments, majority of the displaced people studied felt they were not adequately compensated in the process of displacement. Figures 6.10 and 6.11 shows that 92 percent respondents were not adequately compensated for the losses they suffered on account of displacement while only 7 percent said they were adequately compensated.

3.1.2. Payment of Cash Compensation

Compensation monies were mainly paid by the authorised banks. 68 percent of respondents in Chhattisgarh and 42 percent in Orissa were paid their compensation in a one-time settlement by banks. Besides the authorised banks, project officials paid 15 percent of the respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 14 percent in Chhattisgarh, and 6.5 percent each in Jharkhand and Orissa.

Table 6.4 indicates that only 30.65 percent of the respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 14.51 percent in Chhattisgarh, 25.47 percent in Jharkhand and 49.65 percent in Orissa were paid the whole amount of compensation due to them, indicating that more than 50 percent in each of the States received far less than what they were entitled to.

Fig. 6.10: Respondents' opinion on whether compensation adequate (consolidated)



Researchers discovered that only 12 percent of respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 1 percent in Chhattisgarh, 19.8 percent in Jharkhand and 5 percent in Orissa lodged complaints against improper compensation. Many who had not lodged complaints had said they were not sure of the procedures for lodging a complaint.

3.1.3. Utilisation of Compensation Monies by Displaced Households

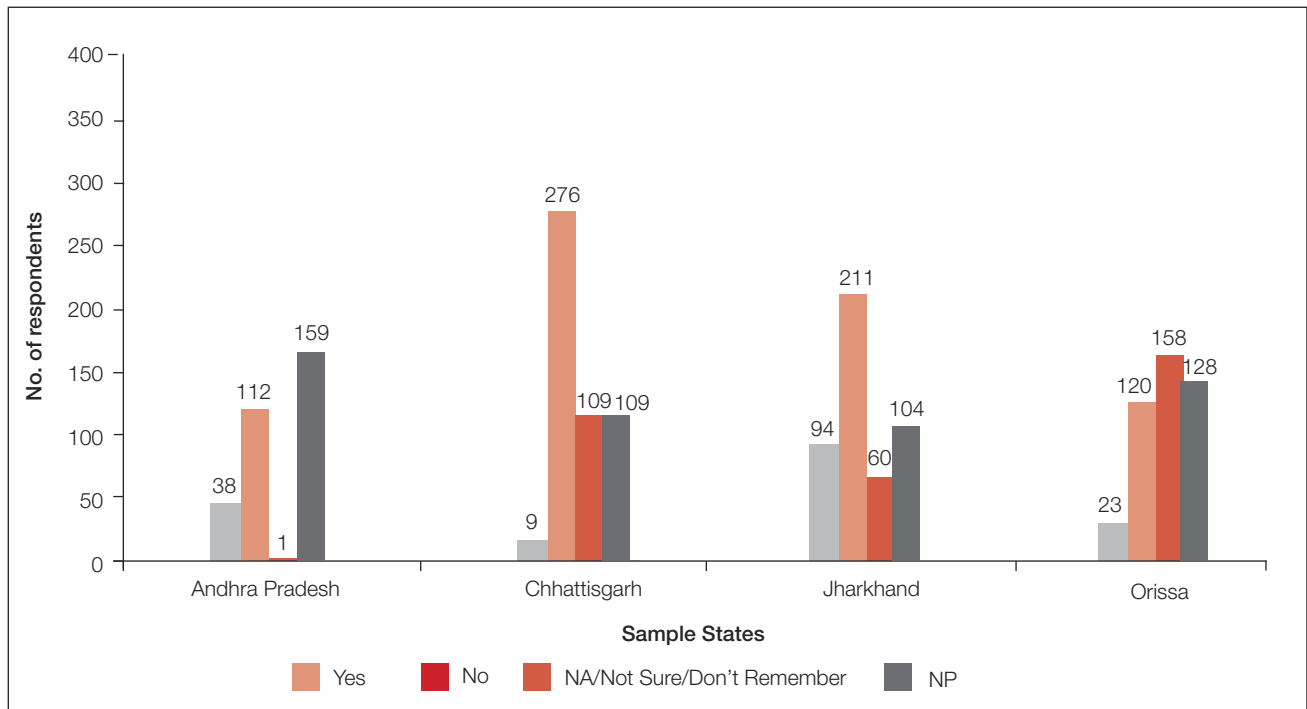
Table 6.5 shows that the majority of the respondents spent their compensation money on food items, evidencing that the compensation monies were unable to substitute effectively for the loss of livelihood and sustenance agricultural rations due to displacement.

Table 6.4: Were you paid the whole amount?

Sl. No.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa	All
1	Yes	95	73	121	213	502
	Percentage	30.65	14.51	25.47	49.65	29.24
2	No	50	89	133	20	292
	Percentage	16.13	17.69	28.00	4.66	17.01
3	Not Sure	4	26	158	68	256
	Percentage	1.29	5.17	33.26	15.85	14.91
4	Not Answered	161	315	63	128	667
	Percentage	51.94	62.62	13.26	29.84	38.85
	Total	310	503	475	429	1717

Source: Study Questionnaires

Fig. 6.11: Complaint lodged by displaced households against compensation



23 percent of the respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 42.54 percent in Chhattisgarh, 30 percent in Jharkhand and 24 percent in Orissa had to spend their compensation amount on food. In Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, a meagre 16.77 percent and 15 percent respectively reported spending their money on development of land. Again, in Chhattisgarh only 22.86 percent reported that they bought land with the compensation monies.

The data presented above completely defeats the argument that compensation helps people prosper. The amount people have deposited in banks or invested for business purposes is negligible. There were no bank deposits in Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, and Orissa. In Chhattisgarh, only 7.89 percent deposited any compensation monies in banks. In Andhra Pradesh, no one started any business from the compensation amount. In Chhattisgarh 0.82 percent, Jharkhand 0.15 percent and Orissa 0.15 percent started some form of business with the compensation monies, amounting to less than one percent of the displaced people in each State.

The monies received were thus spent on meeting their daily consumption needs leaving little over for the purchase of land or other investments of a substantial kind. Their households and forests, which they had occupied for generations, were alienated from them and

absence of investment in regenerating their resource would only impoverish them completely some years after their displacement.

