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Involuntary Migration and the Associated Schism: Case of a River Valley Project in India¹

1. Introduction

A series of connotations have got associated with the concept and process of development especially in the present era which is widely termed as the era of development by several international organisations. An objective view of development would presuppose a process of distribution and redistribution from which inequality or equality arises. This view helps one to see much deeper than the manifest spatial pattern into the structural part and reveals how the society actually operates. Secondly, it suggests a space oriented consideration of human life opportunities. As space is a part of the reality within which life is lived, every decision to build or invest or every fall-out of that decision is spacebound having a bearing on the regional or spatial differentiation on human life chances. Hence a space conscious developmental view is important. As a natural corollary, it integrates development with a broader but fundamental question: development for whom and where? Or 'who' gets 'what' 'where' and 'how'? These questions relate development with people not just in a cursory manner but in a comprehensive way by positing people in their regional and local setting and analysing them in the backdrop of resource and environment. Indian population has specific locations in various settlements arranged hierarchically and, therefore, can be said to have hierarchical spatial positions. Further, due to historically obtained processes, development in India has a strong urban bias and a segmentary orientation according to the division of population groups on caste, religion, tribe and last but not the least, gender lines. All these groups having their own class positions in the vertical differentiative structure of various regions share the spoils of planning and development accordingly (Banerjee-Guha 1993). Development process in general and various development projects in particular, undertaken in different parts of the country, for the same reason, have different impact on these groups. In both urban and rural areas, due to a skewed developmental process large numbers of people especially from the deprived section have been displaced and become migrants only to suffer economically, socially and psychologically.

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Development process in post-independence India, like other third world countries, have essentially linked up economic growth with development. The ambivalence of its social justice programmes has failed to achieve distributive justice and led to distorted development pattern with concentration in specific sectors and space. This development course is associated with the development ideology of the so-called developed world and is structurally intertwined with a supportive network of international financial institutions. At the same time such development courses do never bring the concerned countries any closer to the level of the so-called developed nations. On the contrary it creates an exchange mechanism that increasingly subordinates these countries to the ideology and military might of the North.

Beside destroying the local bases of subsistence of countless races and cultures and creating a condition of aggravated inequality and ecological crisis such courses of development are also intrinsically associated with large scale detribalisation and displacement of people who are prevented from using their traditional means of subsistence, displaced from their homeland to give way to giant development projects or pushed out of their occupations, traditions and culture only to gain a marginalized status vis-a-vis the chosen few beneficiaries. Their traditional means of subsistence get converted into 'natural resources' in the development connotation and shaped for commercial exploitation.

The above involuntary migration and uprooting of people in India occur in two ways. First, indirectly; caused due to the development policy, process and the obtained pattern. Let us look at its various ramifications: (i) Due to heavy urban bias, spoils of development in India get concentrated in large urban settlements that induces rural to city migration. (ii) Introduction of high yielding variety of crops after 'green revolution' inducing wet crop cultivation in many water scarcity areas has aggravated drought conditions and outmigration. (iii) Highly concentrated nature of input based agriculture has also given rise to an yearly seasonal outflow of agricultural labourers from poorer areas. (iv) Conversion of food crop areas to cash crop for higher return has marginalized traditional food crop cultivators and pushed them out of competition. Resultantly it has led to their selling of land and outmigration as a survival strategy. (v) Outmigration of adult males and females from economically peripheral states of the northeast, central India (Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh) or eastern India (Bihar, Orissa) to comparatively prosperous states. (vi) Liberalisation and structural adjustment programmes, in the name of industrial dispersal, have essentially disrupted the labour fabric of interior areas by exploiting cheapest i.e. child and female labour through subcontracting partners of large multinational firms while the adult males move out to urban centres in search of livelihood.

The second way by which involuntary migration takes place is more direct. People are uprooted from their homeland to make room for giant develop-

ment projects, especially river valley or city expansion projects. It is interesting to note that many of these mega projects in India and for that matter in many other third world countries, are structurally intertwined with international financial organisations. In the name of these modernised projects where huge finances of these organisations are at stake, millions of people from areas and sectors apparently targeted for development, are uprooted. Many of these victims even become victims of multiple migration and rootlessness. In India due to river valley projects 21 million people have been uprooted while 6 million have been displaced due to other projects (Maloney 1991). An interesting sociological feature of these displaced lot is that majority of them belong to the poorer and backward section of the society (Ganguly-Thukral 1989). A recent report indicates that almost 50% of the population displaced by 110 projects in India are tribals (Working Group 8th Five Year Plan 1990 – 95) and a fairly large section belongs to scheduled castes (Fernandes, Das and Rao 1989).

