

DEVELOPMENT, DISPLACEMENT AND REHABILITATION

(A Sociological Case Study of Sea Bird Project, Karwar)

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**Thesis Submitted for the Award of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology**

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DECLARATION

I, Ramesh S. Mangalekar, hereby declare that this thesis entitled 'Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: A Sociological Case Study of Sea Bird Project, Karwar' is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Dr. R. B. Patil, Reader in Sociology, M.E.S. College of Arts and Commerce, Zuarinagar, Goa and Ph.D. Guide, Department of Sociology, Goa University, Goa. It has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis.



Date: 25-11-2006

Ramesh S. Mangalekar

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled 'Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: A Sociological Case Study of Sea Bird Project, Karwar' is the record of the original work done by Ramesh S. Mangalekar under my guidance. The results of the research presented in this thesis have not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the year 1990, while I was in a post-graduate student in the Department of Sociology, Shivaji University, Kolhapur, I had an opportunity to read a Kendra Sahitya Academy award Marathi novel 'Zadazadati' written by Vishvas Patil. The author has critically explained the sufferings of the displaced people due to construction of the Koyana dam on the river Krishna, the lifeline of the South Maharashtra and North Karnataka. The villagers and town dwellers coming under the catchment area of the river Krishna enjoy the real fruits of dam construction by getting water for irrigation, industries and other domestic purposes. They are the real 'gainers' of the project. Staying hundreds of kilometers away from the Koyana dam, they might have never imagined about the 'miseries' and 'pains' of the displaced people. Thus, the thought provoking ideas explained by the writer made a deep impression on my young sociological mind. This book created an immense concern and urge in me to pursue research on displacement and rehabilitation.

In the year 1992, I was selected by Karnataka Public Service Commission as a lecturer in sociology, and posted in Government Arts and Science College, Karwar, Karnataka state. I started my new academic career right on the Arabian Sea coast. Since then, I have been much interested to see, visit and observe the coastal villages surrounding Karwar. The college used to organize tracking, picnic, and NSS camps in these villages. This provided me an opportunity to see, enjoy and understand the social ecology and natural beauty of coastal villages, community life and their lifestyles. The inhabitants of this area are very much close to the nature and natural environment. We can say that, they are symbiotically related with ecology and environment. They led a happy and natural human life for generations. However, all this had to come to an end when the Sea Bird Project (SBP) conceived in 1986 saw

the light of the day in 1999. As a result, the land acquisition process started and centuries old inhabitants had to involuntarily leave their ancestral lands, hearths, huts, habitats and environment. The whole process of development-induced displacement excited me to choose this topic for sociological research. This was an opportunity that had come to my doorstep to germinate the research seed sown in my sociological mind long back during my post graduation course.

In India, numbers of indigenous communities have been displaced due to the fast pace of development. Such developmental projects are meant to provide prosperity to the nation-state and better opportunities to its citizens. But the worrisome aspect of these projects is that the involuntary resettlement often creates new groups of communities facing miseries and sufferings. The human resettlement is a real opportunity to the national planners to bring about positive change and social development in the traditional society.

It is the primary right of the displaced people to enjoy the fruits and benefits of development projects; as such projects are the result of their sacrifice. Such projects should not end up in further marginalization or impoverishment of the people. Thus, development projects like SBP have emerged as a major challenge to our planners. It is also a great challenge to social scientists in general and sociologists in particular to understand the concomitant variations in the development projects and socio-cultural fabric of displaced communities.

The displacement of indigenous coastal communities from their naturally evolved abodes and habitats due to the establishment of SBP, a naval base for national security involved both 'gain' and 'pain'. The entire developmental effort raises an issue of national 'gain' v/s a local 'pain'. Here, it is not a duty of the researcher to analyse, which is more important or less important than the other. As an independent

researcher, it is our moral responsibility to analyze the empirical facts and figures without using a coloured vision of subjectivity. The fundamental sociological interest of this research study is to understand the socio-cultural and economic network of the displaced community during transitory phase of human resettlement. The Sea Bird Project, which will definitely helps the Indian nation-state, not only to protect its border and citizens, but also to maintain its independent national identity in the global world. However, at the same time, this mega project has disrupted the coastal socio-cultural and economic network. This aspect of the project attracted my attention, and consequently, I have chose, this interesting topic for sociological study and entitled it as: 'Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: A Sociological Case Study of Sea Bird Project, Karwar'.

Doing sociological research on the displaced, but not totally resettled community is not an easy task. It was a challenging task to me. The sociological understanding of displaced community, particularly during transitory stage of its resettlement through empirical study was really a difficult task. The analysis and understanding of the subjective realities (i.e. social change, social sufferings, social network etc.) from objective point of view is really a difficult task. As an independent researcher, I took this challenge, as it is my interesting topic, which had made a home in my mind for a long period of time. Though I introduced my-self as an independent researcher, there are several people, institutions and well-wishers who have directly or indirectly helped me to accomplish this challenging task. Hence, at this juncture it is my august and honoured duty to acknowledge my sincere gratitude to all those who have helped me in completing the research work:

First and foremost, I must express my immense gratitude to Dr. R. B. Patil, Reader and Head, Department of Sociology, M.E.S. College, Zuarinagar, Goa and

Ph.D. guide Department of Sociology, Goa University, Goa, who lent his whole hearted support at all stages of my research work. Without his able guidance, constructive criticisms and forceful encouragement it would not have been possible for me to make this thesis a reality. He not only motivated me to do objective and qualitative research but also took great deal of interest in my study all through, despite of his busy schedules. I must confess my deep sense of gratitude to him.

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I take this opportunity to thank the UGC for having granted me two years study leave under the faculty improvement programme (FIP). I am also grateful to commissionrate and directorate of collegiate education, Bangalore, Principal Shri. M.A. Dhawaleshwar, Government First Grade College for Women, Bailhongal, (Belgaum), for allowing me to avail this leave. This leave has certainly helped me for the completion of this thesis. I must also record my indebtedness to my colleagues of Government First Grade College, Bailhongal and Karwar.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An attempt has been made in this chapter to conceptualise certain aspects of development, displacement, compensation, resettlement and rehabilitation. This chapter also meant to discuss the different causes of displacement like natural, political and planned development programmes. The study particularly focuses on how planned development-induced displacement disturbs the existing symbiotic relationship between human habitats and environment. This chapter has also highlighted the ideology of development which leads to the displacement and how developmental 'gains' justify sufferers 'pain'. A review of the works of the social scientists on development, displacement and rehabilitation has also been done. This review reveals how poor rehabilitation leads to impoverishment risks like landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, social disarticulation etc. Some theories relevant to the phenomenon of displacement are discussed in this chapter. Particularly Marxian theory of 'economic determinism', Radcliff-Brown's (1952: 191) 'functional' theory, Merton's (1968) 'structural' theory and some 'change' theories are used in the analyses of the topic under study.

HUMAN HABITAT

A Symbiotic Relationship Between Community and Environment

An 'individual' belongs to a family; and the family in turn belongs to a lineage. The family unit further belongs to a caste or a sub-caste. A number of such caste units collectively forms a community i.e. rural or urban. Such naturally evolved communities are called 'human habitats'. However, human habitats cannot be born and survive above or below the surface of earth. They all very much require earthy

space to origin and to carry on the necessary activities and the food with which to maintain vital processes (Joshi 1982: 38).

The very fact of 'Human Habitat' is selective in nature; because, man considers several mutually conflicting factors before deciding his place of habitation. Sauer (1952: 11) has observed the same: "the most important factors in the initial selection of sites are proximity to water, availability of arable land, defense and an easy access to the fuel and building materials." This signifies the importance of geographical factors in the selection of any location of habitation as human habitats are always located at a certain place and the nature of this place exerts an influence upon the character of the community. Such geographical factors are: 1) Land 2) Water masses 3) Climate and 4) Natural resources. Each of these interdependent geographical factors exerts an influence upon the local habitat. In this regard Berstedt (1970: 23) focuses on how the geographical factors determine the human society in the following words: "Geographical factors are limiting factors, they set limits to the variation of social phenomena, and they determine the boundaries within which social events can occur. In this sense, at least, we may say that certain geographical conditions are necessary conditions in the existence of human societies".

Every 'human habitat' has its own ecology and ecological infrastructure i.e. land, water, climate, flora, fauna etc. and human being. Guha (1998: 5) analyses the symbiotic relationship between ecological infrastructure and 'human habitat' in the following words: "... humans are unique amongst the earth's creatures in their elaborately developed culture(s); they do not stand above or apart from the nature. It is true that to a considerable extent, social facts can be adequately explained with reference to other social facts alone. However, in many instances social facts can only be properly understood with reference to the natural environment within which

humans like any other species live, survive and reproduce”. Therefore, there is not only intimate, complex and complicated relationship between ‘human habitat’ and his environment but the relationship between man and his environment is mutual, complex and subtle. Each of these shapes and in turn is shaped by the other. Man depends on the quality and quantity of the elements for his ultimate survival, which constitute his environment. Further, in the course of drawing upon them for his support, he changes them and the natural relationship between them (Crooks 1975: 9). Thus, the nature or ecological infrastructure powerfully conditions the static and dynamic nature of human community and its social structure (family, caste, kin, culture, art, religion, and ideology), economy (way of production) and polity (power relations, law, and the state). Therefore, Guha (1998: 5) has highlighted the significance of social ecology in the study of human society. He writes: “the task of an environmentally oriented sociology is the study of reciprocal relations between ecological infrastructure on the one hand and social structure, culture, economy and polity on the other”.

‘Human Habitats’ exist to enable humans to satisfy their needs. However, being a system, communities have their own needs. In short, certain conditions must exist in it. Such conditions which are necessary for communities to survive are sometimes called ‘functional requirements’. Therefore, in every community people involve in certain activities. The community, in which most of the people are engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishery, is known as a rural community. A rural community is often called ‘agricultural workshop’. It cannot be separated from the land whose use it ensures. The type, shape and pattern of it are generally in accordance with the kind of work, the agricultural techniques, and the way the soil is used (Guha 1998: 5-6). This shows that the families inhabited in rural community are

functionally interdependent upon one another. It provides them not only the opportunity to earn their livelihood but also provide the guarantee of socio-economic stability and security to villagers.

Most of the world's settlements are rural and stable and permanent too. Such kind of stable and permanent settlement pattern provides opportunities to cultivate definite skills and techniques to sustain life and livelihood for its inhabitants. Open countryside, extensive land uses, relatively low population densities and simple mode of life dominate the rural areas. It is often viewed as opposite to urban in several ways (Hussain 1999: 30).

As human habitat and environment are mutually dependent, the disturbance in the one affects the other. The maintenance of harmonious relationship between the two is mutually beneficial. However, in recent years, the symbiotic relationship between the community and environment is severely damaged due to various reasons (natural and human-made factors) and this has resulted in the well known disastrous consequences.

Disturbances to Human Habitats: The Natural and Human-Made Factors

The human habitats or settled communities develop intra and inter community relationships. Such kind of functional relationships develop mutual interdependence among communities. It means that the primary orientation of the dependent community is not only to the land but to a network of inter community relations also. In addition, the network of relations or market situations, presuppose maximum mobility as they constitute a highly flexible and changeable substitute base. In consequence, population in general must be prepared for change and habituated to readjustment through migration (Hawley 1950: 236-39). The process of migration is the component of social change. Mandal (1981: 90) defines the term: "Migration is

known as the movement of people from one permanent residence to another permanent or temporary residence for a substantial period of time by breaking social and cultural ties". The process of migration takes place when individual family or group of families decide that it is preferable to move rather than to stay. This kind of 'decision' process is voluntary in nature either because of 'push' or 'pull' factors. Therefore this kind of migration is either temporary or permanent in nature.

The process of 'migration' is not new to human civilization. In the contemporary and past indigenous people migrated from their regional habitats for one or the other reason. As Mandal (1981: 91) rightly said: "the history of population migration is as old as man itself... in almost all historic events of the world rise and fall of human migration has shown its magic. Under such a system of migration, the 'Aryans' came to India from central Asia. The growth of population in South America is the gift of slow and continuous migration from European countries".

However, sometimes the external factors disturb the 'human habitats' and force them to resettle involuntarily. Such kind of community resettlement is a subset of broader spectrum of displacement process. Therefore, the first conceptual distinction needed is the distinction between gradual population migration and involuntary displacement. The whole process of displacement can be classified into three main types corresponding to the three types of events:

- i) Natural causes (earthquakes, floods, cyclones etc.)
- ii) Political events (war, revolution, partition etc.)
- iii) Planned development programmes (infrastructural development)

i) Natural Causes

The adverse geographical and environmental disasters are the natural causes of displacement. They are floods, drought, famine, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions,

infertile soil, changing courses of rivers, and tsunami waves etc. The Hwang Ho basin of China is known as the 'sorrow of China' due to its floods menace, which forced the local people to displace. Similar causes are found in the Mekong river basin of Cambodia and the Indus river basin of the Punjab and Pakistan. The state of Rajasthan faces opposite cause of displacement i.e. due to drought. Volcanic eruptions also force people to move from place to place. In the month of January 2005, Tsunami waves affected coastal districts of Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry and Kerala. Consequently the fishing and agricultural communities of south coast were severely affected by this natural disaster. This shows that the sudden natural changes disturb the symbiotic relationship between community and environment. As a result, the settled communities displace and resettle at another place involuntarily.

ii) Political Events

The unhealthy political conditions cause sudden displacement too. They are war, revolution, partition of nation etc. Under political force the Portuguese, Spanish and the French had brought slaves of Africa to South America in the 18th and 19th centuries. In Sri Lanka, the ongoing conflict between the ethnic Tamils and the majority Sinhalese has forced a large group of ethnic families to seek refuge in India. Tibet has been taken over by the Chinese and its subsequent effort to ideological integration of the ethnic Tibetans has forced many to leave the country and take refuge in India and Bhutan. In Bhutan, the Nepali migrant settlers have been the victims of State terrorism. The oppression of the Nepali settlers by the Bhutanese state has forced many of them to take refuge in India and Nepal (Roy 2001: 1-3).

This indicates that things have in no way settled down with the attainment of independence of these new nations. Inside some of these countries, there are ethnic tensions and conflicts too. In addition, the regional disparity in economic

development is an important reason behind population movement across the borders. The population pressure in Bangladesh and impoverishment of its masses forced its population to migrate to India to seek employment opportunities. Such kinds of immigrants are called 'economic refugees'. They are inseparable from the political refugees (Ibid.).

iii) Planned Development Programmes

The governments in the different parts of the world initiate the planned development programmes. This is because, development of any country is judged by its infrastructure development such as the number of dams, industries, mining, transportation and communication network, defense bases, and other large projects now a days. Such mega projects are considered as symbols of 'national progresses'. These projects require large tract of land to achieve the national progress. However, due to the pressure of heavy population the inhabited areas where projects could be set up without causing displacement, are increasingly becoming scarce. Mathur (1995: 16) rightly observes: "the only option to development agencies is to acquire private lands in populated areas. Millions who, thus, lose their lands for development purposes are simply ending up as 'development refugees'". Thus, displacement is a common phenomenon, which results from a variety of planned development projects such as:

1. Construction of dam for irrigation, hydro energy and water supply, which create man made lakes on previously inhabited areas.
2. Development of forest on similar public land where the land has already been encroached for habitation or is the traditional abode of indigenous people.
3. Extension of transportation, highways, railways, airports, transmission lines, irrigation canal networks and others.

4. Construction of new ports and towns.
5. Construction or improvement of urban infrastructure (e.g. sewage systems, subways, intra-city roads etc.).
6. Establishment of defense projects, industries, the protection of grazing area etc.

Thus, there are several development projects, which lead to the displacement of people from their habitat. The whole process of development-induced displacement is wider, complex and complicated in nature. Hence, it is difficult to estimate total displaced persons. World Bank research team generated the first estimate of the worldwide magnitude of displacement. On an average, four million people are subjected to displacement every year because of the commencement construction work on 300 large dams approximately. The urban development and transportation programmes displace an additional 6 million people each year. In total, approximately 100 million people have been displaced and relocated over the past ten years, as a result of infrastructure programmes for dam construction, urban development and transportation projects (Cernea 1999: 12).

Asia has the highest number of displaced people. In India, for instance, around 21 million people were affected during the last four decades (Fernandes 1991). In China water conservation projects alone caused the evacuation of over 10 million people between 1950 and 1990, while urban projects and transports accounted for 7 million and 14 million respectively (Chao 1990: 14).

Reddy (1994: 19) has studied the industrial development projects in the southeastern region and problems of the uprooted families. He has surveyed seven different industrial projects totally, which have displaced 41,652 families (See Table No. 1.1). The data in the table shows that when industries acquire private agricultural land from the villagers, it compensates them by providing job for land in the project. To extent this helps them to sustain their family after displacement.