3.1.4. Decisions on Spending

It is interesting to observe the patterns in which

To ascertain decisions on spending the following question was asked in the questionnaire:

Q: Who took the decision concerning spending (More than one answer possible)

- Land Purchase
- Household Articles
- Land Development
- Consumer Goods
- Livestock Purchase
- On food
- House Building
- Social Functions
- Ornaments
- Started a Business
- NA/Do not know/ Do not remember
- NP (Not applicable)

Table 6.5: Utilisation of compensation amount by the displaced households

Sl. No.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa	All
1	Land purchase	15.00	115.00	71.00	14.00	215.00
	Percentage	4.84	22.86	14.95	2.35	8.38
2	Household article	9.00	90.00	53.00	83.00	235.00
	Percentage	2.90	17.89	11.16	13.95	9.16
3	Land development	52.00	168.00	5.00	3.00	228.00
	Percentage	16.77	33.40	1.05	0.50	8.89
4	Consumer goods	0.00	6.00	3.00	51.00	60.00
	Percentage	0.00	1.19	0.63	8.57	2.34
5	Livestock	0.00	0.00	46.00	0.00	46.00
	Percentage	0.00	0.00	9.68	0.00	1.79
6	On food	71.00	214.00	142.00	141.00	568.00
	Percentage	22.90	42.54	29.89	23.70	22.14
7	House building	6.00	98.00	127.00	92.00	323.00
	Percentage	1.94	19.48	26.74	15.46	12.59
8	Social functions	1.00	50.00	13.00	31.00	95.00
	Percentage	0.32	9.94	2.74	5.21	3.70
9	Ornaments	1.00	40.00	1.00	27.00	69.00
	Percentage	0.32	7.95	0.21	4.54	2.69
10	Started business	0.00	8.00	1.00	1.00	10.00
	Percentage	0.00	1.59	0.21	0.17	0.39
11	Studies	0.00	0.00	12.00	0.00	12.00
	Percentage	0.00	0.00	2.53	0.00	0.47
12	Bank deposit	0.00	75.00	1.00	0.00	76.00
	Percentage	0.00	14.91	0.21	0.00	2.96
13	Don't remember	1.00	19.00	144.00	98.00	262.00
	Percentage	0.32	3.78	30.32	16.47	10.21
14	Not answered	140.00	117.00	56.00	54.00	367.00
	Percentage	45.16	23.26	11.79	9.08	14.30
	Total	310.00	503.00	475.00	595.00	2566.00

Source: Study Questionnaires

Fig. 6.13: Utilisation patterns of compensation by the sample households

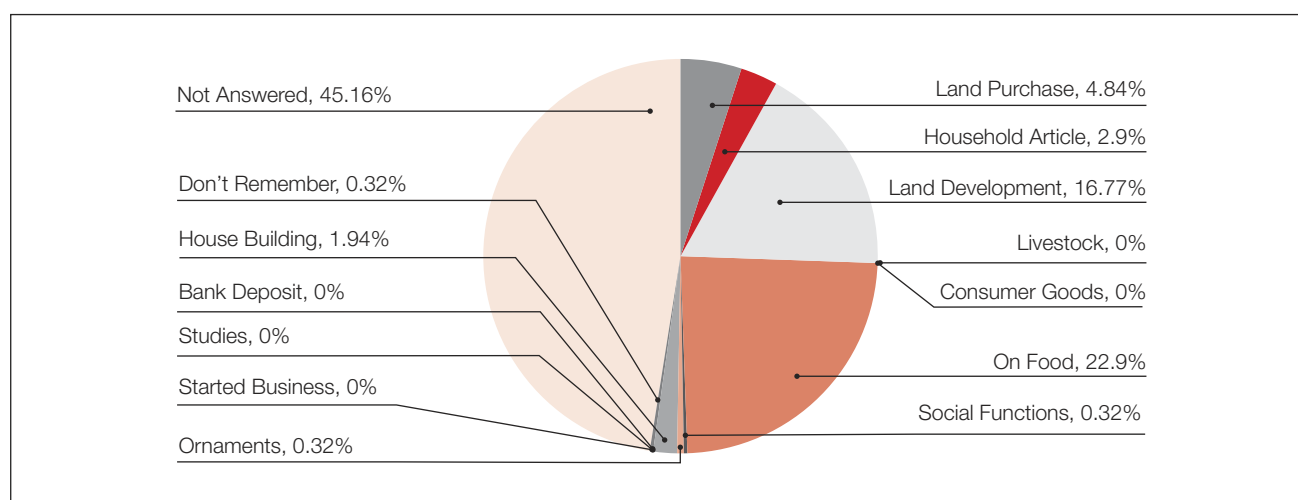


Table 6.6: Family decision on spending compensation amount

Sl. No.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa	All
1	Husband	13.00	84.00	27.00	102.00	226.00
	Percentage	4.19	16.70	5.68	20.94	12.74
2	Husband and wife	78.00	42.00	98.00	39.00	257.00
	Percentage	25.16	8.35	20.63	8.01	14.49
3	Wife	4.00	2.00	7.00	7.00	20.00
	Percentage	1.29	0.40	1.47	1.44	1.13
4	Husband's father	0.00	0.00	34.00	7.00	41.00
	Percentage	0.00	0.00	7.16	1.44	2.31
5	Husband's mother	0.00	2.00	8.00	10.00	20.00
	Percentage	0.00	0.40	1.68	2.05	1.13
6	Father and son	0.00	0.00	12.00	0.00	12.00
	Percentage	0.00	0.00	2.53	0.00	0.68
7	Whole family	70.00	210.00	101.00	84.00	465.00
	Percentage	22.58	41.75	21.26	17.25	26.21
8	Don't remember	1.00	47.00	132.00	164.00	344.00
	Percentage	0.32	9.34	27.79	33.68	19.39
9	Not answered	143.00	116.00	56.00	74.00	389.00
	Percentage	46.13	23.06	11.79	15.20	21.93
	Total	310.00	503.00	475.00	487.00	1774.00

Source: Study Questionnaires

members of displaced households make decisions on priorities of spending the compensation monies. Table 6.6 shows that patriarchal practices are clearly visible as in all States: women had negligible decision making roles in Andhra Pradesh (1.3%), Chhattisgarh (0.4%), Jharkhand (1.4%), and Orissa (1.4%). This clearly indicates the disempowered status of women within the household. The contrast is clearly visible in the percentage of men taking decisions: Andhra Pradesh (4.2%), Chhattisgarh (16.1%), Jharkhand (5.68%), and Orissa (20.9%).

3.2. Displacement and Resettlement

3.2.1. Information Flow of Resettlement Packages

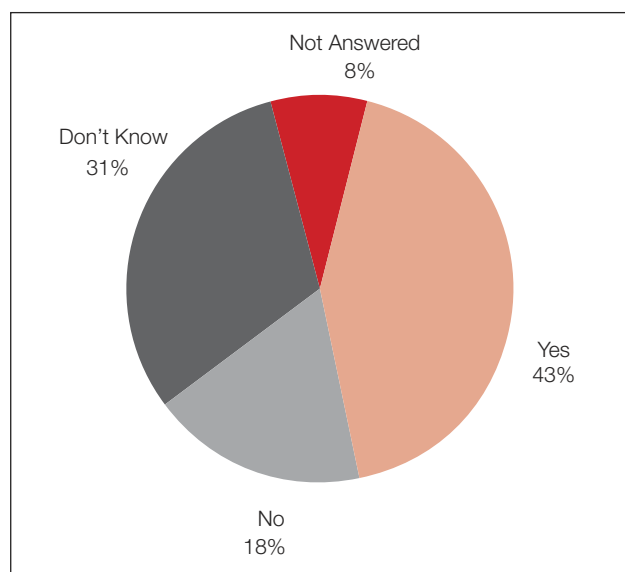
Development related displacement has been a feature of the modern Indian State's policies for over five decades now and yet no State government has a viable resettlement policy in place till date. As mentioned earlier, the State of Orissa framed its resettlement and rehabilitation policy as recently as in 2006.