Where do these oustees go? An infinitesimally small number is resettled. More are cursorily resettled without necessary economic base or infrastructure. But the largest section, however, joins the mass of wage labourers in rural (project sites) or urban areas. An association can be readily identified between these involuntary migrations and the swelling up of the informal sector, especially the construction sector. Also, these displacements do not only have economic fall-outs but often have psychological and sociocultural impacts. The majority of the displaced are poor and form a marginalized section of the society who are further segmented and isolated by these projects by losing their social and cultural ties. It thus transpires that official planning in India with the help of development projects makes millions of people expendable.

The present paper examines the issue of displacement in one of the biggest dam projects in India, the Sardar Sarovar Project on River Narmada. At the outset it discusses displacement as an integral aspect of the dam projects followed by a critique of the government's attitude towards the issue. The case study is taken up at the end.

2. Big Dams in India – Development and Displacement

Building a large dam across a free flowing river is a basic human intervention in the natural system. It drastically alters the environment not only within the periphery of the reservoir but farther downstream. The river and its flood plain forcibly adjust to a totally new pattern of water flow while the people of the submerged area get displaced and become oustees in their own homeland.

During the early years of planning, big dams were seen as 'temples of Modern India' aiming at harnessing river water for providing electricity to

industrial and domestic sectors, controlling floods and most importantly for providing irrigation and drinking water to drought-prone areas and people.

By 1980 India had more than 1500 large dams and became the world's greatest dam builder country. As they were conceived to serve the cause of nation's interest and national development, social and environmental costs of these projects were ignored at the initial stages. Incidentally many of these dams have been financed by the World Bank.

Gradually the other side of the coin came to the fore. Apart from the environmental destruction that these projects led to, large-scale displacement and uprooting of people from their ancestral homeland in the project sites were reported. Any such project aiming at exploitation of land and natural resources has been found to bring in its wake displacement of people and forced migration. Irrigation projects and dams are the most significant ones among these as they submerge vast tracts of land. The 1600 large dams built in India since independence (with reservoirs of 60 sq.km. or more) have uprooted millions of people. Millions more have been displaced by other associated irrigation works, such as canals and smaller reservoirs. Water-logging and salinisation resulting from such projects have forced further evacuations. While official figures on displacement are often unreliable, situations become more complex by different degrees of displacements accompanied by a wide range of partial rehabilitation and assistance. Although private institutions, organisations and NGO's have estimated the number of displaced people as 12 million due to large dams and other irrigation projects, they find it very difficult to estimate the number rehabilitated (Maloney 1991).

Displacement and uprooting are thus integral aspects of dams and associated irrigation projects. From their initial stage, with acquisition of land for infrastructure, displacement starts followed by series of uprooting at various stages. To give some examples. Pong Dam in Himachal Pradesh in the western Himalaya uprooted 30,330 families or in other words 167,000 people with the first eviction starting way back in 1965. Subarnarekha Project in South Bihar displaced 10,000 families, i.e. about 38,000 people. Nagarjunasagar dam in Andhra Pradesh uprooted 25,000 people from the narrow river valley while Srisailem project in the same state on the Krishna River ousted 330,000 people. 78,000 people were uprooted from Lower Maniar Dam site in Andhra directly while 20,000 were displaced due to the associated irrigation projects of this dam. Upper Krishna Project involving the building of two dams of Narayanpur and Almatti displaced 220,000 people even according to an under-estimated accounting of the World Bank. Ukai Reservoir Project on River Tapi in Gujarat flooded over 100 sq.km. of land and uprooted about 88,000 people, mostly tribals from 170 villages. Tehri Dam in Uttar Pradesh is estimated to displace about 80,000 people when

completed. Last but not the least, the Sardar Sarovar Dam in Gujarat on Narmada River, the largest in India would flood 237 villages in three states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra displacing 140,000 people.