Table 1.1

**Magnitude of Land Acquisition, Displacement and Rehabilitation Under Selected
Projects in South Eastern India.**

Sr. No.	Name of the Project	Land Acquired (In Acres)	Number of Families Displaced	Number of Villages Affected	Number of Persons Provided Employment
1	Bhilai Steel Plant	33,370.80	5,817	85	4,468
2	Bokaro Steel Plant	31,030.47	13,309	49	14,101
3	Hindusthan Aeronautics Ltd.	3111.43	397	10	109
4	Heavy Engineering Corporation	7,748.80	3,090	36	4,150
5	National Aluminium Company	7056.00	597	25	374
6	Rourkela Steel Plant	19,785.00	4254	33	4755
7	Vishakhapatnam Steel Plant	21,307.00	14,188	61	5,690
Total		1,23,409.54	41,652	299	33,647

Source: Office records of respective projects, 1991-1992, quoted in Reddy 1994. Industrial Development and Problems of the Uprooted.

People are displaced in large scale due to irrigation projects in India as well. The Maharashtra Irrigation Phase II in the Satara District of Maharashtra and the Upper Krishna Irrigation Project in Bagalkot District of Northern Karnataka were constructed across the river Krishna and they caused large-scale displacement. The Maharashtra Irrigation II consisted of Five Dams, resulted in displacement of over two lakhs persons. The Upper Krishna Project, which included two dams, namely Almatti and Narayanpur, displaced over two lakh fifty thousand persons. The Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) which involved the construction of a dam across the Narmada River in Gujarat State, displaced one-lakh sixty-three thousand and five hundred people (Parsuraman 1999: 10). These three mega irrigation projects, covering only

three states displaced altogether 6,13,500 people in last one decade. Therefore, one can perceive what must have been the magnitude of displacement in entire India. We can understand the painful social costs of man's planned direction towards change through infrastructure development.

The above three sets of events triggering displacement processes seem that they are similar in their causes at first sight. However, despite certain common features, the difference between them is substantial. Each type, therefore, requires individualized analysis and distinct responses. The basic difference between displacements due to planned development programmes as compared to natural and political events is that the former are deliberately induced through purposive, intended planned change. Knowing in advance, it can be subject to meticulous planning, including design and land use provisions which are apt to reduce the need to displace in the first place (Cernea 1995: 45).

The present research study comes under planned development project induced displacement. Our planners felt the need to strengthen the national defence project, particularly, the naval defence. Accordingly, they made a plan for it and executed the same right on the west coast in Karwar, Karnataka state. As a result of this national gain, which is inevitable as being part of national defence project, some local pain was experienced by the displaced. Centuries old thirteen coastal habitats were affected by this defence project. As a result, the agriculturists, landless labourers, fishermen and others (e.g. carpenters, blacksmiths, businessmen, ex. servicemen etc.) are evacuated from their sources of livelihood, socio-cultural, religious, political ecology and environment. This disturbs not only their homes, lands and common property resources (CPRs), but the symbiotic relationships between families, caste, kin and occupational groups, neighbouring villages and life sustaining ecology also.

However, this naval project code name 'Sea Bird Project' (SBP) is a national development project so that our planners made a resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) plan for the development of the displaced. Thus, this study entitled 'Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: A Sociological Case Study of Sea-Bird Project, Karwar' highlights the sociological issues related to the topic. Before going into the details about the aims and objectives of our topic, it is necessary to understand historical background of such issues, as conceptual clarification, earlier research attempts on the topic their strengths and weaknesses, theoretical background etc. particularly.

Key Terms: Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation

The terms 'progress', 'evolution' and 'development' have been used interchangeably and the distinction had not been made between them. Classical thinkers have loosely used these words to cover just about every sort of 'social developmental'. Besides, we find a florilegium of euphemism intended to convey the value-loaded ideas in the literature. The terms like 'underdeveloped countries' have been replaced by developing countries which is only a tactful description of the position of the very poor countries. The term 'developing countries' is used as most of them are already in the process of economic development (Pandey 1985: 24).

The fundamental question that needs to be answered is: what development is? The development has an intriguing etymological ambivalence. As a noun, 'development' is used in two senses: there is an active meaning which describes development as a action in order to make something develop, and a medial meaning something goes through a developmental process. It then denotes both active and progress-(Ibid):-

The whole process of development is viewed from two perspectives. They are non-Marxist or anti-Marxist and Marxist perspective respectively. The first perspective defines development as the 'change towards a social state judged desirable'. According to Warner, societal development refers to an increase in the life chances of people in society. The meaning of life chance is wider. According to Weber, life chances are the typical chances for a supply of goods, external living conditions and personal life experiences. United Nations has defined development almost in a similar sense: "As the ultimate purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all people for a better life, it is essential to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing, social welfare and to safeguard the environment". The second perspective of development, by contrast, is based on modern egalitarian values. The structure of society changes in the direction that enhances the opportunity for the deprived masses to obtain a greater share of resource and this structure is the process of development. Such a conception of development shows preference for a social order rather free from exploitation than an exploitative social order (Warner, Weber, United Nations quoted in Pandey 1985: 24-26).

However, the modern democratic nations like India are making attempts to develop their infrastructure. Such kinds of infrastructural change brings the change naturally in existing structure of society. National planners intended to bring planned developmental changes in the social life of its citizens. One of the main interests behind it is to provide better developmental opportunities to certain weaker sections of the society. They include backward castes, classes, minorities, isolated rural masses, tribals, women, elderly people, the people who are physically and mentally weak etc. whose development was knowingly or unknowingly neglected in the past

by the formal and informal rulers of the society. Hence, the idea of national development through the infrastructural growth encompasses dual aspects. One, the nation wants to become the part of race of the international development and wants to show its strength. Second, it intended to fulfill its welfare goal by providing better opportunities to deprived people.

Mehta (1986: 39) has also distinguished the indicators of development into two broad categories – first, societal level and second, community level. The indicators of development at the societal level could be economic growth, industrialization, urbanization, literacy rate, employment status, agricultural development, health status, improved means of communication, technological advancement, the development of art and culture, the scientific and rational outlook of people, static political institutions and the legitimization of social action appropriate to the need of the people. At the community level the development could be visualized in terms of the mobility of individuals or groups in the social hierarchy, the standard of living of the people, the involvement and participation of leaders and followers in the organizations, the provision of infrastructure amenities like health centre, market, welfare centre, school, post office and telephone, improved roads and paths, the mechanization of farms, the development of basic industries, a decline in crime rates and collective and rational efforts to solve the problems of the community. The possession of new houses, public lavatories, bus shelters, playgrounds, improved means of communications may be other indicators of development at the community level.

This shows that development is still conceived primarily in economic terms by and large. This is evident from the dominance of economic concerns underlying development paradigms, development planning strategies and measures of

development performance. Therefore, the social concern remains, at best, marginal importance. Singer, an economist, supported the social concern in development through his words as follows: “a high income society can be socially underdeveloped”. This realization has made little difference to the prevailing economic conception of development (quoted in Sharma 1986: 24).

In this way, ‘development’ means different things to different people Leopold (1967: 153) states, “development means dams and factories, roads and canals, electrification, soil improvement, universities, secondary schools, primary schools, sanitation, research and a multitude of other activities and achievements. But above all, development means people, the preparation and activation of people is the cause of economic and social development”.

Patel and Behera (1999: 54) have also focused on the relationship between development and economic growth. They remark: “the concept of development centered round human beings and their environment. The western blocks saw to rampant and massive development by technological augmentation and rapid industrialization. Thus establishing them as the ‘developed nation’. The so called ‘developed nation’ laid the example to be aped by the third world countries. In order to catch up with their developed brethren, the third world countries could not find better alternatives but adhere to the path taken up by them, little realizing its long term implications on environment and socio-cultural matrix”.

In India too, particularly after independence, the planners pursued the plans and policies borrowed from the developed nations to help her cross the threshold of underdevelopment with a messianic zeal. Hence, emphasis was given to massive infrastructure development like big industrial set up, dams, mining, airports, railways, power plants, defence projects etc. However, in their attempts to eradicate the

problems of underdevelopment, they often created newer ones. One such serious problem created by development projects is the 'problem of displacement' of people from their settled habitat (Cernea 1994: 46). Development-induced displacement not only evicts people from their home and hearth but also robs them of their long-standing cultural heritage and elements of substance. However, people fail to realize that, many times, development, either spontaneous, or induced, brings not only benefits but also social disruption. Many planners and policy makers find it difficult to recognize this double impact when a development programme is being designed (Cernea 1985: 188).

The views of Cernea about the policy makers' difficulty regarding development is applicable to independent nations like India. This is not only because it is a free nation-state, but more probably because it is a welfare state. Here everybody and for everything (benefits as well as recovery of loss, to achieve gains or to avoid pains) hopefully look towards the nation-state. Hence, our policy makers are facing the critical situations of development which induces displacement. This is mainly due to the fact that some sections of displaced are marginalized after displacement.

In the same way Savyasaachi (1998: 54) also highlighted the relationship between national development-induced displacement and marginalization of displaced people. "The construction of the nation-state was premised on the displacement of a large number of people. The partition marked the end of the nationalist struggle for independence and inaugurated the new era of development and displacement. It was the first traumatic encounter with the modernity project. Studies indicate that over a period of 50 years displacement has become synonymous with development and

development has become synonymous with the further marginalization of socially disadvantaged people”.

Thus, displacement and crisis emerging out of development are unavoidable facts. In such kind of developmental intervention, if gainers gain more than losers lose, it raises major issues of social justice and equity. Development is for whom? And at whose cost? It is very difficult to answer such questions. Here value loaded words of Cernea (1991: 128) may help to answer above questions. “People are and should be the starting point, the centre, and the end goal of each development intervention. In sociological terms, ‘putting people first’ is above an ideological appeal. It means making social organization as the explicit concern of development policies and programmes and constructing development patterns, needs and potential of the populations in the project area”.

Among the early reflections on the subject was an edited volume by Cernea and Guggenheim (1993: 114-16) entitled, ‘Anthropological Approach to Involuntary Resettlement’. This volume focused on displacement due to the infrastructure projects. If 1980’s were a ‘decade of displacement’, then the 1990’s can aptly be treated the ‘decade of popular resistance to displacement’. Mounting antagonisms to development induced displacement resulted in new forms of political activism paralleled with new agendas in research. The studies showed that displacement resulted not just in asset and job losses but also in the breakdown of social and food security, credit and labour exchange networks, social capital and kinship ties also. They evoked a sense of the affected people’s socio-political disempowerment and loss of cultural identity and heritage as well as economic impoverishment (Baviskar 1995: 44).

Displacement impacts were modeled to measure degrees of vulnerabilities and ways of offsetting risks (Cernea 1997: 168). Evaluation studies highlighted the abysmal environmental conditions and inadequacies in resettlement sites, and the difficulties that people faced in reconstructing lives and livelihoods after displacement. Dwivedi (2002: 711) also focused on the matter, “a generally accepted maxim in development statutory is that displacement is a painful and adverse social outcome of development. However, beneath this apparent ‘consensus’ is struggle for a destructive hegemony over conceptualization impact and directions of policy. Existing literature on development induced displacement falls into two broad categories. One mainly addresses applied concerns, while the other is primarily born out of action research”. An applied category of scholars consider displacement to be an inevitable and unintended outcome of development and they focus on its consequences. The action research scholars focus on the causes of displacement. These two categories of scholars have developed two broad approaches. The applied research group of scholars think that though displacement is unfortunate and painful it is part and parcel of development. The concern of this group is mainly to minimize the adverse outcome of displacement. By and large, they belong to ‘reformist-managerial’ approach. And the action research group of scholars focus on the structure of displacement. This group raises more fundamental political issues of rights, governance and negotiation, which question development that displaces. By and large, they belong to ‘radical-movements’ approach (Ibid.).

Displacement is concerned with how land and other assets are expropriated to allow a project for overall social good to proceed. Rehabilitation concerns involve the fate of the displaced people. These two aspects are segments of a single process i.e. involuntary resettlement. The people, who are affected due to the infrastructure

development projects are described in different terms and concepts like, 'Displaced', 'Relocation', 'Forced Migration', 'Involuntary Migration', 'Evacuees', 'Outstees', 'Affected Populations', 'Uprooted' and 'Refugees' or 'Development Refugees'. The above terms are used as synonyms most of the time for the people who are forcibly dislocated by the development projects from their native place. The comprehensive terms like 'Displaced Populations' or 'Involuntary Resettlement' are more appropriate as they involve resettlement and rehabilitation as part of the total programme or project (Jojo 1998: 4, Reddy 1995: viii).

The people, who are physically displaced because of loss of land or homesteads or both in the interest of the project should be distinguished from the other project affected persons, who may not be physically displaced but nonetheless are affected in their day to day existence and means of livelihood either directly or indirectly. Cernea (1993: 80) and Mahapatra (1994: 4) have sub-divided the oustees based on the degrees of loss suffered by them. These are: i) People who lose either homes/dwellings, ii) people who lose both their homes/dwellings and their farming land or other productive assets (in full or in part), iii) people who lose land (in full or in part), or productive assets but not their homes/dwellings. The people who fall in the third category are project affected persons but are not given the status of 'outstees' or 'displaced persons'. They are omitted from the outstees statistics and implicitly from relocation planning and resource allocation.

Sinha (1996: 1455) speaks about total displacement and partial displacement. He says: "Displacement refers to the process of expropriation of land and other assets in order to allow a project to proceed for the overall social good. Displacement may be total or partial. Total displacement, occurs when, in addition to the loss of livelihood, there is a loss of home and hearth. Otherwise displacement is termed

partial". Some other writers have made distinction between 'displaced persons' and 'displaced families'.

According to Ahmad (1998: 50), 'Displaced Persons' are those who are ordinarily residing in the impact area or practicing agriculture, involved in any trade, occupation or making for livelihood in the area likely to be affected by the development project. A 'Displaced Family' includes husband, wife and minor children and other persons dependent on the head of the family (e.g. widowed mother). Every major son will be treated as a separate family.

Displacement may be 'total' or 'partial', may be 'family' or 'person' but has both short-term and long-term consequences. It has particularly negative consequences for vulnerable groups like the intensively poor, the socially deprived and the tribal communities. It tends to disorganize the social groups/communities. The displaced people of a particular area face variety of problems related to their life and livelihood. The whole process of displacement makes them feel that they are loosing everything in their life. Displacement destroys both the human-made and natural environment. In other words, 'human habitats' are forcibly displaced from both 'social' and 'natural' environment.

According to Verma (2004: 16) development projects that displace people generally give rise to severe social, economic, ecological and environmental problems. Family as a system of production ceases to exist and the nature of religious worship gets affected. The sense of belonging to their birthplace is threatened and the security of symbolic creations such as places of worship, graveyards of the ancestors, sacred mountain, trees and the deities are destroyed. It is generally associated with psychological stress and results in sickness, grief and death. The roots of cultural identity are suddenly uprooted. People are bound to live in a new atmosphere, in a

new place with new attitudes and values, which change the entire socio-cultural life cycle of the affected persons.

While stating the adverse effects of displacement, Sathpathy (1998: 67) writes, “displacement refers to the process of physically uprooting of large sections of people from their land, economy, resources and culture. The resources, which had been the basis of the livelihood and sustenance of the uprooted communities, are either transferred or destroyed through this act”. On this line, Patnaik (2000: 306) rightly recognizes that displacement of the community leads to total destruction of socio-cultural and economic links. When a community is involuntarily retracted, it is not only internal structure, which gets disturbed but also the fringe relations or relations linking it to other communities get disturbed.

Thus, the consequences of displacement are social, cultural and economic in nature. The construction of large projects acquires vast tracts of agricultural and non-agricultural resources. The people living in the area are forced to move out of their native place. When people are forcibly moved, the production system is dismantled, long established residential settlements are disorganized and kinship groups are scattered. The physical displacement from ancestral habitats alienates the people from their traditional and cultural ethos attached with the native place. The villagers particularly, the cultivators and fishermen have a deep attachment to the soil, sea, hearth and home. Therefore, forced displacement disorganizes the entire social, cultural and economic life of native community (Jojo 1998: 20, World Bank 1994: 1, Joshi 1991: 32-33). It is the state of what Areeparampil (1987: 83) calls, ‘dispossession’. The socio-economic dispossession due to displacement breaks the life support system, which brings about disorganization and insecurity in the lives of the displaced people. It is a physical and debilitating stressful experience for them.

Every body accepts the fact that development-induced displacement unraveled the socio-cultural and economic organization. However, there is non-database which regards it either at the global or country level. The case studies and evaluation reports provide information on some projects. However, this information collected and maintained by different agencies do not match for the same projects sometimes. In spite of this, concerned agencies are attempting to estimate the extent of the displaced people.