Table 6.7: Project resettlement package

Sl. No.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa	All
1	Yes	288.00	113.00	248.00	95.00	744.00
	Percentage	92.90	22.47	52.21	22.14	43.33
2	No	11.00	84.00	197.00	11.00	303.00
	Percentage	3.55	16.70	41.47	2.56	17.65
3	Don't know	0.00	306.00	30.00	195.00	531.00
	Percentage	0.00	60.83	6.32	45.45	30.93
4	Not Answered	11.00	0.00	0.00	128.00	139.00
	Percentage	3.55	0.00	0.00	29.84	8.10
	Total	310.00	503.00	475.00	429.00	1717.00

Source: Study Questionnaires

Fig. 6.14: Resettlement by the project



Where the governments offer ad-hoc resettlement packages or otherwise, often there are too many bottle necks that obstruct information flow to the victims of displacement. Table 6.7 shows that 93 percent respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 22 percent in Chhattisgarh and Orissa each and 52 percent in Jharkhand reported that they were aware the projects had resettlement packages attached. In Jharkhand, 41 percent of the respondents reported that the project had no resettlement package for victims of displacement. In Orissa, two percent said they did not know whether the project had a resettlement package.

Figure 6.14 shows that only 43 percent of the respondents were resettled after displacement. 57 percent of the respondents reported the absence of any resettlement benefits.

State-wise data indicates that 61 percent of respondents in Andhra Pradesh and 35 percent in Orissa displaced by projects were resettled. Only eight percent of respondents displaced in Chhattisgarh were resettled. 39 percent in Andhra Pradesh, 91 percent, in Chhattisgarh, 58 percent in Jharkhand and 64 percent in Orissa were not resettled by the projects that displaced them.

3.2.2. People's Reactions to Resettlement

Broadly, the feelings of the people at the resettlement location can be put under three categories: (i) positive (hope for a new life and happiness); (ii) negative (fear of future and helplessness); and (iii) neutral (do not remember, do not know). Researchers identified that the majority of the displaced had negative feelings after resettlement. In the case of Andhra Pradesh, 48 percent had negative feelings at the resettlement colony and only 14.8 percent had positive feelings while 37.1 percent had neutral feelings. Financial strain was the main problem people faced after resettlement as evidenced clearly in Andhra Pradesh where 43 percent reported financial difficulties after resettlement. In Orissa, 23 percent reported shortage of non-timber forest produce (NTFP), 11.25 percent reported lack of facilities and 9.10 percent reported shortage of food.

Table 6.8: Where were you/your family between displacement and resettlement?

Sl. No.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa
1	Transit Camp	11	21	13	11
	Percentage	3.55	4.17	2.74	2.56
2	With Relatives	26	9	75	6
	Percentage	8.39	1.79	15.79	1.40
3	Had migrated to city slum	0	2	2	7
	Percentage	0.00	0.40	0.42	1.63
4	Old House	19	0	154	73
	Percentage	6.13	0.00	32.42	17.02
5	Going from place to place doing casual work	47	7	16	0
	Percentage	15.16	1.39	3.37	0.00
6	Not Answered/do no remember	207	464	228	332
	Percentage	66.77	92.25	48.00	77.39
	Total	310	503	475	429

Source: Study Questionnaires

Table 6.9: Decision on relocation

Sl. No.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa
1	R & R officials	11.00	31.00	141.00	76.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	3.55	6.16	27.38	17.72
2	Self with family	23.00	1.00	138.00	4.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	7.42	0.20	26.80	0.93
3	Village leaders	20.00	1.00	37.00	8.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	6.45	0.20	7.18	1.86
4	NA/Do not know/do not remember	0.00	9.00	143.00	33.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	0.00	1.79	27.77	7.69
5	NP	108.00	461.00	56.00	308.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	34.84	91.65	10.87	71.79
	Total	310.00	503.00	515.00	429.00

Source: Study Questionnaires

3.2.3. The Traumatic Journey from Displacement to Resettlement

The displaced families had to go through severe trauma in the process from displacement to resettlement. In Andhra Pradesh, 15 percent respondents said they had to travel from place to place in search of work, eight percent stayed with relatives, six percent stayed in old houses, and 3.5 percent stayed in transit camps. In Chhattisgarh, four percent stayed in transit camps and one percent stayed with relatives. 92 percent in Chhattisgarh and 77 percent in Orissa could not specify their exact settlements during transition.

3.2.4. The Decision to Relocate

Resettlement and rehabilitation officials, as evidenced in Table 6.9, relocated 3.55 percent of

the respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 6.16 percent in Chhattisgarh, 27.38 percent in Jharkhand and 17.72 percent in Orissa. 7.42 percent in Andhra Pradesh, 0.20 percent in Chhattisgarh, 26.80 percent in Jharkhand and 0.93 percent in Orissa made their own decisions on resettlement with the help of family members.

Government assistance in resettlement was thus minimal as also top down with an unclear understanding of the problems people faced and that the displaced had to primarily and substantially rely on other networks post-displacement. The ability of the displaced persons to thus be the agents of their own change was substantially undermined at every stage of decision making starting from the decision to establish the project.

Table 6.10: Payment of relocation cost

Sl. No.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa
1	Rehabilitation office	191.00	29.00	137.00	77.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	61.61	5.77	28.84	17.95
2	Self	11.00	1.00	144.00	37.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	3.55	0.20	30.32	8.62
3	Part project & part self/family	1.00	0.00	54.00	4.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	0.32	0.00	11.37	0.93
4	Don't remember	0.00	13.00	120.00	13.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	0.00	2.58	25.26	3.03
5	Not answered	107.00	460.00	56.00	298.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	34.52	91.45	11.79	69.46
	Total	310.00	503.00	475.00	429.00

Source: Study Questionnaires

Table 6.11: Transport provided for rehabilitation

Sl. No.	Responses	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa
1	Yes	143.00	33.00	177.00	112.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	46.13	6.56	37.26	26.11
2	No	59.00	4.00	99.00	10.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	19.03	0.80	20.84	2.33
3	Don't remember	0.00	4.00	143.00	9.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	0.00	0.80	30.11	2.10
4	Not answered	108.00	462.00	56.00	298.00
	<i>Percentage</i>	34.84	91.85	11.79	69.46
5	Total	310.00	503.00	475.00	429.00

Source: Study Questionnaires

3.2.5. Costs of Relocation

Data collected by researchers demonstrates that 61.61 percent of respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 5.77 percent in Chhattisgarh, 28.84 percent in Jharkhand and 17.95 percent in Orissa Stated that the costs of relocation had been assumed by the project officials. This evidences the fact that a large proportion of the displaced had to incur the financial burden of relocation and raise the money through various other networks.