Uprooting due to associated irrigation projects is also of equal significance. Beside direct displacement due to land acquisition and submergence, indirect displacements are caused by waterlogging, salinisation, etc., as mentioned earlier. Uttar Pradesh Government claims to have 50,000 hectares per year water-logged or salinised due to such projects. Tawa dam in Madhya Pradesh has destroyed 1200 hectares of farmland uprooting the people from their livelihood and from their homeland. It has been estimated that since independence 1.5 million farmers have been displaced due to water-logging and salinity arising out of big dam projects in India. Dam bursts also cause displacement to large number of people. A pertinent example is Morvi Dam in Saurashtra where in 1972 the dam gates could not be opened due to water reaching above the expected level leading to dam burst and displacement of 100,000 people. Finally canals and channels deteriorated within decades and forced the population dependent on them to migrate. Kosi, Gandak and Son Rivers in Bihar are examples.

The World Congress on Human Rights in its fourth quadrennial meeting in New Delhi in December, 1990 expressed concern about the extent of displacement caused due to such projects and observed that such displacements are violation of human rights involving effective denial of right to life, shelter and ancestral common land and environment. Sometimes an entire community or a tribe is displaced as a result of development projects. Beside the issue of displacement per se, issues regarding displacement thus also assume crucial importance.

3. Government Attitude Towards Uprooting and Displacement: Policies for Rehabilitation

Various studies indicate (Ganguly Thukral 1989) that the official surveys for assessing the extent of displacement are often haphazard and the number of displaced persons eligible for compensation and rehabilitation underestimated. Lack of accurate data on such a crucial issue itself reveals both the Central and State Governments' degree of concern for the rehabilitation of the displaced people (Viegas 1987).

Secondly, studies indicate that the displaced people have very little access to information about the projects that would affect their lives to such a large extent. They are often vaguely assured about compensation and rehabilitation and at times misinformed or not informed at all. In many cases the oustees do not know when actually their houses would be submerged or

what effective measures have been taken for their rehabilitation. The official treatment meted out to them is an integrated aspect of the process of development being aimed at without having people at large as beneficiaries. In the case of Pong Dam in Himachal Pradesh, the oustees had no prior information regarding submergence. More so, it is found that the displaced people most of them being illiterate are also exploited on that count. Public land acquisition notices brought out under official gazettes or even individually are meaningless for them. Among the Pong Dam oustees 50% did not know why they were not eligible for any compensation. The oustees who were eventually allotted lands in the Rajasthan desert had mixed experiences of despair. Some found the lands already occupied, some found the lands uncultivable and many were not given titles. In Rihand Dam on Son River simultaneously with sudden announcements for 146 villages to vacate, water was released resulting to large scale inundation (Lokayan and Lokhit Samiti 1985). Loss of cultivable land is also an indispensable aspect of such displacement.

This leads us to the third issue i.e. inadequate compensation. Various studies have shown that the state governments' lackadaisical manner of handling the rehabilitation recommendations has resulted in tremendous hardship. For example, the oustees of Hirakud Dam Project were given inadequate and arbitrary compensation. Evaluation of their cultivable lands was made in a cursory manner and no one knew how the actual gradation took place. In Subarnarekha project the displaced people were allotted one eighth of an acre of poor land and some cash compensation which was insufficient even to maintain household animals (Maloney 1991). Some of the Nagarjunasagar oustees who settled on newly irrigated lands did not receive any infrastructural help from the State Government. In Srisailem project in Andhra Pradesh the compensation money was found to be grossly insufficient while equivalent land also was not made available to the displaced. Large numbers of the displaced population from the dam sites have been found to work as agricultural labourers or construction workers either in the project areas or in urban areas, far and near.

Lack of compensation is intertwined with the question of lack of rehabilitation. It is important to mention that when there is not even proper official records of the actual number of uprooted, it is extremely difficult for the displaced to get rehabilitated properly. In the Dhom Dam in Maharashtra the rehabilitation policy of the State Government substantially undermined the need of the people in terms of resettlement. Various clauses of the rehabilitation policies also have created problems for the displaced in getting resettled. Most of the displaced being illiterate and unexposed to the outside world, the process of rehabilitation becomes further complex. A quarter century after the Pong Dam was built in Himachal Pradesh, most of the

oustees in both Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan have remained uprooted and destitute.

The fifth issue regarding displacement stems out of the last two. It is the problem of multiple displacement caused by the lack of compensation and lack of rehabilitation. With no proper official assessment of the land for rehabilitation, in many cases the oustee migrants face the wrath of local people in the resettled areas and are forced to migrate again. In other cases they leave the resettled colonies finding them totally insufficient and unsuitable for their economic and cultural activities. In many other cases poor oustees first turn into shifting refugees and leave the reservoir area during seasonal rise of water only to come back after monsoon and cultivate their little pieces of land. They finally become refugees when the dam is fully constructed.