Roli (1996: 1469) has also brought out the lack of adequate and accurate data on displacement. According to Rolli, there is no rigorous global statistics about development-induced displacement. This absence contributes to insufficient public awareness of the seriousness and the magnitude of such process. Yet, a rough assessment can be made by extrapolating from available data. The table 1.2 shows the size of displacement caused by development projects.

Table 1.2

Estimates of National Displacement Caused by Development Project

Country	Time-Period	No. of people
China	1950-90	20,000,00
India	1950-90	18,500,00
Thailand	1963-77	1,30,000
Brazil	1980-90	4,00,000
Turkey	1980-90	3,00,000

Source: Guggenheim and Cernea 1993 quoted in Roli 1996.

Involuntary Resettlement: Survey of International Experiences.

The data, in the table, shows that almost all developing countries are facing the problem of development-induced displacement. It is also shown that there is correlation between the geographical and population size of the nation and the ratio of

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displacement. The rate of displacement is high in big countries like India and China compared to the small countries like Thailand and Turkey.

Sathapathy (1998: 68-69) has highlighted the underestimation of oustees number and absence of rehabilitation. According to him, almost 15.92 million oustees have been given no rehabilitation apart from the undervalued compensation amount. There are number of statistical issues centering on the development paradigm, displacement and rehabilitation. Can displacement be avoided? Have the projects actually attempted to minimize displacement? What is to be done when estimated displaced number changes due to a time gap? These are the questions that need to be addressed. Sathapathy (1998: 79) has attempted to document the underestimation of oustee's number in Table 1.3

Table 1.3
The Underestimation of Ousteas Numbers

Dam (Project)	Country	Original Estimate		Revised Estimate	
		Year	Ousteas	Year	Ousteas
Ita	Brazil	1987	13,800	1993	19,200
Guavio	Colombia	1981	1,000	1994	5,500
Akosombo	Ghana	1956	62,500	1965	82,000
Andhra Pradesh Irrigation II	India	1986	63,600	1994	1,50,000
Gujarat Medium Irrigation II	India	1988	63,000	1994	1,40,000
Karnataka Upper Krishna	India	1981	20,000	1994	2,40,000
Madhya Pradesh Medium Irrigation	India	1981	8,000	1994	19,000
Sardar Sarovar	India	1985	33,000	1993	3,20,000
Upper Indravati	India	1978	8,531	1993	16,080
Kiambere	Kenya	1983	1,000	1995	7,000
Bakum	Malasia	1988	4,300	1995	9,430
Funtua	Nigeria	NA	100	1994	4,000
Tarbela	Pakistan	NA	85,000	NA	96,000
Ruzizi II	Zaire/Rwanda/Burendi	1994	135	1994	15,000

Source: Sathapathy. 1998. Irrigation, Economic Development and Displacement: A Macro View.

The data in the table explicit that the project authorities concerned to respective dams underestimate the displaced number. The revised estimates proved that there is a huge gap between the original estimation and revised estimations of displaced population. In some cases it is almost double or more than double the original estimation. This shows that there is the lack of proper planning at initial stage of the project and how one can expect better resettlement and rehabilitation planning from such authorities.

The underestimation of oustees' number creates many problems related to the resettlement. Mathur (1991: 113) rightly noticed the lower estimation of number of people to be resettled than actual number: "Resettlement plans were developed purely ad hoc. They were not based on any detailed planning indicating the number of oustees to be resettled and the cost of resettlement. Often, the plans underestimated the number of people to be resettled. The numbers were based on mere guesswork. In several pursuits, the estimates indicated that the populations in need of resettlement were later found to be much lower than actual numbers".

Displacement from original habitat and relocation in an unfamiliar place, once in lifetime, is a trauma. It is painful in nature socially, culturally and economically. However, the same people find themselves displaced more than once in their short duration of life due to negligence of project authorities and lack of scientific long-term relocation planning in India. The displacement of same people takes place several times as the process of resettlement and rehabilitation is undertaken project wise by independent authorities who have little or no coordination between them in India. Thus, the same people find themselves displaced more than once because of different projects.

Thukral (1989: 17-18) has raised this issue of multiple displacements. The Sangruali Super Thermal displaced people three times. Once for power plant, second time for coal mines and third time for construction of industrial unit, all of which came up within 20 kms. radius of the Rihand reservoir. This was again repeated in Korba where the people were displaced more than once. Some of the Tehri dam oustees have been rehabilitated at Jolly Grant Site near Dehradun. The government proposes to acquire the land from the resettlement oustees to extend the Dehradun airport now.

Thus, multiple displacements reflect the planners' complete lack of understanding and planning for resettlement. Generally, project authorities try to bring down resettlement and rehabilitation costs. To achieve this purpose, they under compensate the displaced people, under enumerate project-affected families, and outrightly exclude certain categories of project-affected families from the list. Gender bias is also sometimes noticed in resettlement and rehabilitation packages. These are the root causes of agitation, disquietude and litigation among project affected families and their representatives (Gumaste 1998: 75-76).

Fernandes and Paranjpye (1997: 10) have narrated the first social protest against unjust displacement occurred in 1927. That the struggle against the Mulshi dam and the hydro electrical works located in Western India in the erstwhile Bombay presidency, is a landmark in the history of involuntary displacement in India. The project was owned by the corporate industrial house of the Tatas and had been commissioned in 1920. About 11,000 persons were to be displaced from their paddy fields. The local inhabitants called, the 'Mavlas' in vernacular language, supported by sympathizers from Pune decided to resist the eviction. A protest memorandum, with 1,300 signatures, was prepared and sent to the Government. Later, on 6 April

1927, 1,200 Mavala men, women and children staged a Satyagraha and stopped the work on the dam site. Several hundred people were arrested and the agitation lasted for two and half years. Senapati Bapat, who fought against the unjust compensation and displacement of several villages, led the satyagrah at Mulshi.

Wrong baseline survey and consequent inadequate resettlement have increased social resistance all over the world. The social researches related to the resettlement and rehabilitation point out number of social protests in different parts of the world. The strong and world popular social protest against Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) by Narmada Bachavo Andolan (NBA), movements against the Ambehole dam in Maharashtra, Upper Krishna Project (UKP) in Karnataka, Hirakud dam in Orissa, the Zama Pan Dam in Mexico, Keding Ombo in Indonesia, Ita in Brazil (Parsuraman 1999, Fisher 1997, Balagovind 1999) are a few examples of such protests.

The social scientists, governments, funding agencies and NGO's all over the world must be aware that development-induced displacement will not disappear soon. It will continue and probably even multiply in the near future. Therefore, the real issue here is not the 'forced displacement' but rehabilitation. The involuntary resettlement consists of two distinct but interrelated processes. First, displacement of people and dismantling of their patterns of economic and social organization and second, resettlement at a different location and reconstruction of their livelihood and social networks (Parsuraman 1999: 2).

This shows that the forced displacement disturbs the long established socio-cultural and economic organization of settled habitats on one side and it needs resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced on the other side. This indicates clearly that the post displacement phase consists of two significant and interrelated processes, resettlement and rehabilitation. Regarding these two processes, we can find

differences in Indian and Western literature. Resettlement in the western literature encompasses the processes of displacement and reestablishment. In India, however, the usual practice is to differentiate between resettlement and rehabilitation. Resettlement in India is taken to mean a simple relocation after physical displacement from the original habitat. In turn, rehabilitation is defined as “grafting a community at a new place and nurturing it to ensure its steady and balanced growth” (Joshi 1987: 44). Elsewhere the concept of rehabilitation is interpreted rather narrowly as referring to a household, or a section of the targeted groups, or even an individual such as an orphan or displaced person who is physically handicapped. However, the basic thrust of rehabilitation focuses on achieving sustained development for displaced people (Cernea 1999, Joshi 1987, Mahapatra 1999).

Cernea has pointed out the two distinct concepts used which are for the two post-displacement phases. They are: resettlement and rehabilitation. The Indian legal and sociological literature uniformly emphasize that ‘rehabilitation’ does not occur automatically just after relocation. Indeed, resettlement may occur without rehabilitation, and unfortunately it often does. He emphasizes further that resettlement and rehabilitation are two interrelated processes that form a continuous, partly overlap to each other and should not be seen necessarily as sequential ‘stages’. On the contrary, to be successful, rehabilitation processes may be, and sometimes should be initiated before physical displacement of people takes place (quoted in Mahapatra 1999: 191-92).

In Indian context, officials as well as politicians prefer to use terms like ‘resettlement and rehabilitation’. They deliberately avoid the use of harsher term ‘displacement’. The official separation of ‘resettlement and rehabilitation’ perhaps narrowed the whole post displacement processes. The empirical studies conducted by

Indian social scientists point out the narrow perspectives of rehabilitation. In India, the resettlement and rehabilitation more or less include: (a) the payment of cash compensation for the land, house and assets lost (b) provision of house plots to those losing houses, and (c) development of basic services at the relocation site and shifting of people. This is not a total rehabilitation.

Sometimes the concepts 'Relocation', 'Resettlement' and 'Rehabilitation' are treated as being inter-related and sometimes inter changeable. These concepts are treated as an inter-related process because we attach different meaning to them. These processes have taken place one after the other. 'Relocation' is a temporary settlement. 'Resettlement' is a semi-temporary settlement in transition and 'Rehabilitation' is treated as the permanent settlement. Burring the concept 'Relocation', the other two concepts ('Resettlement' and 'Rehabilitation') are also interchangeable concepts used in sociological literature. However, the concept of 'Rehabilitation' has gained popularity in its use. The concept of 'Rehabilitation' assumes importance because it establishes the symbiotic relationships between man and his habitat or total environment. According to the present empirical study: 'rehabilitation is a process of adaptation, adjustment and assimilation of resettlers with new ecology and the development of symbiotic relationships with the environment'.

This shows that resettlement is easy, less time consuming where as rehabilitation is comparatively more complex, wider consuming time and money. Probably due to this reason, Indian planers prefer to use more sophisticated words like 'resettlement and rehabilitation' together. In other words in actual practice they attempted more for resettlement and less (not) for rehabilitation. The second process is that they left to the families involuntarily resettled in the new ecology and environment.

Therefore, the entire ideology shows that the official resettlement and rehabilitation is restricted only to physical resettlement, whereas it is missing social, cultural, economic and ecological resettlement and rehabilitation which is more significant from the point of view of displaced community in India. Thus, in India the rehabilitation becomes the responsibility of individual families. This leads to disintegration of families and communities into number of small segments in their effort to find a livelihood. This indicates that the rehabilitation is not only significant, complex and complicated in nature but it is wider and multi-phases process compared to resettlement. It is a long run process from physical resettlement to socio-cultural and ecological rehabilitation (Cernea 1997, 2000).

In displacement research, the 'impoverishment risks and reconstruction' (IRR) model of Cernea is the most influential. According to him, the IRR model aims at 'deconstructing the anatomy of impoverishment'. This model implies that displacement (with the resettlement, or poorly handled resettlement) increases the probability of people becoming impoverished in eight main ways as follows: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation. The risk prediction model becomes maximally useful not when it is confirmed by adverse events, but rather, when, as a result of its warning being taken seriously and acted upon, the risks to be prevented by the model do not occur (Cernea 2000). In fact, the reversal of the risk model countering landlessness through land-based resettlement or homelessness through sound shelter programmes - helps in identifying exactly, what needs to be done to avoid the risk of impoverishment. The IRR model predicts the risks of impoverishment along with an explicit framework for the socio-economic reestablishment of these displaced (quoted in Dwivedi 2002: 17).

Post resettlement and impoverishment risks not only increase vulnerability but also frequently increase social discord (Seregeldin 1998: 7). This shows that a household is a unit but households do not live in vacuum. They live in a community structure/habitat related to each other and form a social capital and capacity for collective action. Therefore, forced displacement leads to social disarticulation, which is the cause of destabilization of the social organization. Therefore, it is important to move people in command groups rather than individual households (Joshi 1982: 228).

Forced displacement takes away the basic livelihood of people. Therefore, it becomes the legal and moral responsibility of authorities to provide alternative means of livelihood. However, many empirical studies have amply clarified that the authorities fail to provide alternative means of livelihood to displaced people. This compels the displaced people to choose defective means of livelihood like prostitution, begging, gambling, robbery etc. This reveals that the forced displacement and the unplanned resettlement have impoverished people in many ways. This happens mainly because of lack of planning and absence of baseline surveys.

A major problem in the process of development-induced displacement is that many resettlement programmes are planned without a good working knowledge of the size and nature of heterogeneity of the population to be displaced. Fernandes and Paranjpye (1997: 6) argue that both the project authorities and the administrators have failed to reduce the trauma of displacement in the last fifty years of experience. What is to be noticed particularly is that they have violated individual as well as group rights while implementing the resettlement plans.

Unfortunately, very casual approach is followed in conducting many baseline surveys. They become merely a tool to fulfill the technical requirement. The

bureaucrats and the agencies that are employed to conduct the survey look at displacement and rehabilitation as a major obstacle in the way of development. They hardly think about it from human rights angle (Paranjpye 1997: 237).

The planning for resettlement and rehabilitation should begin simultaneously or well in advance with the socio-economic baseline surveys. Nevertheless, in India due to negligence of project authorities and administration, people are displaced well before the surveys are complete. Thakral and Singh (1995: 106) have brought out this aspect, “the construction of Nagarjunsagar Project began in 1955, and the socio-economic surveys were conducted after 1957 and continued till 1965. The displacement, however, began in 1959, well before the surveys were complete”.

The wrong baseline surveys lead to wrong macro level data available regarding the total number of project affected people, the actual number of people displaced and the rehabilitated. But some scholars and agencies have tried to give a picture of the extent of displacement, actually resettled and backlog remained. See Table 1.4.

Table 1.4
A Conservative Estimate of People Displaced and Resettled by Development Project,
1951 to 1990 (In Lakhs)

Projects	All Displaced Persons			Tribal		
	Displaced	Resettled	Backlog	Displaced	Resettled	Backlog
Dams	140.00	35.00	105.00	52.60	13.15	39.45
Mines	21.00	05.25	15.75	12.00	03.00	09.00
Industry	13.00	03.25	09.75	03.60	01.65	01.95
Wild Life Sanctuaries	06.00	01.50	04.50	05.00	01.25	03.75
Other	05.00	01.25	03.75	02.50	01.40	01.10
Total	185.00	46.25	138.75	75.70	20.45	55.25
	(100%)	(25%)	(75%)	(100%)	(27%)	(73%)

Source: Documentation Centre, ISI No. 1999:4 quoted in Jojo. 1998. Socio-economic and Political Factors Determining Resettlement and Rehabilitation.

Indian social scientists as well as planners have failed to give a comprehensive database picture of displacement of the country as a whole. However, some research institutes have estimated the total number of displaced, the total number of resettled and the backlog pertaining to dams, mines, industries, wildlife sanctuaries and other development projects. The research finding shows that only 23 to 25 percent displaced population has been resettled after evacuated from their hearths and fields where as backlog is more than 73 to 75 percent irrespective of the nature of project and displaced community. As Reddy (1990: 15) has rightly said: "the example of poor resettlement or no resettlement shows how one party ('Govt'), which has to deal with another party ('Displaced') caught in a life and death situation could have a perception which is the very opposite of that of the later. It is here that the role of social scientist as an honest mediator comes in".

Social Research on Involuntary Resettlement in India

Progress in social research on involuntary resettlements has been nothing short of explosive during the past two decades. Anthropologists and sociologists started the study of these processes some six or seven decades ago and they maintained a virtual monopoly in this area of inquiry. Some principal characteristics of developments in social science knowledge on resettlement are: First, social knowledge about process of involuntary resettlement is more intensive and substantive, 'thicker' than ever before. The understanding of displacement in socio-economic content has been considerably enriched, refined and systematized. Second, resettlement research has multiplied its products and services, moving from descriptions to prescriptions, from academic analysis to operational research. Third, research has sealed up crossing the threshold from micro to macro, from case ethnographies on localized instances of resettlement to general sectoral, national and international policy frameworks for

resettlement. Fourth, new theoretical models based on the ever-growing bodies of empirical data on resettlement, inform about the practical planning of induced resettlement more effectively and generate hypothesis for further research (Cernea 1999: 8).

Empirical sociological studies on involuntary resettlement have been carried out in both developed and developing countries. In developed countries, one of the seminal contributions was Herbert Gans' research in the 1960s in the United States on urban involuntary relocation in the Boston area (Gans 1968). The credit for laying the early foundations of research and knowledge about involuntary resettlement in developing countries goes to well known anthropologists Roy-Burman (1961).