3.2.6. Transport Costs to Resettlement Sites

46.13 percent of the respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 6.56 percent in Chhattisgarh, 37.26 percent in Jharkhand and 26.11 percent in Orissa were alone compensated for transportation costs to the resettlement colonies.

3.2.7. Social Problems following Displacement

(a) Unemployment – Unemployment rates sharply climbed amongst the victims of displacement. In Andhra Pradesh, as much as 34.8 percent of the respondents faced unemployment post-displacement. The non-availability of non timber forest produce also affected the sustenance and livelihood of the tribal populations. Available jobs caused greater inconvenience owing to the large distances people had to travel for employment. The financial strain was exponentially increased with the combination of lack of employment opportunities and inadequate infrastructure.

(b) Lack of Basic Facilities, Health Problems and the Fracturing of Social Networks – Resettlement sites in a majority of the projects lack basic facilities

such as drinking water, sanitation, playgrounds for children, community centres, schools, crèches and essential facilities. Primary health centres are not available for the medical care of displaced people. Perennial drinking water sources are drying out due to mining and industrial activities. In many resettlement colonies people have to wait for hours (and sometimes days) to get drinking water. Water levels are declining and every year more and more hand pumps dry up. Sources that these communities have relied upon for generations such as spring, pond, and river waters are polluted. Needless to say, the beneficent effects of natural mineral-rich spring water are unavailable in water from tankers.

Data from Chhattisgarh shows that facilities such as power supply declined from 48 percent to 27 percent, water supply declined from 47 percent to 27 percent and schooling facilities declined from 48 percent to 27 percent after displacement. The availability of places of worship declined from 50 percent to 26 percent and the availability of graveyards declined from 45 percent to 22 percent. Health care declined from 42 percent to 25 percent. Common Property Resources (CPR) which was earlier available up to ten percent, declined to six percent.

In Orissa, 18 percent reported that displacement had an adverse impact on their places of worship and 20 percent said facilities for burial of their dead were worse than before, 16 percent Stated that community centres were unavailable post-displacement and 15 percent claimed their access to the public distribution system was cut off. 33 percent reported that people spend more money on

Cholera Epidemic Death in Tribal Belt of Orissa

During the last week of August 2007 Cholera broke out in the Western districts of Orissa, which happens to be the tribal belt rich in minerals. In about 15 days time more than 250 died of cholera but the actual figures seems to have crossed 500. The affected districts are Kalahandi, Koraput and Rayagada which come under the undivided KKB (Kalahandi, Koraput and Bolangir) region which are among the most underdeveloped parts of the country and often in news for starvation deaths and distress child sales. Job opportunities in the region are limited with the major economic activity, agriculture, not generating enough income. Cholera and diarrhoea outbreaks are not new in the three districts, which have been visited by the waterborne diseases almost every monsoon as rainwater slush from hilltops contaminates water sources. From most in accessible villages patients never reached the hospital, as reported, quite a number of patients ran away from the hospital as no proper treatment was available and food was also not available for the attendants. Despite central pressure the State remained stubborn and never declared this to be an epidemic.

ActionAid took the following emergency actions in Lanjigarh, Kalyan Singhpur and Bisam Katak which are within operational area under Vedanta struggle: Organised health camps, 1514 patients were treated for diarrhea, fever, gastroenteritis, vomiting covering about 3500 households; Open wells were treated for safe drinking water and health awareness being created for drinking water from the well and not from the streams.

fashionable clothes than in the past and 26 percent reported escalated degeneration of inter-personal relationships. 17.5 percent bemoaned the loss of respect for traditional values.

In July and August 2007, more than 500 people in the districts of Raygada and Kalahandi in the State died of cholera for similar reasons.

Resettlement adversely affected the facilities and support networks that community living had made available to the adivasis for generations. *The loss of the forest also entails a serious blow to the socio-cultural life of the tribal communities.*

(c) Pollution – Air and noise pollution is a chronic problem in the resettlement sites of mining and industry projects.

Among the sample States, Jharkhand is the most polluted with as high as 76.8 percent dust and smoke particles in air, caused mainly by pollution from sponge iron factories in Saraikela- Kharsawan and East Singhbhum districts of Jharkhand. In Chhattisgarh, sponge iron factories in Raigarh district contribute largely to pollution levels. The Sundergarh district of Orissa is also witnessing an expansion of the sponge iron industry and consequent escalation of air pollution. These sponge iron factories pollute agricultural fields and water sources, covering the countryside for

miles with black layers of dust. Many fruit-bearing trees have stopped flowering due to the pollution. In Lanjigarh district in the State of Orissa, bauxite mining by the mining giant Vedanta Resources plc has resulted in a white layer of dust all over the fields and houses in the locality.

91 percent of the respondents in Jharkhand and 42 percent in Orissa reported noise pollution. 65 percent in Jharkhand and 40 percent in Orissa reported being affected by occasional blasts/other loud noises in and around their housing/villages because of mining and industrial activities.

(d) Housing – Traditionally the adivasis live in *kachcha* houses made of mud, thatched roof, wood and bamboo. These houses are eco-friendly and easy to maintain. The decline of forest resources and unavailability of raw materials have seriously affected their ability to build their traditional houses. The resettlement houses provided to them by resettlement colonies are counter-intuitive, more expensive and unsuitable to their ways of life. Many of them have left these houses and are staying in their mud houses even after rehabilitation by the project.

(e) Alcoholism – In Chhattisgarh 29 percent men and 12 percent women reported that the liquor consumption after displacement was higher than in the past.

The following is an extract from the website of the Tata Sponge Iron Limited which ironically details the hazards of Sponge Iron Units

Tata Company on the Hazards of Sponge Iron Units

Keonjhar bears mute testimony to the ever growing and irreversible damage being caused to Mother Nature by the rampant growth of unorganised industrial units in this district of Orissa. A difficult drive through the dilapidated NH 210 from Panikoili to Rourkela, which primarily locates most of these plants in the proximity of its stark expanse, unfolds the complete absence of environmental consciousness towards maintenance of natural surroundings by many of these units. This has consequently amplified the air, water and other forms of pollution that have swamped the areas surrounding these sponge iron plants to the detriment of the flora, fauna and human habitat. Regular demonstrations, writ petitions and PILs made by the afflicted residents from affected areas in the vicinity of these plants are yet to evoke any plausible improvement to this sordid State of affairs.