Lack of co-ordination between and among the states sharing the benefits of dam projects also need to be mentioned as it ultimately leads to hardship for people and destruction of environment and agriculture. On the one hand, comparable policies are never adopted regarding evaluation of cost benefits, social or environmental costs. Secondly regarding relief and rehabilitation policies also the sharing state governments do not coordinate leading to utter confusion in the uprooted people. Lack of coordination actually results from extreme lack of planning with which the entire issue of displacement is tackled. Finally, the cursory manner in which the uprooted people from the large dam sites are dealt with, speaks something more than lack of planning, co-ordination or organisation. It actually manifests the vulnerable status of the displaced in the face of big developmental projects. The general concept of treating them as expendable lots needs to be questioned and examined in the light of a proper perspective for development.

4. Sardar Sarovar Project: Displacement and Uprooting

The Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) is an inter state multipurpose project. River Narmada on which the dams are being built flows through three states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat (Fig. 1). Environmentalist groups, social activists, river scientists and geologists have objected against the envisaged water supply schemes of this project especially for Kutchh and Saurashtra – the water scarcity areas of Northern Gujarat, suggesting that water would never reach these tracts due to their elevation. On the other hand, they argued that tribal areas of Banaskantha and Sabarkantha of North-Eastern Gujarat also would not be benefitted. The primary beneficiaries of the Sardar Sarovar Project, according to these groups are the affluent industrial and urban areas of Surat, Ahmedabad and Vadodara. In 1991 the World Bank was forced to institute an independent review, that