In Asia, the resettlement literature has registered the largest and undoubtedly the fastest growth in India. India's social scientists have devoted much research to the impact of displacement in tribal groups and scheduled castes (Fernandes, Das and Rao 1989; Mahapatra 1994; Pandey 1998). The growing literature on dam related displacements, particularly on Narmada Sagar Sarovar dam, enriched the debate with new topics from the role of the state to resettlers' resistance (Thukral 1992; Fernandes and Thukral 1989; Joshi 1987; Singh 1992; Balagovind 1992; Mathur 1994; Baviskar 1995; Fisher 1995; Gill 1995; Dreze, Samson and Singh 1997; Mathur and Marsden 1998; Mahapatra, Ota and Mohanty 1998; quoted in Cernea 1999: 32).

Indian anthropologist Roy Burman's (1961) foundational research on involuntary resettlement in our country was followed by some other social studies. One of the earliest studies among these is the study made by Das and Bannerjee (1962: 16). They have studied the psychological and socio-cultural adjustment due to industrialization. They observed that displacement of tribal and their resettlement in new areas caused disruption in their socio-cultural life. The continuous contact with

outsiders and availability of compensation money was found to create new wants among them. Even after they were rendered without employment due to completion of various construction projects, the desire for newly acquired goods and things remained which creates a void in their lives.

Sachchidananda (1965) has pointed out that the impact of industries on tribes in Bihar has been reflected in the changes in their leisure time activities, food habits and patterns, mixing of tribal with non-tribal and decline in the importance of religion.

Karve and Nimbkar (1969) have made a study of displacement under Koyana Dam in Maharashtra. This study has argued that the inner structure of village as well as its complex relationship with other neighboring villages is likely to be disturbed by displacement, such as that caused by the building of a Koyana Dam on river Krishna.

Chandrasekhariah (1970) has studied the problems of rehabilitation and social readjustment of displaced people with reference to the construction of Tungabhadra River Project in Karnataka.

Gajarajan (1970), based on his study of rehabilitation programme under Tungabhadra River Project, observes that the success of rehabilitation programme also depends on location advantages of the rehabilitation centre. If rehabilitation centers are well developed or linked by communication network, marketing facilities etc and if sufficient land is available, it can accelerate the pace of development.

Muthayya and Mathur (1975) have reported the indiscriminate spending of compensation money by the recipients. The study based on Bharat Heavy Electrical Limited at Ramachandrapuram in Andhra Pradesh found that the compensation was mostly spent on domestic and living expenses, clearing of debts and performance of religious and marriage ceremonies.

Joshi (1982) has made a study of the pre and post displaced village Pimpalwadi due to the construction of Jayakwadi Irrigation Project in Maharashtra. This study mainly focuses on the changes in social and economic relations and the psychological stress and the strains involved in the rehabilitation of the people.

Rao's (1986) study reveals that the displaced people under Rengali Dam are resettled in an area where even drinking water is a luxury. He states that the established colonies resemble the pre-historic place without any basic amenity.

Joshi (1987) has studied the submerging villages in Narmada Valley projects. The study deals with the analysis of policy and practices of rehabilitation. The socio economic differences among the oustees of the submerged villages and their attitude towards the issue of rehabilitation are dealt with in this study.

Vidhyarthi (1987) in his comparative study of three project areas in Bihar has found that there was a complete disintegration of pre-industrial culture in Jamshedpur and Bokaro Project areas but the social structure under Patratu Industrial Area remained unaffected.

Mahapatra's (1990) study has attempted to understand the impact of industrialization on the tribals of Eastern India and its planning implications. This study has analyzed the various changes in occupational pursuits, agricultural practices, jajmani system and traditional society in the tribal villages.

Balgovind (1991) has made the study of rehabilitation programme among the displaced families falling under Hirakud Dam area as part of his postdoctoral research. An important observation of his study was that the oustees in all the localities suffered a lot of hardship in the initial years of resettlement. Many of the oustees had to change their occupation and sometimes took to work which their respective caste councils did not prescribe usually.

Satyanarayan's (1991) study deals with process of land acquisition, resettlement and rehabilitation of Ramagundaum Super Thermal Power Project in Andhra Pradesh. The socio-economic, educational and cultural impact of displacement on various sections of village population are studied.

Fernandes and Raj (1992) have done a study of eleven development projects in Orissa. They have analyzed the process of displacement and rehabilitation in the context of regional as well as caste/tribe difference. The study of social movements arising out of the displacement problems is also done.

Behura and Nayak (1993) have studied the cultural impact of involuntary displacement occurred due to the construction of the Rengali Multi-Purpose Project. They have highlighted the impact on rural-farming base of the displaced and the problems of their life in the new settlements.

Reddy (1993) has studied the magnitude of development, displacement and social transformation occurred among the displaced and living conditions of affected people with reference to NALCO and Upper Kolab Project.

Dalua (1993) has studied the environmental impact of large reservoir projects on human settlement due to the construction of Upper Kolab Project in Orissa. His study concludes that the construction of major river valley dams caused damage to the ecosystem and brought about unmitigated miseries to the oustees.

Ramaiah (1996) on the basis of the study of three rehabilitation centers of Singrali Project has explained reduced health status in the form of calorie protein intake level of displaced people. Findings of her study indicated that health status of a large number of involuntary settlers, who were cultivators before resettlement and wage labourers after resettlement, was adversely affected. This was attributed to occupational change as physically demanding work required additional calorie intake.

Health status of a wage earner was often affected since the demand of calorie intake was not proportion to the actual intake.

Jojo (1998) has done a doctoral research on socio-economic and political factors determining resettlement and rehabilitation outcome of dam-displaced people. The main finding of the study is that the weaker socio-economic and political conditions cause higher risks of impoverishment.

Ganguly (2000) has studied the displacement and rehabilitation of Maldhari families of Gir forest in Gujarat during 1992 and 1996. She has analyzed the adverse changes in the life of the 'Maldhari' and the decline in population of the 'Vasahats'. The Study attributed this to mainly the faulty rehabilitation policy, the tardy implementation of the rehabilitation package and the indifference of the government officials towards the displaced families. This study reveals that one fifth of these families enjoyed better standard of living, but the role of the government was marginal in improving their living conditions.

Biswal (2002) has studied the impact of two major irrigation projects in Orissa. One is Rengali dam and the other Subarnarekha dam. The study analyzed the economic activities pursued by different categories of oustees before displacement, change in the pattern of economic activities after displacement and the extent of loss or gain derived out of major economic activities followed by different categories of displaced families.

Verma (2004) has done comparative study of the sociological matrix of involuntary displacement in two NTPC projects located at the borders of U.P. and M.P. This study analyses the impact of displacement on the life cycle of the affected people, socio-economic changes and its consequent impact on ecology and environment.

A brief overview of the social research on involuntary resettlement and rehabilitation emphasises the need for not only studying disruptions but also helping to formulate reconstructive strategies to turn displacement into development opportunities. Thus, it helps to draw broad approaches and theories. This research has highlighted some sociological theories which may provide relevant insight into the understanding of the topic under study.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Sociology is a fundamental science of 'society'. It deals with society. It means that it deals with the 'human habitat'. The 'human habitat' has its own 'social structure'. The idea of 'social structure' is at the very heart of sociology as a scientific enterprise. Structure is defined as "an organized body or combination of mutually connected and dependent parts or elements". The basic units of analysis in the sociological study of structure are two: first, certain relational characteristics that arise from the location and interaction among the individual persons as role relationships (parent-child), in the complex patterning of role relationships into institutional form (market-structure, family structure, educational structure), and a stratified relations among persons along the lines of wealth, power and prestige, and second, irrational characteristics among groups or social associations involving common interaction, membership, feelings of belonging, and identification as such by those outside the group. Examples are relations among social cliques, political parties, voluntary associations and social classes (Merton 1968: 160).

According to Radcliff-Brown (1952: 191) "The concept of function ...involves the notion of structure consisting of a set of relations amongst unit entities, the continuity of the structure being maintained by a life process made up of the activities of the constituent units". This might be of some relevance to the

displacement phenomenon. Displacement leads to modification/changes in activities and functions of social units and in return responsible for changes in structure of social units.

The Marxian theory of super structure, which roughly means that the economic structure determines the culture patterns of a society, might be of some relevance to the displacement phenomenon. The displacement of population from its original habitat means the total disruption of the traditional means of production, structure of wealth and property and the power structure based on them. Displacement leads to a process of forced change in people's traditional socio economic network base and class/caste divisions. Hence, it is interesting to observe how the displaced fared in their aim of preserving their original class/caste status character within an alien society with a new pattern of socio-economic stratification (quoted in Biswal 2000: 54 and Sakalani 1984: 28).

The research on involuntary resettlement also draws some broad social science approaches such as:

- i) *Psychological and Socio-Psychological Approach*: It concentrates on the consequences of displacement such as isolation, anonymity and sense of inferiority.
- ii) *Sociological-Anthropological Approach*: It examines the consequences of displacement on social institutions and problems of social disorganization and normlessness among the oustees.
- iii) *Displacement as Transitional Society Approach*: It tries to cover the forms and process of social changes among oustees particularly changes in their socio-economic and cultural institutions.

All the approaches and areas of study are mutually related. One study might seek to combine all the other themes, though this is likely to prove a very unwieldy task. Displacement and rehabilitation is a complex subject and a phenomenon that transcends several disciplinary boundaries (Sakalani 1984: 19).

The 'human habitat' or settled community is a symbiotic commensalistic phenomenon. The symbiotic relations are the basis of what we call a corporate group. Such a group is internally differentiated and symbiotically integrated and it constitutes an organ of the larger communal organism. This might be of some relevance to displacement and resettlement. In the original habitat, each family unit symbiotically integrated with the larger community structure. While in, involuntary resettlement family unit is under varying degree of compulsion to adapt or to adjust depending on the degree of conformity demanded of the family by the resettled community (group). But the criteria of adjustment must be viewed both from the angle of the family unit and that of the resettled group, as the image of the process may differ when seen from these two points of view. The resettlers' own predisposition to change plays a major role in the conditioning of the adjustment and adaptation. This implies a willingness to accept new roles for himself and a certain time perspective that enables the resettlers to see beyond the present difficulties of adjustment to future goals (Arakeri 1978, Sakalani 1984, Joshi 1982).

Social change has always left visible impact on its social structure and tradition. Generally, social change has been viewed as a gradual process within the boundaries of social equilibrium or system maintenance. Yet the involuntary resettlers as a social system represent a different model of social change, their change has been described as a model of forced or drastic social change.

The present research study also mainly focuses on involuntary resettlement and drastic social change because of exogenous factors. The fact is that this drastic social change has not occurred as a consequence of shift of population by natural events (calamities) or political events but because of planned development programme called sea-bird project. Therefore, due to construction of sea-bird project families of coastal villages in Karnataka are involuntarily resettle in rehabilitation colonies. Thus, the main problem of research is to study the process of involuntary resettlement, adaptation, continuity and change among displaced in planned rehabilitation colonies. The study of these aspects will also incidentally cover the personal/social disorganization and social sufferings of resettlers in the process of adaptation.

Inadequacies in Earlier Studies

The problem of development-induced displacement and resettlement is becoming such a widespread event that it is enveloping all corners of the developing as well as developed societies of the world (Verma 2004: 75). Before any development project is conceived and planned, it cannot be predicted exactly which category of people or habitat is going to be displaced. It all depends upon the national policy makers, their approach towards the development projects, time, resources and situational demands.

As we have already mentioned that the early foundation of research and knowledge about involuntary resettlement in our country laid by anthropologist Roy-Burmon in 1961 is continued till today. Indian social scientists in general and sociologists in particular have done a lot of research works on involuntary resettlement. Also, NGO's, social activists, government agencies as well as funding agencies like World Bank, Asian Development Bank etc. have done research surveys

on involuntary resettlement in India. All these studies have covered one area or the other depending upon the context and their requirement. Even then some errors have remained uncorrected in most of the earlier studies. The present study has definitely attempted to correct some errors remained in earlier studies with the help of more appropriate and skillful research methodology. Hence, we can claim that this study is, to some extent, different from earlier studies on involuntary resettlement. At least in three ways the present research work differs from the earlier ones: 1. In the earlier scientific effort towards the involuntary resettlement, scientists preferred to study the settled communities. However, the present sociological study has tried to generate the knowledge on initial process of human resettlement in planned rehabilitation colonies. The empirical knowledge generated by this study will help to enrich the sociological (knowledge) insights into the understanding of the socio-cultural transformations during the transitory phase of resettlement of the community. 2. Another speciality of this study is its attempt to collect systematic knowledge about the original habitats and symbiotic relationships within a habitat, habitat and environment and between habitats. With this kind of knowledge (background), the study focuses on the adaptation, adjustment and nature of symbiotic relationships among the families of various habitats resettled in one colony. This kind of sociological enquiry helps to enrich the knowledge. The families resettled in the new ecology belong to various habitats which are socio-culturally peculiar and heterogeneous in nature. Thus, the study tried to generate the empirical knowledge about the socio-cultural and livelihood transformations among resettled families which, in turn, helped to understand the transformations in habitats during the initial stage of resettlement. It means, the study deals with various heterogeneous as well as peculiar village (Broken) habitats in one resettled colony. In other words, the study generates the

scientific knowledge about the concomitant variations in socio-cultural and livelihood systems of families and village communities. 3. The earlier sociological studies on involuntary resettlement are more focused on the social and economic fabric of the displaced community. However, this study tried to maintain the balance in its focus to understand relationships between social ecology and environment of displaced community. This empirical study attempted to understand the social reality (social units, social facts) with reference to the natural environment. Thus on one hand, the present research study has made an effort to fill the gap in existing knowledge and it contributed new knowledge to the field of sociology on other.

Organization of the Thesis

The research work consists of eight chapters listed below.

1. Chapter One: Introductory

This chapter mainly focuses on the review of literature on the development-induced displacement and rehabilitation. This chapter also highlighted some theories relevant in explaining the phenomenon of displacement and involuntary resettlement. It also throws light on the inadequacies remained in earlier studies and discusses the theoretical and practical utility of present research study.

2. Chapter Two: Methodology

This chapter mainly deals with research problem, methodology and design of the study. The specific objectives of research, research questions, hypothesis, area and time of study, sampling procedure, field experiences and methods of data collection are discussed in this chapter. The study of involuntary displacement is methodologically complex in nature. Therefore, multiple tools are used to study the various aspects of displacement, and rehabilitation. These include: observation, informal and formal discussion, household interview, household case studies and

focused group discussion. The chapter also focuses on theoretical and practical significance of the study.

3. Chapter Three: The Research Setting

In this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the historical and physical background of the sea-bird project affected area. This is done as prelude to understand the problem under study. The emphasis here is to know the nature, extent and consequences of historical and physical background, topography, climate, rainfall, common property resources of the study area. This chapter also deals with the process and extent of land acquisition for establishment of naval base. It covers the data pertaining to fully and partly affected villages, families and their structure and functions. It also probes how the land acquisition process disturbs the physical, socio-cultural and economic structures of coastal habitats.

4. Chapter Four: Sea Bird Project: Development-Induced Displacement

This chapter makes an analysis of the idea of 'nation-state' and development of national defense force particularly, the growth of Indian Navy and its integrated modern naval base. It explains the contradiction in the fundamental goals of the 'nation-state' and naval development. Because acquisition of land by the nation-state for naval base invariably displaced people from their hearth and fields without adequate and apt rehabilitation policy. It also deals with brief history of Indian Navy, the necessity of sea-bird project, technical and geographical grounds for selection of particular area for sea-bird project and its national significance.

5. Chapter Five: Rehabilitation: Policy, Package And Practice

Forced displacement takes away the basic livelihood of people. Therefore, it becomes the legal and moral responsibility of welfare state to promote alternative means of livelihood (Cernea 1993). Thus, in this chapter an attempt has been made to

critically assess the land acquisition act, 1894 (amended in 1984). The present status of national rehabilitation policy and Karnataka state government's rehabilitation act are also discussed. This also includes critical analysis of sea-bid project rehabilitation policy, package, its practice and the tangible impact on project displaced people.

6. Chapter Six: Resettlement and Socio-Cultural Transformation

This chapter makes an analysis of resettlement and socio-cultural transformation among the families resettled in the rehabilitation colonies. It mainly focuses on certain macro and micro socio-cultural units particularly village, caste, family, neighbourhood, leadership, religion, gender etc. This chapter also explains the process of adaptation and adjustment among the interrelated socio-cultural units both before and after resettlement, which invariably covers the socio-cultural problems and sufferings.

7. Chapter Seven: Resettlement and Livelihood Systems: Change and Continuity

In displacement, the poverty and impoverishment are the primary matters of discussion (Cernea 1997). Hence, in this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the resettlers livelihood systems before and after displacement. It probes, in detail, the multiple economic activities of SBP affected families. Thus, it primarily deals with how the economic activities of resettled families are inter-linked with the socio-cultural and ecological life patterns of village community before and after displacement. It also enquires into the degree of change and continuity that occur in the livelihood systems in the process of involuntary resettlement. Accordingly, certain important sources of livelihood i.e. land, occupations, livestock, household industries and common property recourses are discussed.