Source: Website of TSIL (Tata Sponge Iron Limited) <http://www.tatasponge.com>

Naxalite Movement and Tribes

The Naxalite movement which started in Naxalbari village of North Bengal 40 years ago by the tribal peasants, has spread to nearly 180 districts in 2007. From Banswara in Rajasthan to Bankura in West Bengal the majority of the districts affected by Naxalite violence are predominantly inhabited by the indigenous/ tribal communities. The Naxalites claim to be waging an armed struggle for the uplift of tribes and the State Governments fighting against Naxalites suppress their struggle in the name of peace. Both have created serious challenges for the survival of tribal communities. The official figure from the Naxalite-affected Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh shows that in April/May 2006, as many as 45,958 people from 644 villages were forced to leave their village and live in relief camps to make successful the government-sponsored Salwa Judum (campaign for peace). The largest relief camp, which houses 15,000 people, does not have a single toilet. There are cases of sexual assault on tribal girls, shortage of drinking water and primary school for children. The tribals living in these camps are targeted by Naxalites as sympathisers of government-sponsored Salwa Judum and those still in their villages are targeted by the State Government as supporter of Naxalites. In the name of fighting Naxalite violence both in Bastar region of Chhattisgarh and Koraput region of Orissa the tribal youths are recruited in police with a mere salary of Rs 1000-1500. In Karkeli village, a predominantly tribal village of 60 households in Dantewada district, 66 have been recruited as Special Police Officers, out of whom 11 are tribal women. They are made to work even at night and sleep at the police station. They do not get any leave.

The Committee set up by the Government of India in its report in 1969, The Cause of Nature of Current Agrarian Tensions, acknowledged, "The basic cause of unrest, namely, the defective implementation of laws enacted to protect the interests of the tribals remains..." It further added "Unless this is attended to it would not be possible to win the confidence of the tribals whose leadership has been taken over by the extremists". Instead of implementing land reforms to alleviate the grievances of the tribal peasants as suggested by the Committee, the Government of India chose military suppression of tribal peasant grievances. If the government is really serious to check the Naxalite violence it has to implement land reforms, stop leasing mines to multi national companies, develop the infrastructure and involve the local people in all development programmes before it is implemented. The suppression of the popular movements of the tribes by force and in the name of peace process using tribes against tribes will create serious challenge for internal security.

Source: Ramesh C. Nayak, Subalterns, Vol 15, No. 2 April-June 2007

Survival at Stake...

*Khayam Kotam, about 55 years belongs to Pondigorda village and now he is in Izzaram camp. They are four members in the family of Khayama, his wife, his son and daughter in law and they get ration of only one kilo rice every day to eat. He says that is not enough for all of us for one meal and they have to survive for the whole day on that. He was going with an axe to the forest with all others to clear up the forest. He says "We are not sure for how long we can stay in this camp under such circumstances. SJ people went and burnt our village twice and forced us to come to the camp. Now we are on road side".

*Persons' name changed to protect from risk. Interviewed on October 24, 2007 near the camp.

(f) **Increased Crime Rate** –28 percent of the total respondents said that the crime rate in their region had gone up in the period post-displacement.

(g) **Indiscriminate Deforestation** – 54 percent in Andhra Pradesh, 42 percent of the respondents in Chhattisgarh and 37 percent in Orissa report increased deforestation since displacement. 51 percent report that their food sources have been adversely affected as a result. Water sources are dwindling as a result and 37 percent said their access to common property

resources post-displacement was not on par with the past.

(h) **Communalism and Social Tensions** – Owing to displacement, communal tensions have increased in Chhattisgarh. Salwa Judum (meaning "peace mission"), a controversial anti-naxalite movement started by the government of Chhattisgarh against civil militia has extensively harmed tribal communities in the State and displaced thousands of adivasis in Dantewada and Bastar districts resulting in great civil unrest and rising violent social tensions in the region.

Trafficking of a Tribal Girl

Sunita Oraon has spent over a year looking for her eldest daughter Raodi. Poverty drove 12-year-old Raodi to leave her home in Gurgujari village near Ranchi. But no one knows where she has gone and her family fears she has become a victim of traffickers who lure poor children from these backward areas and take them to big cities. A majority of the children were later found in Delhi, working in roadside dhabas, wholesale markets and at homes. Sunita went thrice to Delhi. She had no address, no information, just a hope that she would trace her daughter somehow. Though she spent most of her earnings, it was all in vain." It's been a year. But there is no trace of her," said Sunita Oraon, a resident of Gurgujari Village. Trafficking of children is common. In adjoining karak village, Sumari Lohar's eight-year-old nephew Rajesh has not come home for four years now. Sumari contacted the woman who took Rajesh to the city. Though the woman broker has agreed to help Sumari to trace Rajesh, she wants Rs 3,000 rupees. Sumari does not have the money. "I don't know where he is. His mother is also no more. Where can we look for her," asks Sumari Lohar, a resident of Karak Village. The irony is that though trafficking of children is common in more than 11 districts of Jharkhand, few cases are registered at police stations. "I am really scared of the police. They ask for money, which I don't have. I don't know what to do, I am all alone," said Ranjan Lohar, a resident of Karak Village. As a result, a large number of the vulnerable groups of working children are missing. A survey carried out by the State labour department has found that as many as 45,000 children in these 11 districts had left their homes in search of work. Nearly 80 percent of these children belong to tribal families.

4. The Impact of Displacement on Women and Girls

The powerless status of women in traditional patriarchal societies, their marginalisation in decision-making processes despite contributing substantially to the family's livelihood and the suppression of their voice is well documented. They are rendered further vulnerable by processes of displacement – the formal rehabilitation and resettlement packages render women invisible in the process of displacement for they neither are heads of households nor do they own land in their name and are thus not eligible for compensation.

In recent times, women have become victims of trafficking in tribal villages where mining and industrial operations have displaced local inhabitants. To escape destitution, women and girls are trafficked out lured by false promises of employment, marriage, or a more comfortable life in the cities. With the depletion of locally available resources due to land and forest alienation, the vulnerability of women has increased exponentially. More than 40 girls from Simdega in Jharkhand and Sundergarh in Orissa have been rescued from Delhi in 2006-07, and even today, the process of rescue continues. Similar instances are found in Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh too.

Table 6.12 shows that in Chhattisgarh, 22 percent respondents said that collecting firewood and 17.16 percent said that unemployment had become significant problems for women after displacement.



Responses from other States demonstrated that women faced with displacement across regions suffered similar problems.