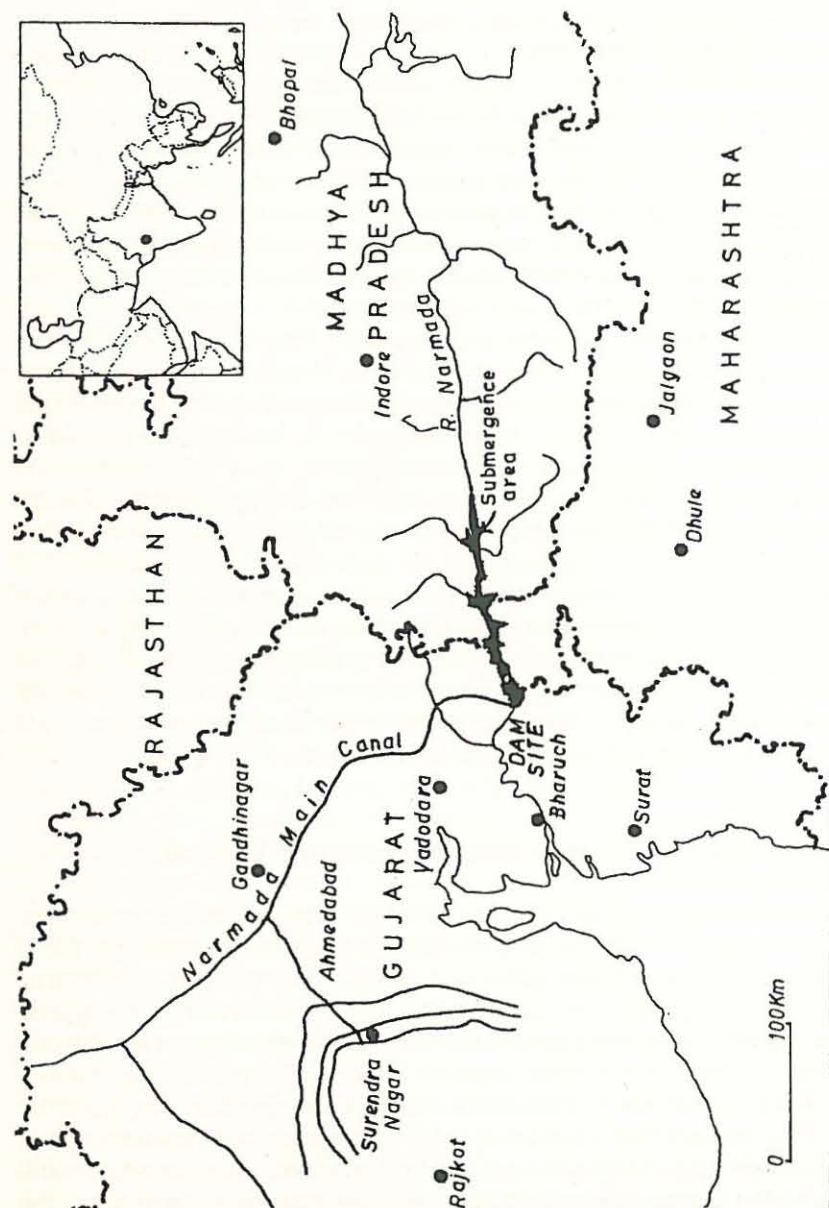


Fig. 1: Sardar Sarovar Dam: Interstate Fallout

submitted its report in 1992. It became very clear that the environmental and human costs of the Project had been systematically ignored. The Bank, pressurised by donor countries and agencies, was forced to put on further conditionalities that finally led to India's decision to go ahead with the project without World Bank Loan.

Sardar Sarovar Dam is being built in a hilly region in Gujarat inhabited by tribals. It directly affects a contiguous area comprising all the three states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. The height of the Dam was fixed at 445 ft. creating a reservoir that would submerge approximately 37,590 hectares (about 92,610 acres) of land in these three states: Gujarat – 7469 hectares, Maharashtra 9399 hectares, Madhya Pradesh 20,722 hectares. The canal and irrigation systems would submerge 85,000 hectares (212,500 acres) of land. In total 248 villages will be submerged. Of these 19 are in Gujarat, 36 in Maharashtra and 193 in Madhya Pradesh. As three villages in Maharashtra are abandoned ones, direct displacement would occur in 245 villages. An objective estimate of the number of people directly displaced is about 152,500. The approximate breakup by states is 23,500 in Gujarat; 13,500 in Maharashtra and 115,000 in Madhya Pradesh. In other words 40,252 families (4500 in Gujarat, 2738 in Maharashtra and 33,014 in Madhya Pradesh). Besides these direct oustees indirect displacement of about 140,000 (TISS, 1993) would occur due to acquiring of land for construction of canal network while catchment area treatment would displace thousands. Compensatory afforestation and development of a sanctuary would displace thousands more all totalling to about 42,000. Land purchased from absentee landlords in Gujarat would displace another 100,000 people. While these figures reveal the magnitude of direct and indirect displacement, a proper estimate of actual displacement is yet to be made and the ultimate fall-out yet to be measured. The existing figures of the amount of surplus land available in these states for compensation, even for the directly displaced are much lower than the required amount.

Villages of the directly displaced people extend well into the reservoir area. Virtually all the affected people in Gujarat and Maharashtra are tribals while in Madhya Pradesh 40% of the directly displaced are tribals. All these tribal groups are engaged in mixed economy, cultivating land and grazing animals, collecting forest products or fishing. The tribunal awards have envisaged assurance of continuity of life for the displaced for which social, technological and cultural matrix of the displaced tribal communities has to be understood. The non-tribal submergence villages of Madhya Pradesh extend further upstream in Nimad plain where irrigated agriculture forms the mainstay of the economy having some of the most fertile land areas of the country.

Landless oustees comprising of a sizeable proportion were not considered officially as oustees. Besides, few villages exist in Gujarat and

Maharashtra which would not be directly or indirectly affected by displacement. People residing in these villages are not to be resettled and will be left in inaccessible mountain areas around the rims of the reservoir. Such villages in Maharashtra depending on Gujarat both economically (market) and socially and not on Maharashtra would remain as truncated villages as access to Gujarat would be completely cut off. They would be affected by water borne diseases generated by the reservoir and will have no access to health care as the nearest Primary Health Centre would be at a walking distance of six hours across the Satpura ranges which would again become totally inaccessible during monsoon.

It needs to be recalled that India was one of the first countries that had ratified in 1958 the ILO convention 107 adopted in 1957 for protection and integration of indigenous and other tribal and semi-tribal populations in independent countries. Interestingly, along the Narmada River many tribal people of the forest villages are said to be 'encroaching' on government land even though they may have been cultivating the land for generations, pursuant to their customary usage, though without formal title. These tribals, heavily displaced by SSP, are not entitled to any special provision. Neither also are any other displaced groups.