8. Chapter Eight: Summary and Conclusion

The analysis of the findings pertaining to the study of 'Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation of SBP, Karwar are presented in the substantive chapters (three to six). Drawing insights from them, this last chapter of the study presents its summary and conclusion, which also includes some important suggestions. The findings pertaining to the macro and micro level changes in the socio-cultural and economic units of human habitats due to the phenomenon of SBP displacement are highlighted in this chapter. The degree of change and continuity in the structure and functions of major social units of displaced society, particularly the village, caste, family, neighbourhood, leadership, religion, education, economy etc. are analysed.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter mainly deals with research problem, methodology and design of the study. The specific objectives of research, research questions, hypothesis, area and time of study, sampling procedure, field experiences and methods of data collection are discussed in this chapter. The study of involuntary displacement is methodologically complex in nature. Therefore, multiple tools are used to study the various aspects of displacement, and rehabilitation. These include: observation, informal and formal discussion, household interview, household case studies and focused group discussion. The chapter also focuses on theoretical and practical significance of the study.

Statement of the Research Problem

The displacement of people due to infrastructure development is a worldwide phenomenon. In the 1990's, development-induced displacement emerged both as a major concern and as a challenge to social science in general and sociology in particular. The concern arose because of the dramatic rise in development-induced displacement in the 1970's and 1980's propelled mainly by a global infrastructure boom and coupled with painful and disastrous outcomes in resettlement experiences. As Dwivedi (2002: 710) rightly observes: "the developing impasse necessitated fresh insights into the life of worlds' affected people, and a review of assumptions, questions and options in social engineering challenge that was taken up in sociological and anthropological research". The present sociological case study also deals with displacement of people due to creation of national defence project of coastal Karnataka at Karwar. The Indian naval base called SBP acquired 31 km

coastal land from Karwar to Ankola, which affected 13 villages. The people inhabited in these villages were uprooted from their hearth and homes, fields and sources of livelihood as well. Generations together settled villagers, especially the agriculturists, landless laborers, artisans and fishermen, had a deep attachment to the soil and sea, environment and common property resources. Such kind of heterogeneous village communities when displaced from their original place of settlement desire to live/resettle in the same pattern at the new place as was in the original villages. But for the sake of 'national good' the villagers were displaced from their original habitats and scattered over different places. This disturbed the entire socio-cultural and economic life style of displaced village communities. Of course, in return, the nation (Govt) gave them compensation in terms of cash, land, and site for house construction, transportation and other expenses. But such kind of economic compensation may not satisfactorily counterbalance the social, cultural, psychological and ecological disturbances. The economic compensation helps in physical resettlement but the displaced people's needs are beyond it. They need to be rehabilitated socially, economically, psychologically and ecologically as well. Thus, on one side, this entire process of rehabilitation is much more complex and is a challenge for resettlement and rehabilitation authorities. On the other side, this complex process leads to socio-cultural, economic, psychological and ecological sufferings to involuntarily resettled communities.

Any kind of displacement is a source of social change. The planned resettlement in case of population displacement by political and natural disasters is not possible. However, the resettlement is expected to be and should be planned one in case of population displacement by developmental projects like sea bird. The social change in such case is both normal as well controlled. The displaced people want to

restore their former capacity or condition at the new place of settlement. However, this depends upon the process and quality of resettlement and rehabilitation. If this entire process is smooth and systematic, the displaced people can enjoy same or better standard of living; otherwise they face crisis of resettlement. The crisis may occur to resettled community mainly because of displacement that disturbs their original settlement pattern, long existed institutional network and symbiotic relationship with total environment. The resettlement in new environment involves adaptation and unexpected social change for which people are inexperienced. Therefore, the resettlement and adaptation process creates tension and crisis. The crisis is mainly related to finding of alternative and suitable means of livelihood, neighbourhood relations, and family and inter-family, caste and inter-caste relations, relations with common property resources, civic facilities, religious institutions and other institutions.

The present piece of research deals mainly with involuntary resettlement and social change. Such kind of analysis and explanation occupies significant role in the sociology as Dube (1992: 49) rightly points out, “the study of social change occupies an important place in the sociological tradition. The founding father of the discipline built this aspect into the subject matter of sociology. Comte divided the subject matter into two major parts: social static (the study of major institutions or institutional complexes) and social dynamics (the study of development and change). Both parts were considered equally important; infact one could not be studied without the other”.

When the development project forces the settled community to resettle in new place of environment, it involves adaptation and change. This possible change may be studied in two sociological perspectives; one in social static perspective i.e. continuity and complexity of major social institutions (family, caste, neighbourhood, economy

etc.) and another is social dynamics perspective i.e. adaptation, change and development of those institutions. The present piece of research focuses on the static and dynamic nature of resettled community and its social institutions.

In this background, the present study has made an effort to find out the impact of displacement and rehabilitation on the coastal community life. It aims at understanding the process of resettlement, adaptation, change and continuity among resettlers during the initial phase of relocation.

Specific Objectives of the Research

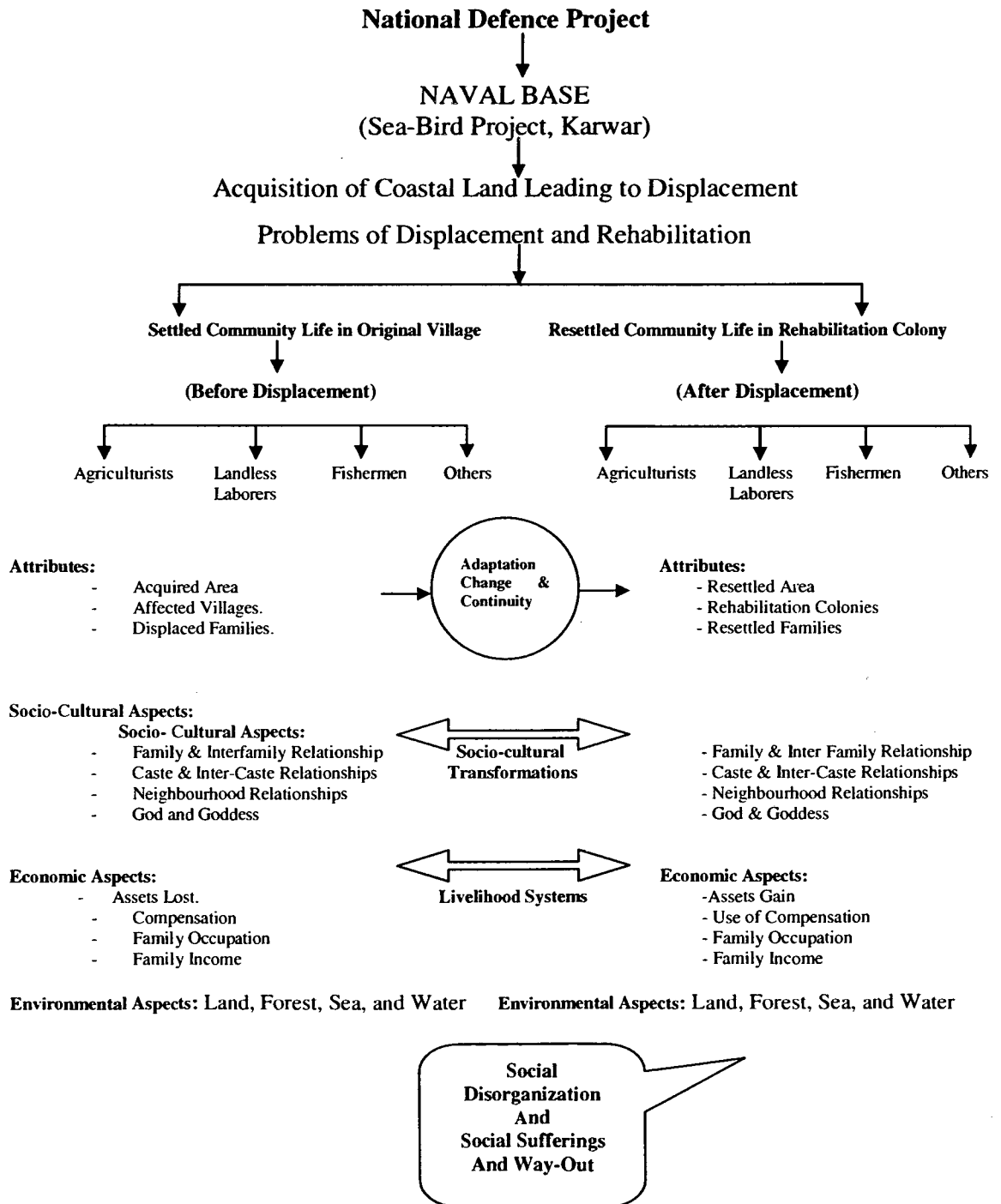
The village communities of coastal Karnataka, involuntarily resettled in rehabilitation colonies (RCs), need to adapt to new place. But this adaptation process is complex and problematic for them in two ways. One, they are inexperienced to adapt altogether to new community and culture and two, they lack capacity to adapt to new environment. It brings about socio-economic change and continuity in their community. As a result, the community and culture become alien to them. This process of adjustment may be painful, at least, initially. Therefore, the fundamental aim of this study is to understand and analyse the possible change in socio-economic, cultural and ecological relations among resettled communities. The study also focuses its attention on the characteristics of SBP taking into account the socio-economic, cultural and ecological problems of displacement and planned resettlement at RCs. Thus, the research work will try to understand and analyse the difference between resettlers' social, economic, cultural and ecological conditions before and after displacement. Therefore, this research work has dealt with the study of family size, intra and inter-family relations, intra and inter-caste relations, neighbourhood relations, gram deva, assets, income and occupation of family, family's relationship with common property resources, compensation received and its utilization and the

process of resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R). However, this research study has some specific objectives, which are as below:

1. to identify the typical socio-economic problems of displaced community,
2. to study the change and continuity among the displaced community,
3. to study the nature of symbiotic relationships between community and environment, and
4. to study the implications of rehabilitation policy, its evaluation and to find out its deficiencies.

Fig 2.1

SCHEME OF RESEARCH STUDY



Research Questions

The specific objectives of research are fundamentally related with research problem. But the objectives of research also include some series of specific (micro) research questions. Such kind of research questions play significant role in sociological research. Because they are helpful to a researcher to find out the facts. When a researcher is very much aware and familiar with his research problem, he assumes the facts before investigation. Therefore, a researcher raises such kind of 'fact-finding' questions well before investigation. These questions also help to develop relations between different kinds of social variables. The present piece of research has also formulated some research questions, which are as below:

1. What are the impacts of displacement and rehabilitation on different occupational groups within the displaced population?
2. What are the perspectives of the various groups towards the displacement and rehabilitation?
3. What is the role of the leadership and struggle forum in mobilising the various occupational groups towards acceptance and resistance of rehabilitation package?
4. How are the vulnerable groups such as landless, artisans, women, children and elderly affected by displacement and what is the nature of their social sufferings?
5. What kind of rehabilitation policy would not marginalize vulnerable groups?
6. What are the implications of cash compensation on different kind of groups?
7. Which are those groups that face more difficulty in adapting to the new environment?
8. What are the drastic changes brought up in social units like family, caste, neighborhood, religion and leadership?

Hypotheses

After formulation of the research problem, formation of hypotheses plays significant role in the investigation of research problem. Because, they provide right direction for the researcher to know what kind of facts to look for and to search order within facts. Here Lundbergh's words are noteworthy: "The only difference between gathering data without a hypothesis and gathering them with one is that in the latter case we deliberately recognize the limitations of our field of investigation so as to prevent greater concentration of attention on particular aspects which past experience leads us to believe are insignificant for our purpose" (quoted in Wilkinson and Bhandarkar 1977: 77).

Therefore, hypotheses guide the researcher to collect 'fact' related data in a systematic order, which, in turn, helps to answer the research question. The present research study has also formulated certain hypotheses given below:

1. Miseries caused to the resettlers are human made.
2. Displacement leads to the loss of hereditary occupation; as a result, marginalized groups are further marginalized after displacement.
3. Stronger the oustees organization more is the bargaining power for better resettlement and rehabilitation. Weaker the oustee's organization lower is the bargaining power for better resettlement and rehabilitation provisions.
4. Acquisition of agricultural land disturbs the entire agricultural dependency pattern.
5. Given the opportunity, people belonging to the same caste and kin and community like to live together.
6. Given the opportunity, heterogeneous population belonging to the same settled community likes to resettle together.

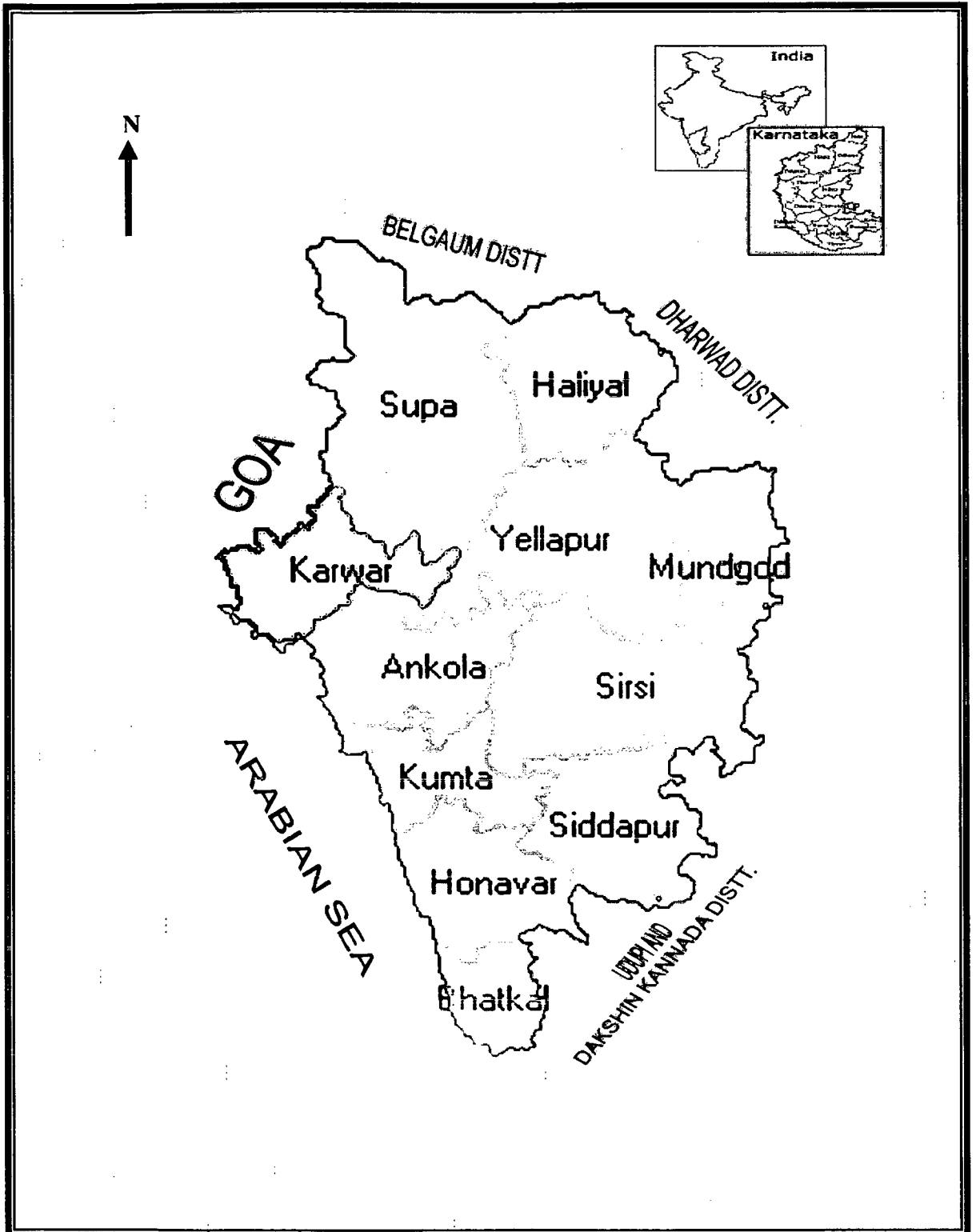
Area of Study

The sea-bird project has been located in North Kanara district of Karnataka State. This district lies between $13^{\circ}55'$ and $15^{\circ}31'$ North latitude and $74^{\circ}9'$ and $75^{\circ}10'$ east longitude. This district has an area of 3910 square miles. The North Kanara district is bounded on the north by Belgaum district, on the east by Dharwad district, southeast by Mysore district, south by Udupi district and on the west by the Arabian Sea and on the Northwest by Goa. This district has got 76 miles of coastal area, which stretches in a long nearly straight line to the south- southeast. This coastal area includes three bays, Baithkul and Kodar bay in Karwar taluka and Balekeri bay in Ankola Taluka. The sea-bird project is naval base project located on coastal area. Out of 76 miles of the coastal area, the project acquired 32 Km. coastal areas from Karwar taluka (Baithkol) to Ankola taluka (Belekeri).