5. Conclusion

As we have seen from the data presented in this chapter, development-related displacement has severely affected the social and economic conditions of already disadvantaged sections of the people particularly the tribal communities. Bottlenecks in information flow about the projects and the consequences of displacement have caused increased frustration, anxiety and anger among those affected/displaced by the projects. While governmental provision of basic facilities such as drinking water, roads, primary schools, etc. was marginal prior to displacement, resettlement colonies had worse facilities.

Table 6.12: Problems women face after displacement (Chhattisgarh)

Sl. No.	Problems Women Face	Multiple Responses	Percentage
1	No jobs outside home	148	17.61
2	Difficult to get firewood	185	22.02
3	Difficult to get drinking water	99	11.78
4	Drinking water polluted	4	0.47
5	Less food compared to others in family	2	0.23
6	More gambling	1	0.11
7	If jobs got only unskilled & daily wages	69	8.21
8	Disparity in wages	13	1.54
9	Distance in forest has increased	59	7.02
10	Migration of women for jobs	1	0.11
11	Not answered	259	30.83
	Total	840	100

Source: Study Questionnaires



In spite of claims made by the respective State governments, the majority of the displaced/project affected persons were not adequately compensated for their losses. The study shows that 85.8 percent of the respondents in Andhra Pradesh, 85.9 percent in Chhattisgarh, 96.2 percent in Jharkhand, and 97.2 percent in Orissa were not adequately compensated. Compensation monies did not account for the landless and marginal labourer, households headed by women, and for the loss of subsistence agriculture. Expenditure on food alone consumed a major chunk of the compensation monies – 23 percent in Andhra Pradesh, 42.54 percent in Chhattisgarh, 30 percent in Jharkhand and 24 percent in Orissa reported food as their single largest expenditure post-displacement.

The compensation packages offered by project officials do not account a range of factors that immiserise and impoverish the displaced. The journey from displacement to resettlement is a long and traumatic one with hidden costs of various kinds. They have to make various kinds of makeshift arrangements to house their families and bring in the money to feed them. The choice of resettlement areas is also often not theirs – the government makes the choice and it is often too expensive to choose where they want to go.

Relocation and transportation costs also don't figure in most compensation packages.

Resettlement has escalated the financial strain on people displaced/affected by development projects. Taken away from their forests and land, they are doubly affected by the loss of non-timber forest produce which was an integral part of their subsistence economy. Lack of basic facilities, deteriorating health care, lack of sanitation and hygiene and increased vulnerability to water-borne and other diseases, pollution, declining water supply, increased crime rates and alcoholism and loss of social networks are all features of resettlement colonies. Displacement and resettlement are disproportionately burdensome on women.

The adverse effects of development-related displacement however go beyond mere economic detriment. The incursion of development tears the fabric of the cultural identity of these tribal communities which is intricately interwoven with the forests, land and water resources that they have been a part of for time immemorial. The loss of their community and social networks and the markers of their spiritual/religious identities have a deeper psychological impact than can be measured through mere statistics alone.

It is an unalterable fact that development projects as conceived and supported by the Indian State have further immiserised and impoverished already vulnerable communities. The promise of employment on the projects was unfulfilled with the recruitment of highly skilled and educated workers from the outside with the displaced/project affected employed only as casual/daily wage workers with

contractors on a temporary basis without any economic and social security. Considering the fact that the HDI of these communities was already low with low literacy and technical skills, the projects merely worsened the situation by converting them from subsistence peasant's economy into wage labourers in the modern industrial economy.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Fernandes Report, as was discussed in the Introduction, was the building block on the basis of which the present study was conducted. The effort has been to delve deeper by examining the 22,755 gazette notifications to study the nature and extent of development induced displacements, the specific developments that caused maximum displacement, the types of land acquired, the impact of these on tribal communities in particular, and socially and economically vulnerable sections of society in general, from where the Fernandes Report left off in the mid-80s to the current day. This study thus presents data on development-induced land acquisition, displacement and resettlement until the year 2007.

1. Changing Notions of State Sponsored Development

Starting from the early post-independence period to the current date, there are discernible shifts in the development-displacement discourse of the State. Displacement by development projects, as Professor Xaxa explains in the Introduction to this study, is not a

new feature of the Indian State's economic and social policies brought about for the first time by globalisation related pressures. The Nehruvian vision of the State at the 'commanding heights of the economy' and the adoption of a socialist model of State intervention in industrial and technological growth resulted in the displacement of thousands of people by mega State sponsored projects of which the multi-purpose dam is most evocative.

What then changes in the age of global capital movements and the corresponding liberalisation of the Indian economy is this role of the Indian State. The State withdraws from its active role in policy making and hands over management of development schemes and enters into a series of public-private partnerships where it takes on the role of facilitating private entrepreneurship that will incidentally develop regions in which the private industrial/other activity is concentrated but resulting first in the intensified displacement of people from their lands and homes on a scale never before witnessed. Significantly, as a consequence, the accountability that can be demanded of the public State cannot be



demanded of private actors and these private industrial ventures doubling as development schemes have the unique advantage of State support without the same degree of public accountability.

This shift has a corresponding reflection in the intensification of opposition of the displaced and the project affected. With growing land-alienation that has reduced members of tribal communities, scheduled castes and other weaker sections to destitution and homelessness, and unresponsive State actors, there has been a growing consciousness among these groups about their social, historical and geographical identities and their fundamental, human and group rights. Hence, resistance to the State-corporate nexus has taken various forms ranging from peaceful protest within the framework of democracy to violent movements for self-assertion and self-determination.

2. Main Findings of the Study

The objective of this study was to focus on development related displacement in the resource-rich tribal belt in the east, in particular the States of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa, with a view to create a database on the nature and extent of development induced displacement and to ascertain its particular impact on the tribal communities of the region. The main findings of the study are as follows:

- A total of **1204522.64 acres** have been acquired in the four States in the periods under study across various categories of projects.
- Of the 18 categories of development projects commonly undertaken by the States, four types of development projects acquired the maximum land. They are as follows:

Project	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa
Water Resources	197743.40	3971.18	390280.83	14786.45
Industry	58994.77	51744.61	90244.32	30334.09
Mines	5543.13	90798.64	8754.78	162222.50
Non-hydro Power	2145.86	4088.29	978.89	7.96

- The maximum land acquired was of one or more of three types: private land, common land and forest land. The following shows the extent of the three types of land acquired in the four study States:

Type of land	Andhra Pradesh	Chhattisgarh	Jharkhand	Orissa
Private Land	33924.51	61744.61	415983.2	31476.57
Common Land	14055.21	12231.06	14371.82	7210.612
Forest Land	66245.16	9720.601	63818.77	24855.46

- Water resource, industry, mining and non-hydro power projects resulted in the most number of DP/PAP. *Of these, water resource projects have the most number of displaced/project affected people.* The following shows briefly the figures for each State:

Project	Andhra Pradesh		Chhattisgarh		Jharkhand		Orissa	
	DP	PAP	DP	PAP	DP	PAP	DP	PAP
Water Resources	121860	319090	3032	10743	198121	249543	29074	101398
Industry	14103	180311	152242	676059	82515	150745	43502	90066
Mines	61599	31691	1885	14132	101942	22848	124787	228737
Non-hydro Power	0	0	0	0	700	3639	11	499

- The following shows the social group membership of the DP/PAP. Without exception, it is clear that the most disadvantaged are members of Scheduled Tribes.