Location	Estimated No. of Tribals to be affected	% from the total affected
Gujarat	21,150	90
Maharashtra	12,825	95
Madhya Pradesh	115,000	49
Canal	2,250	10
Sanctuary	25,000	100

Table 1: Estimated Number of Tribal People Potentially affected by SSP

4.1 Displacement and Uprooting in Gujarat

The population of the Gujarat submergence area is 95% to 98% tribal belonging to Tadvī, Bhil and Rattwa tribes. The distribution of their villages largely follows the course of the river. The Tadvī villages are the closest to the dam site; Bhil villages lie farther upstream in the remotest part of the state while the Rathwa villages lie close to the border of Madhya Pradesh. Some villages of the Tadvī tribe were affected first by SSP in 1961 due to acquiring of land for project infrastructure. In early 1980s during the first stages of the construction of canal headworks the second group was displaced. During this time, although it was a post tribunal period, Gujarat's policy for resettlement was limited, based on cash compensation to landed oustees. During 1987–88 Gujarat developed a progressive policy that was in tune to tribunal

award including protection to Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh oustees and a guarantee for their resettlement package in Gujarat. But the implementation of this progressive policy was diluted as Gujarat government took the advantage of the confused terms of 'oustees' from the award comprising only the submerged population. Series of changes also took place in this policy that made implementation difficult.

4.2 Displacement and Uprooting in Maharashtra

Prior to Water Dispute Tribunal Award Maharashtra had enacted a legislation in 1976 providing 'land for land' for project displaced people. The Maharashtra Act specifies that "The State Government shall resettle as many displaced persons as possible on land in the benefitted zone or in other villages or areas" (Section 10 of the Maharashtra Act 1976) making the provision of granting land in the benefitted zone not obligatory from the part of the government. Secondly, as the value of the land is calculated on the basis of the prevailing land rate in earlier times, effectively the displaced persons get lesser amount of land. However, following the Award Maharashtra government decided to provide one hectare of irrigable land to all landless families including those without land deeds and major sons and daughters (18 years age on 1.1.87).

Maharashtra oustees can opt to resettle in Gujarat according to the Award. In reality it restricts the choice between relocated sites with more cultural affinity and rehabilitation package. Project affected people (PAP) of Maharashtra are again entitled to Rs. 3750 to 4500 per hectare compared to the Gujarat entitlement of Rs. 10,000 per hectare. Again in Maharashtra the PAP are provided with food ratio for a three month period after shifting whereas in Gujarat a subsistence allowance of Rs. 4500/– is to be paid to all PAP families during the first year after resettlement. There are discrepancies in the size of house plots, physical infrastructure in resettlement colonies and Maharashtra oustees are always entitled for lesser share. Beside, the Tribunal Award did not take the social and economic factors into account while making provision for them.

The submergence villages of Maharashtra lie in the Satpura mountains. Economies of these villages (mostly tribal) depend on a wide range on forest, river products and pasture. Like a typical tribal area, much of the forest land is harvested and grazed on communal basis. Thus the socio-economic reality of these villages is that the distinction between landed and landless is virtually meaningless. Economic survival of these families due to the project is at stake for which they are forced to choose Gujarat for relocation. In that case they face the danger of getting separated and isolated. The release of land

in Taloda forest in Maharashtra for rehabilitation has also created problems. On the one hand the 2769 hectare forest land would be destroyed due to resettlement while on the other the local villages have to be displaced for housing the displaced from SSP.

4.3 Displacement and Uprooting in Madhya Pradesh

Sarovar dam effectively effects two different regions of Madhya Pradesh: (1) the plains of Nimad occupied by peasants of mainly non-tribal and partly tribal groups and (2) the hills of the Vindhya range where the river makes the border of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra in the isolated villages of Bhil and Bhilala tribal communities.

1985 Madhya Pradesh Government enacted Madhya Pradesh Project Displacement Persons' Resettlement Act and effected a policy package with four objectives. The overall effect of the policy was that cultivators and their major sons who work on land they considered their own would be dispossessed.

Actually of the three states, Madhya Pradesh is likely to experience the most severe impact of loss and the least benefit. Moreover flooding of Nimad plain would affect low lying fertile lands that are intensively farmed with irrigation. Despite, M.P's resettlement policy and its implementation is thick with disquiet.