This project has affected totally 13 villages settled on coastal line. Out of 13 displaced villages, two are totally displaced and remaining 11 are partially displaced. Both the totally displaced villages belong to Karwar taluka. The names of these villages are given in table No.2.1. The resettlement and rehabilitation authorities have developed totally nine rehabilitation colonies (RCs) to rehabilitate the project displaced village communities. The table No.2.2 shows the names of rehabilitation colonies. The table No.2.3 shows the distance from district head quarter to various rehabilitation colonies.

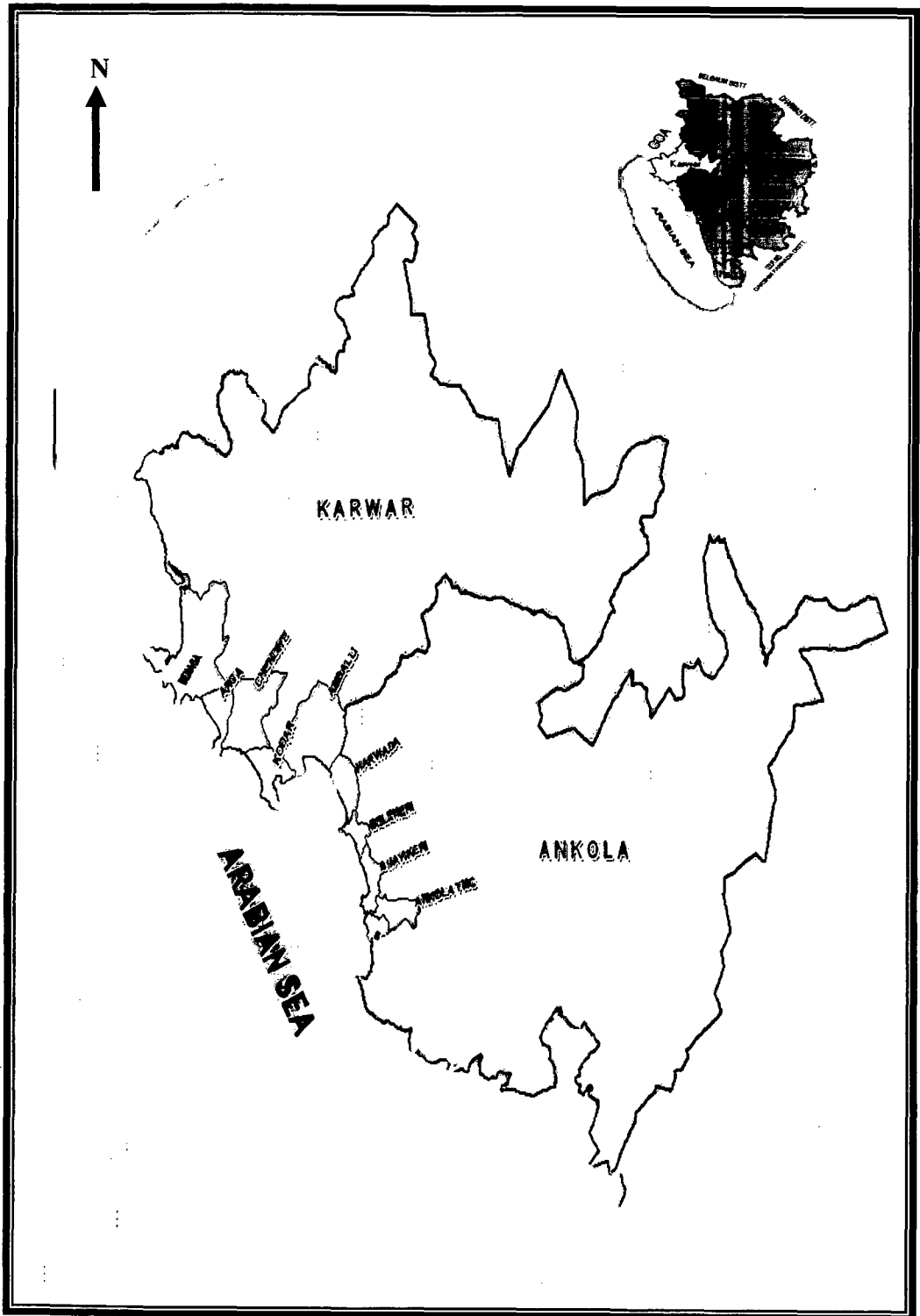
Map No. I

Map of Uttar Kannada District Showing Study Area of Karwar and Ankola Talukas
(Highlighted with Yellow and Green Colours)



Map No. II

Map Showing SBP Affected Coastal Villages of Karwar and Ankola Talukas



Map III

Map Showing SBP Affected Coastal Area, Sample Rehabilitation Colonies

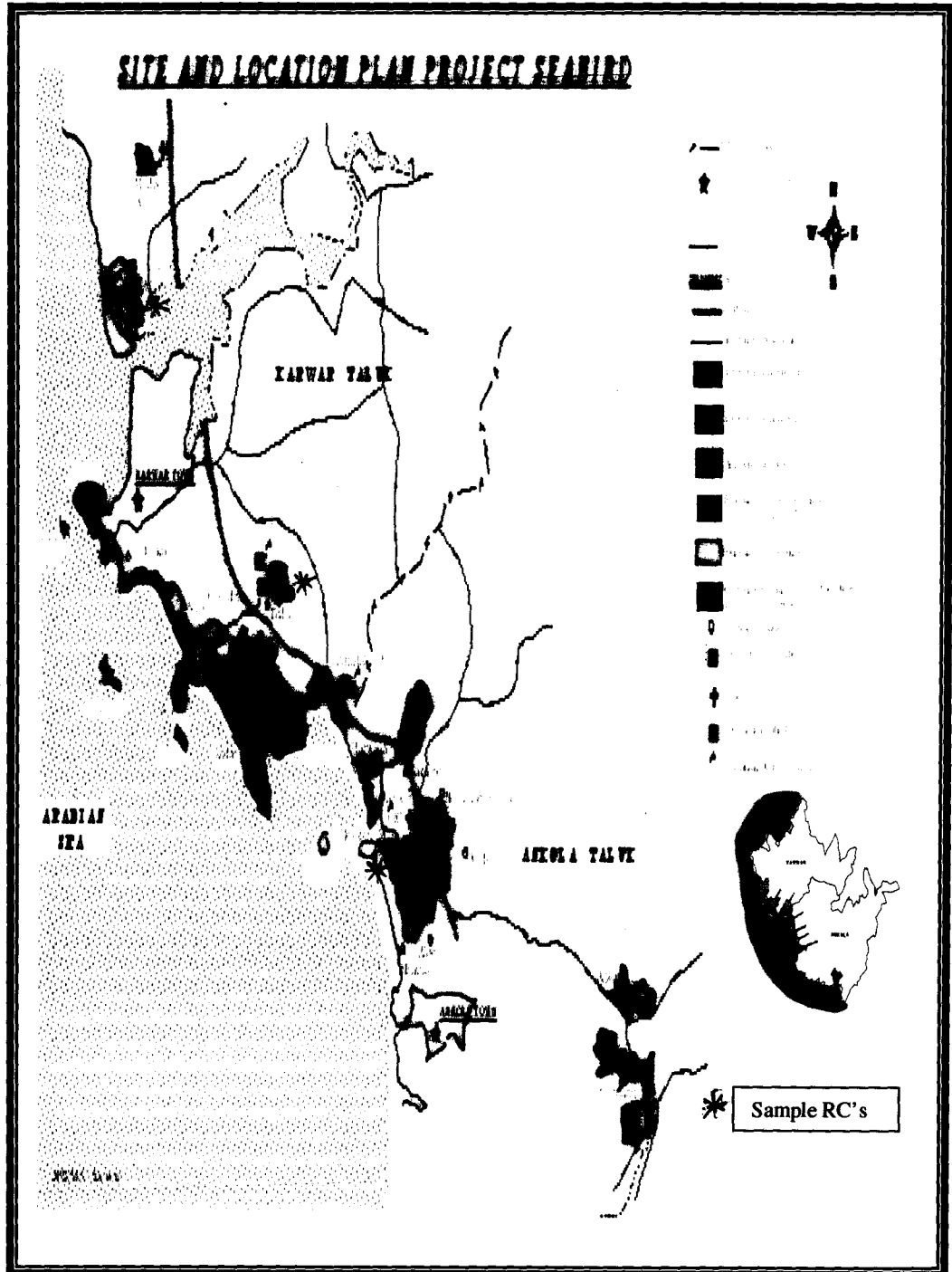


Table No. 2.1
Project Affected Villages and Displaced Families

Sr. No.	Name of Project Affected Village	No. Of Families Displaced
A	Karwar Taluka	
1	Binaga	417
2	Arga (TDV)	875
3	Kodar (TDV)	717
4	Chendia	657
5	Amadalli	688
6	Todur	04 (3358)
B	Ankola Taluka	
7	Harwad	04
8	Hattikeri	132
9	Nallur Kanchan Bail	232
10	Berade	101
11	Bhavikeri	447
12	Belekeri	050
13	Algeri	120 (1086)
Total		4444

Source: Deputy Commissioner (DC). 1999. Status Report, Uttar Kanada (UK).
Note: TDV = Totally Displaced Village.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in rehabilitation colonies. This was conducted well before the main interview schedule was finalised. We applied the pilot interview schedule on small group families resettled in the RCs. This was conducted in Mudageri RC as well as Hattikeri RC (Agriculturists Colony) and Amadalli RC (Fishermen Colony). This pilot study was helpful in two ways. First, it helped to identify and delete irrelevant questions in the interview schedule and second; it helped to include the more relevant questions. This entire method, on one side, helped in collecting the necessary data to reach our objectives, and on the other side it helped to learn how to establish good rapport with respondents. Hence, after pilot study a final

interview schedule was prepared with appropriate modifications and corrections in original one.

Research Universe and Sample

It is not possible to examine all the displaced and resettled families with the limited time and resources at the disposal of the researcher. Therefore, sampling method has been used to facilitate collection of representative data for the purpose of study. In this research study, the multiple sampling methods for collection of data from the field is used. All the displaced families consisting of 4444, whether they are resettled in rehabilitation colony or not constitute the 'Universe' of study.

The project-authorities have developed totally nine rehabilitation colonies to rehabilitate the displaced people from 13 villages. The table No.2.2 shows the RCs, area covered, sites formed and major resettled community.

Table No. 2.2
Rehabilitation Colonies, Area Covered, Sites Formed and Major Resettled
Communities

Sr. No.	Name of Rehabilitation Colonies	Area Covered (In acres and gunthas)	No. Of Sites Formed	Major Resettled Community
1	Amadlli	35.00	372	Fishermen
2	Chittakula	37.06	392	Fishermen
3	Harwada	30.00	477	Fishermen
4	Hattikeri	60.34	355	Mixed: Agriculturists
5	Mudageri	109.29	861	Mixed: Agriculturists
6	Todur	144.29	921	Mixed: Agriculturists
7	Belekeri	30.00	105	Gouda Community
8	Agsoor-Shiragunji	1027.16	429	Agricultural Plots
9	Sakalben	127.00	72	Agricultural Plots

Source: DC. 1999. Status Report, UK.

Table No. 2.3

Distance from District HQ* (Karwar) to Various Rehabilitation Colonies

Rehabilitation Colonies	Distance in Kms							
	Belekeri	Hattikeri	Harwad	Amadatti	Todur	Mudageri	Chittakula	Karwar (HQ)
Chittakula	38	37	35	27	23	13	00	07
Mudageri	47	46	44	36	32	00	09	16
Todur	15	14	12	05	00	32	23	16
Amadalli	11	10	08	00	05	36	27	20
Harwad	06	05	00	08	12	44	25	28
Hattikeri	01	00	05	10	14	47	37	30
Belekeri	00	01	06	08	15	48	38	31

Source: DC. 1999. Status Report, UK.

* Head Quarter

Out of nine, three rehabilitation colonies namely, Amadalli, Chittakula and Harwad specially developed for fishermen community are right on the sea coast. The other four rehabilitation colonies namely, Hattikeri, Mudageri, Todur and Belekeri are developed for those communities other than fishing community. And the remaining two rehabilitation colonies namely, Agsur-Shirgunji and Sakalben are the agricultural areas where the agricultural plots have been formed for those project displaced families who wanted land for land resettlement.

Selection of Sample Rehabilitation Colonies

To select sample rehabilitation colonies the purposive sampling method is used. For this purpose three sample RCs are chosen because they have unique features. On the one hand, this enabled to explore the research objectives, and it was useful to reach a targeted sample families involuntarily resettled in these RCs on the other. Three peculiar RCs selected for this study are having all the probable sampling potentialities. Some important judgements used to select RCs are their peculiar

geographical, social, cultural, economic and ecological characteristics. They are two from Karwar taluka i.e. Chittakula and Todur RC and one from Ankola taluka i.e. Belekeri RC.

1. *Chittakula RC*: This RC is established hardly at the distance of seven-kilometer distance from the district HQ (Karwar). It is situated at the extreme north direction of the SBP area. This RC is two kilometers away from the national highway number seventeen and one kilometer from seacoast. This RC is specially developed for the rehabilitation of fishing community. Naturally, the families belonging to two sub-caste group of fishing community only are resettled in this RC. Comparatively people belonging to fishing occupation are more organised mainly because of their nature of work. This has helped them to put pressure on R and R authorities to get maximum civic facilities in their RC. Another special character of this RC is that the fishermen leaders resettled in the RC are comparatively dynamic and economically and politically sound. To show their existence and strength, they are involved in the organisation of fishing community. As a result, the resettlers of this RC have got more civic facilities. Another characteristic of this RC is that it is situated hardly three kilometers from town (Sadasivagad) where educational, medical and market facilities are available. The resettlers of this RC are occupationally homogeneous but belong to four different SBP affected villages.

2. *Todur RC*: This is another peculiar RC selected for the present study. It is established sixteen kilometers away from the district HQ and two kilometers away from the national highway. The distance between RC and seacoast is six kilometers. Geographically, this RC is situated at the center part of the SBP affected area. The RC is comparatively heterogeneous in nature as far as caste, occupation and village background of the resettlers are concerned. The uprooted people belonging to four

different occupations, eight castes and four different villages are resettled here. They all belong to agricultural and allied occupations. A few of them were involved in fishing occupation before displacement. The life and livelihood of many resettlers of this RC was dependent on common property resources such as forest, sea, grazing fields and water tanks before displacement. Naturally a few of them were involved in household industries like making of brooms, baskets, leaf plates, ropes etc. The medium and marginal peasants, landless labourers, artisans, priest, and others are resettled in this RC. Their original leaders are not settled along with them. Naturally, they are less organised to put pressure on R and R authorities to get more civic facilities.

3. *Belekeri RC*: This RC is thirty-one kilometers away from district HQ and seven kilometers away from taluka place (Ankola). This RC is established on the hill area of the Belekeri village extreme to the south direction of SBP area. The surface of the land in this RC is uneven, dry and rocky. This RC is comparatively small in size both geographically and demographically. All the resettlers are belonging to one partly affected village called Bhavikeri. Here, only two caste groups, that is conventional service caste and Halakki-Vakkaligas (Goudas) are resettled. The Halakki-Vakkaligas are the backward people. They are socially and economically backward and politically powerless. Because of this, they are unable to put any kind of pressure on R and R authorities to provide civic facilities in the RC. As a result, they are facing more problems pertaining to water, roads, drainage, schools, transportation, hospital etc. In this RC the families pursuing other than fishing occupation are resettled. Particularly, agriculturists, sharecroppers, landless labourers, carpenters and blacksmiths are found in this RC.

Table No. 2.4

Sample Rehabilitation Colonies, Physical Distance from Karwar and Major Communities Resettled.

Sl. No.	Name of Rehabilitation Colony	Distance from District HQ (Karwar)	No. of Families Resettled	Sample Families 40%	Major Resettled Community and their main occupation
1	Chittakula	07	206	86	Fishermen: Fishing
2	Todur	16	197	88	Mixed: Agriculturist, Landless Laborers & Artisans.
3	Belekeri	31	78	33	Gouda & Achari: Agriculture & CPR
	Total		481	207	

Selection of Sample Families from Rehabilitation Colonies

In selecting sample families for the study, 'stratified sampling' method is used. For this purpose, main family occupation as parameter is used for selection of family. At first stage, the list of resettled families from three selected rehabilitation colonies was prepared on the basis of main occupation of family by using the official statistics. Then out of total resettled families, 40 percent of sample families were selected on the basis of stratified random sampling method using lottery technique.