Project	Andhra Pradesh		Chhattisgarh		Jharkhand		Orissa	
	DP	PAP	DP	PAP	DP	PAP	DP	PAP
Scheduled Tribes	196571	282632	149847	650572	289656	473569	172018	317596
Scheduled Castes	44270	91054	4382	25139	29775	35502	17060	47765
MOBC/OBC	15646	167591	2444	18476	8051	19350	6003	42923
General	57	121	486	6747	55796	23432	2293	12416

- A total of **2214884 persons** are project affected persons (PAP) across the four study States. The State policies on resettlement and rehabilitation provide for resettlement entitlements only to DP and not to PAP. Thus large numbers of people especially those from already vulnerable and socially and economically disadvantaged communities are not entitled to State support for resettlement.
- Post-displacement, the situation of the DP/PAP is considerably insecure and impoverished as the study reveals. As the data in Chapter 6 demonstrates, the majority of the DP/PAP were not adequately compensated for their losses. Spending on food out of the compensation monies was disproportionately large and the percentage of people who were able to invest in land/start new businesses with the compensation package was negligible.
- The compensation packages also did not take into account a variety of hidden costs ranging from transport costs to the resettlement colonies to transit accommodation to interruption in employment resulting in loss of pay.
- The resettlement and rehabilitation packages do not take into account landless households, women headed households and households without the requisite paperwork to demonstrate an inviolable claim to the land that is acquired. Owing to the oral traditions of tribal communities, where much of the rights exercised over land and forest are customary, most members of these communities in fact do not carry documentation of ownership of land/rights over land.
- A variety of social problems and tensions were reported post displacement ranging from a significant lowering in the standard of living, to health problems, to increased crime rates, alcoholism to the eruption of communal tensions.
- The number of protests, both peaceful and violent is on the rise in these States. Alienation of natural resources, marginalisation of the locals from the development processes, their exclusion from the decision-making processes, have further contributed to the expansion of Naxalite/Maoist violence in these States.



- The State's response has been to counter this with organized violence to enforce a lopsided development policy resulting in the oppression of the tribal and other vulnerable communities, as is most notable in the case of State sponsored violence under the garb of Salwa Judum in Chhattisgarh, which has further immiserated, impoverished and rendered completely insecure the native inhabitants of these regions, pitching the local tribals between the Maoists and Salwa Judum activists, forcing nearly 50,000 persons to the neighbouring State of Andhra Pradesh.

3. Impact on Tribal Communities

Development induced displacement has thus significantly disadvantaged tribal communities. There is a distinct adverse shift in occupational patterns post displacement with a steady rise in the number of landless, small and marginal farmers and daily wage labour. Illiteracy both at the State and national levels was quite high among scheduled tribes and displacement has adverse consequences for literacy owing to the lack of facilities for schooling and education in resettlement colonies. The sex ratio among the Scheduled Tribes has always been healthier than among other communities in India but this may show an adverse trend with the families becoming increasingly patriarchal and the male bias in decision making that is emerging. The particular adverse impact

of displacement and resettlement on women of these communities, who have to walk longer distances in search of food and water and on whom the burden of increased social and communal tensions is disproportionately larger needs to be better understood.

Throughout, this study has attempted to foreground the fact that the impact of development induced displacement is not merely economic but, more devastatingly perhaps, also cultural and psychological. The loss of their natural habitat, collective histories, indigenous knowledge, medicine, and ecological symbiosis is irreplaceable and unrecoverable. The loss of the spiritual and cultural place markers of their identity and social life has an adverse impact on the psychological well being of the communities and, in the long term, on the health of the nation which cannot be quantified in numbers alone.

4. Defeated Local Self-governance

The Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution and the Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act (PESA) 1996 are constitutional and legislative provisions for the protection of tribal communities and to empower them with the right of self-governance. Thus, land in the Fifth Scheduled Areas cannot be alienated without the prior approval of the Gram Sabha (the local decision making body composed of community members) and PESA empowers community members to manage



resources in accordance with customary practices. However, the extensive manipulation and connivance of State agencies has resulted in the impotence of these provisions. A multiplicity of State agencies at the local level – including the Panchayati Raj agencies and the agencies of the State government in charge of local governance – has resulted in the nullification of the possibility of coherent and strong local self-governance from emerging. Government agencies and private/foreign company officials manipulate the provisions of PESA by forging/ taking uninformed consent from the Gram Sabhas for the implementation of their projects. The State of Jharkhand has not notified the PESA yet despite the fact that ten years have lapsed since its enactment.

5. Suggestions and Recommendations

Based on the findings, recommendations are made here for: (i) strengthening local self-governance; (ii) inclusion in national policy making, and (iii) principles of procedure that need to be taken into account before notifying an area for development projects, and (iv) access to information. Underlying all three is the assertion that the non-negotiable tenet of development has to be the focus on human development based on the principle of equity, and with the equal participation of the communities affected.

5.1. Local Self-governance:

- PESA 1996 should be implemented in Scheduled Areas in letter and spirit of the Constitution of India and Gram Sabhas should be empowered to enable people to decide what kind of development they want. Gram Sabhas must be recognised as having the right to decide whether they want to give consent to the establishment of industries, mines, SEZs, etc. displacing the locals and they should be empowered to participate in the decisions on resettlement and rehabilitation.
- PESA, 1996 needs further amendment to ensure the informed consent (in place of mere 'consultation with') of Gram Sabhas in Schedules Areas for land acquisition for any developmental project, whether it is proposed by the Government or a private company.
- Gram Sabhas must have the power to decide what will be their percentage of share in the profit if the establishment of an industry or mine is thought to be inevitable.
- Strict adherence must be enforced to the letter and spirit of the laws existing at Central and State

levels prohibiting the sale and transfer of tribal land to non-tribal persons under the cover of land acquisition for developmental projects.

- The concept of sale of private or government land to a private company in the name of public purposes under the aegis of the Government as implicit in Land Acquisition Act, 1894, must be replaced by a concept of conditional and time-bound lease voluntarily agreed upon by the land holder for any public purpose.
- The provisions of the Scheduled Tribe and other Forest Dwellers (Reorganisation of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, should be implemented in all tribal areas.