140 out of the 193 affected villages of Madhya Pradesh lie in the fertile Nimad plain inhabited by non-tribal landowning families along with scheduled caste and tribals small farmers. Intensive cultivation is practised in the plain. Resettlement becomes a complicated process here. Further downstream the land is hilly near the tribal submergence villages where the situation is similar to Gujarat and Maharashtra tribal villages. It is argued that submergence would be heavy in the second area that would take place in 1995 monsoon. Till now there exists no exhaustive statistics about the extent of loss in this area.

Since 1990 relocation has started. In the relocated sites life of the uprooted people has remained a struggle. Promises have not been kept, land has proved to be of inferior quality, irrigation water remains a dream and last but not least, in the name of houses what have been provided are impermanent tin sheds, at times to be shared with domestic animals. The Independent Review team of World Bank led by B. Morse stated that resettlement process in the submergence zones of Madhya Pradesh was far from satisfactory. Finally, Madhya Pradesh Government has only shown Gujarat land to the oustees and not any land in Madhya Pradesh. Larger section of the potential oustees has joined anti-dam movement.

As there is no common policy among the three party states for rehabilitation, until now no comprehensive plan with details of land or infrastructure timeframe exists, it is impossible to implement the Narmada Water Dispute Tribunal (NWDT) award which is corroborated by the Independent Review Committee appointed by the World Bank. As there was no attempt to consult the people to get their consent, the displacement process itself amounts to be a violation of the constitutional right of the people.

Not a single affected village has been fully resettled. Many oustees have not got land, facilities or compensation assured. Many were cheated in the land deals or were given uncultivable, water-logged lands.

Slowly but steadily a stream of migrants have started returning to their original villages.

5. Concluding Remarks

From the above discussion it becomes clear that there is a pressing need for the formulation of a uniform policy applicable to the entire country binding on all the state governments as well as the Centre. Rehabilitation policies need to be framed in advance which should cover all categories of persons affected by projects. It should be kept in mind that rehabilitation is a delicate task requiring a good deal of understanding of the people affected. A comprehensive and legally binding policy thus needs to be framed till the already displaced people are not rehabilitated.

A more pertinent question that, however, surfaces is whether such developmental projects will be continued to be undertaken as the only solution to the economic problems of the country. The present development processes have been proved to be completely incapable not only of distributing wealth horizontally but also of providing the basic necessities to large sections of the population. These have displaced people, evicted them from their natural habitat and created an acute centralisation pattern of development in some pockets. At a worldwide scale these have globalised the economy and society, for primarily the benefit of the international corporations, to enable them to sell their products. Monetisation of human activities and their integration into the world economic structure are the two integral facets of this process. Thus autonomous solutions to people's necessities, however sustainable they are, do not figure out in the accounts of the present development processes.

It is not necessary to find a term which can replace 'development'. Human society is far diverse a concept. Effects of mainstream development projects reveal that it is rather necessary to combine development with the people and strive for socially sustainable development that do not make the larger section of the society expendable for the benefits of few.

Abstracts

Das 20. Jahrhundert, das Zeitalter der Entwicklung, ist im wesentlichen eine Ära der Entwurzelung und unfreiwilligen Migration. Im Namen der Entwicklung werden Millionen von Menschen besonders in Dritte-Welt-Ländern, umgesiedelt, vertrieben aus ihrer Heimat, ihrer Berufe beraubt. Die Vertreibung bringt die Menschen nicht weiter in ihrer Entwicklung, selbst wenn die Ideologen der sogenannten entwickelten Welt, deren geistige Früchte diese Projekte und Prozesse sind, dies so sehen. Im Gegenteil, sie werden mehr an den Rand gedrängt und können an den wichtigen Entwicklungen des Landes kaum partizipieren. Dies führt zu einer Spaltung der Gesellschaft und der ersten Frage wer was wie bekommt. Dieser Artikel untersucht die unfreiwillige Migration in Indien anhand der Fallstudie eines Staudammprojektes.

The present century marked as the 'development' era is essentially an era of uprooting and involuntary migrations. In the name of development millions of people especially in third world countries who are apparently the target of development, are displaced and expelled from their homeland and occupations. This expulsion does not bring them closer to development even as prescribed by the ideologues of the so-called developed world whose brain-child is such processes and projects. On the contrary, they are more marginalised and distanced from the mainstream development. The resultant schism, it gives rise to, poses a serious question of 'who' gets 'what' 'where' and 'how'. The present paper examines the issue of involuntary migration in India with the help of a case study of a river valley project.

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