The major family occupational parameters are:

1. Agriculture
2. Landless Labour
3. Fishing
4. Others. (Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Public and Private Service Holders, Priests etc.)

The table No.2.5 shows the occupational parameter of stratified sample families.

Table No. 2.5

Sample Rehabilitation Colonies and Stratified Sample Families.

Sr. No	Main Family Occupation	Chittakula		Todur		Belekeri		Total	
		No. of families	40% Sample families	No. of families Resettled	40% Sample families	No. of families Resettled	40% Sample families	Total No. of families Resettled	40% Sample families
1	Agriculture	00	00	145	58	23	09	168	67
2	Landless Labour	00	00	37	15	52	21	89	36
3	Fishing	200	80	05	05	00	00	205	85
4	Others	06	06	10	10	03	03	19	19
Total		206	86	197	88	78	33	481	207

Each displaced family, whether it is resettled in rehabilitation colony or not, is having its own major family occupation. Therefore, the sample is a real reflection of the project-displaced families representing the total population of the 'Universe'.

The present study is empirical, analytical and is based on qualitative and quantitative data. It has an intensive orientation limited to specific area, with well defined 'Universe' and 'Samples'. By and large, the study is dependent on primary data from the fieldwork. The research tools used in this study are also designed to make the study empirical and free from personal bias and other methodological error.

Tools of Data Collection

As stated earlier, the present case study is empirical, analytical and is based on qualitative and quantitative data. Therefore, keeping the research problem of investigation in mind, more suitable research tools are used to avoid methodological error. It is very difficult to assess the impact of displacement with the help of single

research tool because the entire process of displacement and involuntary resettlement is multi stage process. Parasuraman (2000) has noticed such a kind of methodological complexity. “The study of involuntary displacement is methodologically complex, because displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation are lengthy and complex processes involving various settings, several phases and numerous players. The dispersal of displaced families complicates data collection. There may be a gap of more than 15 years between the time a household is notified of the government’s intention to acquire the land or the house, or both and the actual move to the relocation site (or some other place). In this transitional period, household may undergo serious changes”.

The main objective of the present study is to understand the impact of displacement, implications of rehabilitation, and socio-economic position and symbiotic relations of the people with ecology before and after displacement. To understand these conditions of the people and to collect quantitative and qualitative data, the researcher has used various techniques. The main techniques used are: observation, informal and formal discussion, household interviews, and household case studies and focused group discussions.

Observation

The socio-economic and environmental life condition of resettled community is the object of study. The observation method has been used to understand resettlers’ behavior and social activity in new social environment. Both the participant and non-participant observation techniques are used to conceptualize the dynamics of resettlers’ community life. This tool helped to gain greater insight about social, cultural and economic life of the resettlers.

Informal Discussion

The unstructured and informal discussions were held with elderly and knowledgeable people belonging to project area. They are traditional leaders, journalists, advocates, teachers, public servants, and general public too. This informal knowledge helped to understand overall community psychology about the development project, displacement and rehabilitation. Such kinds of discussions were held before, during and also after the completion of fieldwork.

Household Interview

A household interview schedule was used to understand the consequences of displacement and resettlement. An appropriate rapport was established before interviewing them. Establishing rapport was made very easy as a few students of the researcher were belonging to rehabilitation colonies.

Household interview schedule is structured with mixture of open and close end questions. It has seven sections starting from 'A' to 'H'.

- 1) Section 'A' is related to general information about the respondents like the major as well as secondary family occupation before and after displacement, the size of family, number of adult males and females in the family, educational level as well as marital status of family members etc. And also information about the family income before and after displacement, number of members eligible for rehabilitation grants, original village, religion and caste background.
- 2) Section 'B' gathers information about the size and kind of house before and after displacement, amount of compensation, shifting difficulties, temporary resettlement, amount spent for construction of new house, number of divisions in original household, members of family employed and trained by project etc.

- 3) Section 'C' contains questions revealing information about landed property owned by family before and after displacement, nature of cultivation (self /tenants), cropping patterns, and information about horticulture trees. It also includes information on present source of livelihood, earning difficulties if any, common property recourses etc.
- 4) Section 'D' relates to the information about fishing activity of the family before and after displacement, techniques used for fishing, season and off-season work, present status of fishing etc.
- 5) Section 'E' includes questions designed to collect information about nature of family business if any, and also about investment, profit, loss, customer, credit and difficulties.
- 6) Section 'F' gives information about livestock holding by family before and after displacement, monthly income, grazing land, fodder, and present problems related to livestock maintenance.
- 7) Section 'G' relates to opinion of the family about assets valuation, compensation, resettlement provisions provided by the government, opinion about project, R and R authorities, efforts of struggle forum and its leaders, main beneficiaries and sufferers, and also about infrastructure facilities in rehabilitation center and major problems.
- 8) Section 'H' is the last section related to the opinion of family about its adaptation with new environment, also the opinion about selection of site, common property recourses, community life, festivals, temples, village God, family friends, neighbourhood relations, water sources, lottery system of selection of site, marriage difficulties, national interest and sacrifice, migration, purchase of domestic goods etc.

Household Case Study

The case studies were conducted for few selected households in each rehabilitation center. Often, typical households were identified during the household interviews and the interviews were pursued over a number of sessions and the information from the households was collected in-depth. This is the most effective method to record the process of socio-cultural change and continuity due to displacement. This method helped to improve the qualitative strength of the research.

Focused Group Discussion

Household surveys help to get quantitative data regarding displaced family's social and economic status. To make the study more qualitative in nature, focused group discussion method was adopted after the completion of the household interviews. Eight to ten members groups were formed on the basis of age and gender for discussion. Usually, such group discussions were held during evening time, as most of the RC people were available at this time. The tape recorder as well as video camera were used to record the feelings, expressions and opinion of involuntarily resettled peoples' overall experience about the project, displacement, evacuation, temporary and permanent resettlement and rehabilitation. This is another significant method, which helped the researcher to generate qualitative data on research problem.

Formal Discussion

After completion of fieldwork in selected rehabilitation colonies, formal discussions were held with some leaders of struggle forum and project authorities. These formal discussions helped to record their efforts, experience and opinion about entire process of displacement and resettlement. It also helped to know their concern and opinion about displaced people and their total rehabilitation.

Secondary Data

The secondary data about project affected area and people were derived from the records of revenue department, land acquisition, and resettlement and rehabilitation office. This secondary data was the main source to select the families for the study. It also helped to gain the knowledge about formal and legal aspects of project acquired area, affected villages, families, castes, sources of livelihood, survey, evaluation, compensation, rehabilitation colonies, civic facilities, rehabilitation policy and its administration.

Field Experience

It is always beneficial for the research fellows in the field of social sciences to share field experiences. Because they may prove to be useful as guidelines to other researchers in many ways. Such sharing helps them to be aware of the realities in research activities.

The actual fieldwork of research started in the month of March 2004 and continued till June 2004. The second phase of fieldwork was conducted in October and November 2004. Thus, we spent some six months in the field area for the collection of primary data to reach the objectives. Conducting fieldwork in the SBP rehabilitation colonies was really a stupendous task due to several reasons. The first difficulty was that the respondents who belong to uprooted rural communities, were reluctant and less educated to understand significance of research work and they were reluctant to talk with the new comers. Some of them were 'hardliners'. They always saw outsider (researcher or R and R official) with suspicious and negative frame of mind. Even after convincing them about the role of the researcher, his purpose and need, they used to ask questions like: why has their family selected particularly and not other? Is your work going to help us in any way, particularly to get jobs and

livelihood sources? The researcher faced such kinds of critical questions in the first one or two days. Since the RCs are geographically small in size, the news regarding the researcher and the study was spread within a short time. The resettlers used to see the researcher from more critical and negative perspective. The failure of R and R authorities to fulfill the promises made by them before displacement was responsible for this kind of attitude. Particularly, promises pertaining to land for land, sea for sea, and one job to each displaced family were not fulfilled. With such a critical situation, the resettlers, at least in the beginning, received the researcher with an attitude of indifference and non co-operation. However, these difficulties were resolved good rapport was established with the respondents soon. This was possible because of the following reasons:

1. Before actual fieldwork, we got an opportunity to visit all the RCs along with officials of TEKSOK. The state government had given contract to this agency to train the displaced youth particularly, in bar binding, photography, repair of TV, two wheelers, electric motors etc. Before starting such training, they wanted to give a motivational training to the displaced youth. The researcher was a part of a trainers' team to conduct the motivational training for two days in each RC. Thus, many youths of RC were familiar with researcher before starting the fieldwork.

2. Since the researcher worked as a lecturer in the local college for more than a decade, many of his students belonged to the SBP affected villages resettled in the RCs. They knew very well the researcher and his purpose of field visit. Hence, during the fieldwork they helped to identify the exact location of the sample families selected for study and to establish rapport with the respondents.

3. The third important reason for establishing rapport with respondents easily was, that the researcher has knowledge of the languages of the respondents, that is, Kannada, Konkani and Marathi.

Significance of Study

The social scientists' analysis of global trends of displacement states that involuntary resettlement will not disappear. In a developing country like India such trends are likely to increase because our planners are conscious about the developmental efforts. Particularly, after independence they are involved in the process of infrastructure development to reach new developmental era. Hence, in the Indian context, certain degree of forced displacements cannot be avoided in forthcoming decades. When the displacement becomes the part of national development the need for the scientific study of development-induced displacement and rehabilitation emerges as inevitable. Such kind of studies help to improve the overall body of social science knowledge. This kind of scientific knowledge, in turn, helps to meet the challenges and crisis emerging out of displacement.

Social sciences have played a significant role in meeting the crisis of displacement in other countries. Such knowledge helped them to formulate national or regional rehabilitation policies in Brazil, Colombia, Guyana, Indonesia, Jamaica, Uganda, Vietnam and other countries (Ferandes and Paranjpye 1997). Thus, the study of development, displacement and rehabilitation in Indian context is very significant. Not because no body has done such a study in India at the national or the regional level but because though in India such kinds of studies have long history, somehow they have failed to formulate National Rehabilitation Policy. The formation of such policy is an urgent task before our nation because it is a 'welfare state'. Therefore, it

is assumed that the present study will make some contribution for formulation of 'Rehabilitation Policy' either at the regional or the national level.

The present study has its own practical importance as it proposes to focus on the impact of development-induced displacement and rehabilitation on different occupational interest groups. Because some occupational groups may accept the existing R and R policy, some may reject it, and some others may partly accept but may desire some changes in R and R policies. This study has made an attempt to search the root causes of overall attitude of the uprooted costal inhabitants towards R and R. This kind of critical social research knowledge may help policy makers to formulate more appropriate and wider policies.

The present sociological study has its theoretical significance too. This sociological research has focused on certain theoretical aspects namely; the displacement, disposition towards change and continuity and problems of adaptation and adjustment with new ecology and environment (Human Resettlement). Another theoretical significance of this empirical study is that it is mainly focused on uprooted coastal village communities, which are not totally resettled. This study is conducted during the process of resettlement and rehabilitation of communities. This kind of scientific knowledge may help social scientists to understand the transitory stage of human adaptation, adjustments and resettlement. Thus, throughout this study an attempt is made to generate scientific knowledge regarding initial process of resettlement of villagers in new ecology and environment. The study also focuses on the problems and prospects of resettlement. Such kind of empirical enquiry is an significant strength of the present study.

Limitations of Study

As a researcher it is a moral responsibility to specify the limitations of the study. This study has certain limitations. This empirical study is conducted in the SBP rehabilitation colonies. The respondent resettlers of these colonies originally come from coastal habitats. In their original habitats common property resources such as forest, sea, grazing land, water tanks etc. played a significant role in the life and livelihood systems. It means that communities had developed the symbiotic relationship with natural environment. Therefore, the observations made here and the conclusions of this study would not be necessarily valid for the involuntary resettlement in the plane zones. The same cannot be applicable to those resettlers who lost only private property or more private property than common property resources and resettled in the RCs.

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH SETTING

Introduction

The concept of region or area occupies a significant role in social science research and in the problem of dividing the earth's surface into smaller study areas. It should be noted that the region or area is mental construction used to facilitate the study (Yeats and Garner 1971: 9, quoted in Patil 1992:151).

Rural habitation, its structure and function are almost entirely governed by ecology. Soil and topography, rainfall and crops govern the ecological patterning of cultivated field and homesteads, which again determine the patterning of rural habitations and distribution of population (Mukherjee 1968: 2). Thus, in this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the historical and physical background of the SBP affected area. This is done as a prelude to understand the symbiotic relationship between ecology and rural habitats belonging to the area under study. The emphasis here is to know the nature, extent and consequences of historical and physical background, topography, climate, rainfall, common property resources of the study area etc. This chapter also deals with the process and extent of land acquisition for establishment of naval base. It covers the data pertaining to fully and partly affected villages, families and their structure and functions. It also probes how the land acquisition process disturbs the physical, socio-cultural and economic structures of coastal habitats.

Historical and Physical Background

The Uttar Kannada district is one of the socio-economically backward but naturally rich districts of Karnataka state. It is one of the three coastal districts of the state and stretches itself along the coastline of the Arabian Sea. The Uttar Kannada

with its long silver white beaches, fertile green paddy fields, cool palm groves, picturesque river valleys and rich hilly forest tracts, is one of the most beautiful regions in India, endowed with most captivating landscapes. Its waterfalls have attracted men far and near. It has the richest forest district of Karnataka, endowed with a beautiful variety of fauna and flora. The British named this district as 'Canara' when they acquired it from Tipu in 1799. Of late, the state government discontinued the English nomenclature and named the district as 'Uttar Kannada' from 31-1-1977 (Kamat 1995: 1).

District Administration

Kadambas of Banavasi ruled Uttar Kannada during middle of the 4th century A.D. and the Chalukyas of Badami during 6th century A.D. Then the Hoysalas, Sonda ruler, Adilshahi's of Bijapur and Marathas ruled it in succession. Then in 1764, Haider Ali and in 1799, Tipu ruled over Uttar Kannada. In 1799, British government appointed collectorate, Sir Thomas Munro as the first Collector of Uttar Kannada. On 15 April 1862, the Uttar Kannada territory was transferred to the Bombay presidency.

Location

The district is located in the mid western part of the state. It lies between 74°91' to 75°10' east longitude and 13°55' to 15°31' north latitude and extends over an area of 10,327 sq. km, which is 5.37 percent of the total area of the state and ranks 10th in the state. It extends to about 328 kms north south and about 16 kms east west.

The Ankola taluka is located in the mid-western part of the district. It lies between 74°18' to 74°43' east longitude and 14°29' to 14°48' north longitude. This taluka extends over an area of 918.7 sq. km, which is 8.8 percent of the total area of the district.

The Karwar taluka is located in the northwestern part of the district. It lies between 74°08' to 74°34' east longitude and 14°42' to 15°02' north longitude. The Karwar taluka extends over an area of 732.1 sq. km, which is 7.1 percent of the total area of the district (Ibid.).

Natural Resources

Forest

The creation of vast forest assets is regarded as essential to the progress and prosperity of the any country. Five types of forests are found in the district. They are *one*, evergreen; *two*, semi-evergreens; *three*, moist deciduous; *four*, scrub and thorny forest; and *five*, unwooded forests. The evergreen forests are found in the places where the rainfall is more than 225 cm and form a narrow strip along the Western Ghats.

In Ankola and Karwar we can find three types of forests, i.e. *one*, moist deciduous; *two*, semi-evergreen; and *three*, evergreen. The inland areas of moist deciduous and semi-evergreen are called as fuel forest and higher forest area yielding firewood and valuable timber of teak, sissum, hone, kindal, khair trees and bamboo (Ibid.).

Loss of Forest Area

The increasing population has a direct bearing on increased demand for agricultural lands and this has always an adverse effect on valuable forest. The high-tension electricity lines riadling the forests, increased communications, settlement of expropriated ryots and refugees on release of land for irrigation and hydroelectric projects, konkan railway projects and sea-bird project have a heavy impact on forests of Uttar Kannada. The following table reveals the purpose and the area so far lost.

Table 3.1
Loss of Forest Area for Different Purposes

Sr.No.	Purpose	Forest Lost in Hectares
1	Area gone under submersion	304
2	Area released for rehabilitation	4,202
3	Area gone under power lines	626
4	Area given for cultivation	50,158
5	Area gone under mining	26,713
6	Area given for townships	1,097
7	Area given for non agricultural purpose	7,383
8	Area lost under Kalinadi Project	14,176
9	Area lost under Bedti Project	300
10	Area lost for colony and roads	273
Total		1,05,232

Source: Kamat 1995. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency: Kanara.