5.2. National Policy:

- All legislations favourable to the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other weaker sections must be implemented. In particular, the law regarding Fifth Scheduled Areas and PESA 1996 should not be allowed to suffer any further delay.
- Laws inconsistent with legislations favourable to tribals, such as the Forest Conservation Act, 1980, should not be implemented to alleviate tribal from their forest and land.
- Cost benefit analysis of each project should be done – who benefits and who loses must be clearly ascertained.
- A pro-people (particularly pro-marginalised communities) attitude of the State and judiciary is the need of the hour. As equal citizens of this country, indigenous communities need positive discrimination in all forms of decision making by the judiciary, legislative and executive.
- A National Rehabilitation Commission should be set up by the Central Government with the power to exercise external oversight over the rehabilitation and resettlement of affected families covered by this policy. This commission must work in line with Ministry of Tribal Affairs.
- Protection of indigenous people and continuation of their habitation in the natural environment should be linked to larger implications of factors related to climate change and environmental degradation.
- Legislations should be passed for a complete 'rehabilitation' before starting of the project and land for land as a 'right'.
- The displaced and the affected persons should be shareholders in the company's profit.
- Irrigation waters, for which the farmers are paying user charges shouldn't be arbitrarily

diverted by the government to industrial or other non-agricultural purposes; if at all such a need becomes unavoidable, then the proposal should be subjected to a public hearing of the concerned user population.

- In order to protect the socio-economic and cultural rights of indigenous peoples India must ratify International Labour Organisation Convention 169.
- Given the fact that we do not have a national policy on internal displacement, India should adopt the Voluntary Guidelines on Internal Displacement.

5.3. Procedure Principles for Notifying Development Projects:

Some principles in procedures that need to be taken into account before notifying an area for development could include:

- Evidently tribals are the worst victims of displacement (of the total displaced 79% are tribals). It should be principally cautioned that no development should now take place that further displaces tribal communities from their homestead.
- In order to protect the cultural identity of indigenous community, they should never be displaced from their home land as their environment cannot be replicated by any rehabilitation and resettlement package.

- Signing of a Memorandum of Understanding involving land acquisition, displacement or eco-hazards must be preceded by informed consent of the concerned populations.
- Representatives of local people must be included as members in the Technical Committees formed by the government from time to time to assess the status of projects to be undertaken.
- The Ministry of Environment and Forests, Govt. of India should issue environmental clearance for a project only after the objections raised in the Public Hearing are met and complied with both by the project proponent company and concerned government agency. No company should be allowed to go ahead with any construction work before getting environmental clearance.
- Social Impact Assessment of a proposed project by an accredited agency must be introduced to study the possible impact on public and community properties, assets and infrastructure, particularly, roads, public transport, drainage, sanitation, sources of safe drinking water, sources of drinking water for cattle, community ponds, grazing land, plantations; public utilities, such as post offices, fair price shops, food storage, electricity supply, health care facilities, schools and educational/training facilities, places of worship, land for traditional tribal institutions, burial and cremation grounds.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention No. 169 is an international legal instrument that broadly sets forth binding provisions for the protection of indigenous people's rights, inspired by respect for their cultures, ways of life and traditional forms of organisation. Article 7 of the ILO Convention says:

1. The people's concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions and spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use, and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development. In addition, they shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plans and programmes for national and regional development which may affect them directly.
2. The improvement of the conditions of life and

work and levels of health and education of the people's concerned, with their participation and co-operation, shall be a matter of priority in plans for the overall economic development of areas they inhabit. Special projects for development of the areas in question shall also be so designed as to promote such improvement.

3. Governments shall ensure that, whenever appropriate, studies are carried out, in co-operation with the people's concerned, to assess the social, spiritual, cultural and environmental impact on them of planned development activities. The results of these studies shall be considered as fundamental criteria for the implementation of these activities.
4. Governments shall take measures, in co-operation with the people's concerned, to protect and preserve the environment of the territories they inhabit.

Unlike refugees who are entitled to protection under legal and human rights frameworks, internally displaced persons (IDP) are extremely vulnerable. Refugees who flee the borders of their country owing to the inhospitable political conditions prevailing there are entitled to food, shelter and a place of safe residence in the host country. IDP on the other hand do not typically come under standards of international protection and the absence of political will in the country means the absence of a national regime for their protection. India for instance does not have a policy in place for the protection of those who are internally displaced. Many internally displaced people remain exposed to attacks, rape, looting and a multitude of other human rights abuses. A quarter of the world's internally displaced at some six million people at receive no protection from their governments. A similarly high number of internally displaced people cannot turn to their own authorities for humanitarian assistance.

The international community, confronted with the monumental task of ensuring protection of these internally displaced people who are forcibly uprooted from their homes by violent conflicts, gross violations of human rights and other traumatic events, but who remain within borders of their own countries, lobbied for international standards on the protection of IDP. It was to meet this challenge that the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (*Principles*) were developed by the United Nations in 1998 to give effective response to the needs of these people.

The principles identify the rights and guarantees relevant to the protection of the internally displaced in all phases of displacement. They provide protection against arbitrary displacement, offer a basis for protection and assistance during displacement, and

set forth guarantees for safe return, resettlement and reintegration. Although they do not constitute a binding instrument, these principles reflect and are consistent with international human rights and humanitarian law and analogous refugee law.

These *Principles*, which are 30 in number, set forth the rights of internally displaced persons and obligations of governments toward these populations:

Section I of the *Principles* comprises the general principles that relate to equality: equal treatment of internally displaced persons in the rights and freedom under national and international law. It also asserts that the displaced cannot be discriminated against because of their displacement. The *Principles* emphasise that the primary duty for providing protection and assistance to internally displaced persons lies with their national authorities, and that the internally displaced have the right to request and receive such assistance from these authorities. The principles also emphasises on non-discrimination. At the same time, they acknowledge that certain vulnerable groups such as children, expectant mothers, female heads of households, people with disabilities and elderly persons may require special attention.

Sections II to IV addresses the protection to be provided during different phases of displacement: pre-displacement, during displacement and post displacement.

An increasing number of countries, including Angola, Burundi, Colombia, Georgia, and Peru have adopted these principles either through the enactment of new laws or by the revision of existing legislation in line with the *Principles*.

- Under no circumstances can a SEZ Policy of the Government commit itself to give away as much of its natural resources like mines, water, land and forests as is sought for by a private/foreign company.

5.4. For Better Information Access

- Both the Central and State Governments should direct each of the departments and agencies

under their control to develop a comprehensive database on displacement, compensation of each resettlement and rehabilitation project implemented since independence and disseminate the same on the websites of the concerned departments and agencies. They need to be specific about matters relating to indigenous communities.

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ActionAid India
R-7 Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi 110 016
www.actionaidindia.org