Fauna

Both the talukas possess a remarkable range of forest and have a great variety of animals in highland and marine. The emphasis is given to those animals, which are not common occurrence in the other parts of the state. In the valleys of the Kali river roam herds of Indian elephant (Aane), wild elephants (Kadane) as tender bamboo shoots attract them. The panthers (Chirate), spotted deer (Jinke), Gavan (Kadukona), lion tailed monkey (Simhada balada koti), flying fox (haru Bekku), mongoose (Mungusi), black bear (Karadi) etc. are the rare kind of wild animals found in highland of both the talukas. Now a days they are not frequently seen in the forest. The indiscriminate poaching of animals for their tusks, skins, furs, bristles, teeth, claws, horns and meat has proved to be disastrous to the existence of these animals (Ibid.: 1).

Agricultural Profile and Topography

Climate

The climate is generally determined by geographic locations with respect to the sea and the monsoon winds and topography. The most important feature of physiography is the Western Ghats, which act as a divide between the west coast and the adjoining hilly regions with heavy rainfall. The Western Ghats, which run almost north south at right angles to the path of the southwest monsoon current are the main cause of the heavy rainfall over the coastal talukas (Ibid.).

Seasons

The year may be divided into four seasons: *First*, the summer, from March to May, has rising temperature with the maximum temperature of the year occurring in April or May. Humidity begins increasing by May onwards. Occasional thunder, storm occur in April and May. *Second*, the southwest monsoon season, from June to September, which lasts for four months from the beginning of the June, is characterized by overcast skies and heavy rainfall. *Third*, October and November constitute the retreating monsoon or post-monsoon season and *fourth*, the period from December to February is generally dry with clear bright skies, low humidity and agreeably low temperatures. There is very little rainfall in this season (Ibid.).

Rainfall

The average rainfall in the district is 2741.7 mm. The rainfall in the district in general decreases gradually from the coast towards the Western Ghats region and thereafter, rapidly further eastwards. Heavy rainfall occurs during three months, June to August and later decreases rapidly. July is the rainiest month in both the talukas. The rainfall during the monsoon months, June to September, constitutes about 89

percent of the annual rainfall. On an average, there are 105 rainy days in a year in both the talukas (Ibid.).

Land and Sea Use Pattern

Though the major portion of both the talukas are under forests, agriculture is important source of livelihood for majority of the people belonging to the region. Next to the agriculture, fishery is another significant source of livelihood for the people of both talukas.

Soil

Two clear-cut soil zones can be differentiated based on elevation, namely the coastal talukas and the up ghats. Ankola and Karwar are coastal talukas, where we can find patches of coastal alluvium. There are also gazni lands, which are saline sandy soils along the coast. In both the talukas of Uttar Kannada, three kinds of soils are available:

i. Reddish Brown: This is highly leached, shallow to medium deep, usually underlined with lateritic substratum, loamy in texture with concretionary materials. Under rainfall conditions, the crops grown are paddy, coconut, pepper cardamom and cashew.

ii. Red Sandy Loam: The red sandy loam soil is brownish to pale yellow in colour with poor water holding capacity. Under irrigated conditions paddy, areca, plantains and sugarcane are grown and under rainfed conditions, paddy and coconut are grown.

iii. Saline Sandy soils: The saline sandy soils also called gazani soils are light yellow to brown in colour, shallow to medium deep and sandy in texture with content of soluble salt. Paddy and coconuts are grown both under irrigated and rainfed conditions (Ibid.).

Cropping Pattern

The most important aspect of the cropping pattern of the area is the predominance of cultivation of food grains, particularly paddy. Next to paddy, plantation crops like areca nut, cashew, coconut, pepper, cardamom and watermelon occupy the important place. The area brought under all these crops has shown an upward trend during recent years with the steady increase in the price of coconut, groundnut, cashew nut, and watermelon. These crops have been emerged as important cash crops in the region.

Livestock Population

Animal husbandry is always a supporter of agriculture with its power, manure etc. supplied by the cattle. Rural farmers use bullocks and the hebuffaloes for ploughing and carts. These animals have been playing an important role in the agricultural community of the area. In rural parts, the farmers spend very little effort towards their maintenance. They make use of them for cultivation, milk and manure.

Fisheries

The term 'fisheries' is applied to the profession of catching any form of life living in the rivers and seas. The district has a coastal line of 144 kms. Extending from Majali from north (Karwar Taluka) to Gorte in the South (Bhatkal Taluka), the full length is endowed with rich sources of fisheries.

Both the Ankola and Karwar talukas are parallel to coastline. Therefore, fishery is one of the oldest professions in these talukas. People belonging to different castes and communities are engaged in the fishing occupation. The fishermen belong to the communities of Harikanta, Tandel, Kharvi, Gabits, Ambigas, Mугers and Agers. In recent years, people belonging to other communities such as Christian,

Bandekar, Komarpanth, Mesta and Goudas have also taken up this profession. These fishermen are scattered in coastal villages of both the talukas.

There are totally eight centres established for marine fish landing. They are the six in Karwar and two in Ankola taluka respectively. The following table shows taluka and centre wise marine fish landing.

Table 3.2
Taluka and Centre-wise Marine Fish Landing from 1991-94

(In Tones)			
Fishing Centre	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
i) Ankola Taluk			
a) Harwad*	391	308	443
b) Keni	1014	878	1108
ii) Karwar Taluk			
a) Arga*	297	152	157
b) Binaga*	396	201	255
c) Chendiya*	217	257	180
d) Karwar	10,376	10,845	11,893
e) Kodar*	287	336	333
f) Majali	830	775	1004
District Total	35,857	28,001	35,381

Source: Kamat 1995. Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency: Kanara.

*Project Affected Marine Fish Landing Centre.

Land Acquisition for Third Naval Base

The central Govt. of India decided to establish the modern integrated naval base on the west coast to meet all the defence requirements. For this purpose, the Indian Navy wanted an ideal location within the proximity of both the existing naval bases on the west coast i.e. Mumbai in North and Kochi in South. Based on this criteria, several potential locations along the west coast were examined i.e. Ratnagiri, Pawas, Goa, Karwar, Tadri, Mangalore and Tuticorin. The final options were limited to Mangalore, Tuticorin and Karwar. After considering all the other naval

requirements such as exclusivity, adequate sea frontage and depths of water, continuous land availability and weather conditions, Karwar was finally found to fulfill all the ingredients, which are essential to develop the major naval base (Sampathgopal 2000: 1-2).

Detailed discussions were, thereafter, held with Government of Karnataka (GOK) and the area south of Karwar extending up to Ankola town was identified as an ideal location for naval base. Approximately, 20,400 acres of land were identified and earmarked. In addition, an area of approximately 5000 acres was also earmarked for future development. The bulk of this area was forestland followed by private and revenue land respectively. The GOK had also agreed to give both forest and revenue land free of cost. Thereafter, due to inadequate allocations in the defence budget, the requirement of land was considerably reduced for the initial period with only about 12,354 acres. Of this, an immediate acquisition of 8072 acres of land was accepted and the remaining land was to be acquired at a later stage. Of this land, 5580 acres were forestland, 2411 acres private land and the remaining 81 acres Govt. revenue land. Thirteen villages settled in this area were affected (DC 1999: 2, Sompathgopal 2000: 2, Sharma 1998: 3).

Table 3.3
Land Acquired for the Sea Bird Project

Sr.No.	Category of Land	Area Acquired in Acres	Percentage
1.	Forest Land	5580	69%
2.	Govt.Revenue Land	81	1%
3.	Private Land	2411	30%
Total		8072	100%

Source: DC. 1999. Status Report, UK.

The table 3.3 indicates that the major portion of land acquired by the project is forest followed by private and government revenue land. The government revenue land acquired by the project is only one percent, but this small piece of land played significant role in the affected village communities. This one percent land was facilitating the civic and public facilities to the villagers. Again, compared to forest acquired land (69%), private land (30%) acquired by the project is also less. This private land was the major source for shaping the socio-economic structure of the coastal belt. This land not only provided the space for dwellings but also life and livelihood to indigenous people. This land is the main source of income, occupation, village identity, dwellings, neighbourhood, social status and position for more than 4444 families living in 13 different villages. The major portion of acquired land covers forest and belongs to the state Govt. This land was given to central government free of cost for the purpose of national security. This rich evergreen forest area played a significant role in life of local communities. Because generations and centuries together this forest zone provided common property resource to the affected as well as non-affected families of this zone. Every family depends upon the forest directly or indirectly.

Table 3.4

Project Affected Villages, Land Acquired, PDF's and Amount of Compensation

Sr.No.	Name of the Project Affected Village	Land Acquired (Acre-Gunta-Ana)	No. of Affected Families	Amount of Compensation Fixed in Lakhs
KARWAR				
TALUKA				
1.	Binaga	71-37-11	417	270.34
2.	Arga *	368-38-00	875	421.46
3.	Chendiya	215-03-07	657	423.34
4.	Kodar *	428-24-00	717	351.65
5.	Amadalli	484-31-14	688	325.01
6.	Todur	4-13-00	4	2.57
			(3358)	(1794.46)
ANKOLA				
TALUKA				
7.	Harwada	4-28-10	4	0.91
8.	Hattikeri	98-26-12	132	76.02
9.	N.K. Bail#	303-10-06	232	128.78
10.	Barade	74-07-00	101	18.55
11.	Belekeri	8-07-00	50	5.17
12.	Bhavekeri	284-16-12	447	207.14
13.	Algeri	64-08-04	120	18.61
			(1086)	(455.36)
Total		2411-13-00	4444	2249.82

Source: DC 1999. Status Report, UK.

- *Totally Displaced Villages. # Nallur Kanchan Bail.
- Figures in the parentheses indicates sub total of respective taluka.

The data given in Table 3.4 regarding project-affected villages, land acquired, number of affected families and the amount of compensation is based on official statistics. The data shows that due to land acquisition six villages of Karwar and seven villages of Ankola taluka are affected. Though the more number of affected villages belong to Ankola taluka, the more amount of acquired land area belongs to

Table 3.5

Project Affected Villages and Caste Background of Project Affected Families (PAFs)

Sr.No.	Name of the Project Affected Village	No. of PAFs	Caste Background of PAFs					
			Cat-I	2(a)	2(b)	3(b)	SC/ST	General
1.	Binaga	417	274	72	-	44	-	27
2.	Arga	875	126	681	01	-	27	40
3.	Chendiya	657	278	339	-	28	03	09
4.	Kodar	717	531	146	-	-	-	40
5.	Amadalli	688	433	180	08	21	23	23
6.	Todur	04	01	-	-	03	-	-
7.	Harwada	04	04	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Hattikeri	132	52	65	-	03	-	12
9.	N.K. Bail	232	199	21	-	07	-	05
10.	Barade	101	80	14	-	01	-	06
11.	Belekeri	50	10	37	-	-	-	03
12.	Bhavekeri	447	39	397	-	01	05	05
13.	Algeri	120	45	60	-	06	-	09
Total		4444	2072	2012	09	114	58	179

Source: DC 1999. Status Report, UK.

days in one village by revenue staff. Second, they do not want reveal for the reason that the deficiencies of the socio-economic survey will be revealed.

The British scholars and administrators and their Indian successors believed that there was an ideal type of an 'Indian Village' characterized by stationary nature in terms of change, self sufficient in terms of production and consumption of goods and services, isolated from outside the world and a homogeneous social unit. This was relatively a correct picture of an Indian village in pre-British times when a village was relatively self-sufficient in terms of production and consumption of goods and services, and relatively isolated in terms of political and administrative linkages. However, they were never isolated and self sufficient in terms of the network of social relations, especially, the caste was an inter village institution (Joshi 1987: 30).

In case of the SBP R and R and land acquisition authorities probably had the same kind of perception about the families. They might have assumed that a village is a homogeneous social unit. They might have also assumed that all the affected villages of this zone are a homogeneous social unit. However, the data in table 3.6 shows the caste heterogeneity within affected villages.

the Karwar taluka. Hence, naturally the more number of affected families are from Karwar taluka i.e. 3358, against 1086 from Ankola taluka. This is mainly because more amount of land parallel to coast is available in Karwar taluka comparatively, on which high density of habitation prevailed. The sea bird project acquired entire land as it came under major core area of the project.

Out of 13 villages, the two villages, namely, Arga and Kodar both of Karwar taluka are totally displaced, from which 875 and 717 families respectively are uprooted. Whereas remaining four villages from Karwar, seven villages from Ankola taluka are partly displaced. Among partly affected villages, Todur and Harwada have four affected families each whereas Amadalli, Chendiya, Binaga villages all belonging to Karwar taluka have 688, 657, and 417 affected families respectively. The Bhavikeri, N.K. Bail, Hattikeri, Algeri, Berade, and Belekeri villages falling in Ankola taluka have 447, 232, 130, 120, 101 and 50 affected families respectively.

This available official statistics shows that there is variation in the number of affected families as well as affected villages of the region. This data is not enough to get the clear picture of project affected and project displaced families. Because, due to land acquisition some families lose their homes only, some families lose both their homes and agricultural land in full or in part, whereas some families lose agricultural land in full or in part but not their homes. In addition, some other families who may not be physically displaced and may not lose house and land yet they are affected directly or indirectly in terms of existence and means of livelihood. The R and R authorities did not provide the detail data related to such kinds of families to the researcher. This may have two reasons. First, they may not have collected such kind of information during basic social survey, which was completed within two to three

The table below gives information about the caste and their category, which necessary to understand the data given in table 3.5.

Sr. No.	Government Caste Category	Name of the Caste	Sr. No.	Government Caste Category	Name of the Caste
1.	Category-I	1. Harikantra	3.	Category 2(b)	1. Muslim
		2. Padati	4.	Category 3(b)	1. Christians
		3. Halakki-Vakkaligas			2. Konkan Marathas
2.	Category 2(a)	1. Namadhari Naik	5.	SC/ST	1. Ager
		2. Komarpanth	6.	General	2. Mukri
		3. Bandi			1. Havik
		4. Achari			Brahmin
		5. Daivagna Brahmin			2. Gouda
		6. Nadavar			Saraswat
		7. Bhandari			Brahmin
		8. Mahale			3. Gunagi

Source: DC. 1999. Status Report, UK.

The table 3.5 indicates that, as far as the caste background of project-affected families is concerned; each village is heterogeneous in its character. Each caste group has its own life style based upon the caste customs, traditions and occupations. Caste is not only a significant social unit of village structure but it is one of the important elements of the village heterogeneity and group hierarchy. About the nature of caste, Hutton (1963: 2) writes “each caste is a social unit in itself. The customs by which it lives are generally different in some respects from those of other castes and are sometimes in marked contrast to those of any other caste at all. Persons of one caste do not marry those of another”.

Thus, though the caste group is responsible for social hierarchy and heterogeneity within the village community, it is fundamental to village community. Because each caste group is functionally related with each other. Mann (1984: 210),

while stating the inter-caste relationships, writes, “the inter-caste relationship involves dependence, co-operation, duties, obligations, expectations, tension, conflict etc. In spite of some elements of conflict, the various castes remain inter-linked to the extent of unity of village community unless and otherwise adversely instigated from outside”. However, during the crisis of displacement these caste groups failed to maintain the village solidarity. This is mainly because the rehabilitation policy did not deal with village community as a whole, not even caste-group and family but it dealt with individual owner (legal titler). The R and R authorities used this legal support and successfully broke down the centuries old strong village solidarity. In addition, the policy forced them to resettle on the land provided by the authorities. This, in turn, led to the disintegration of settled village community structure and functions.

On this line, Patnaik (2000: 306) rightly recognizes that the displacement of the community leads to total destruction of socio-cultural and economic links. When community is involuntarily retracted, it is not only internal structure, which gets disturbed but also the fringe of relations linking it to other societies.

Sea Bird Project Affected Villages: Structural and Functional Relationships

To a villager, his village is far more than just a collection of houses, lanes and field, it is a prime social reality. It has its own structural as well as functional network with definite system. This kind of functional network among the sub groups and groups within a village system are heterogeneous and complex in nature. As Rocher (1975: 40 quoted in Ritzer 1992: 240) defines, a function is “a complex of activities directed towards meeting a need or needs of the system”. Using this definition Ritzer (1992: 240-41) summarized the Parsons’ opinion about the four functional imperatives that are necessary for (characteristic of) all systems- adaptation (A), goal

attainment (G), integration (I), and latency (L), or pattern maintenance (AGIL). In order to survive, a system must perform these four functions: 1. Adaptation: A system must cope with external situational exigencies. It must adapt to its environment and adapt the environment to its needs. 2. Goal attainment: A system must define and achieve its primary goals. 3. Integration: A system must regulate the interrelationship of its component parts. It also must manage the relationship among the other three functional imperatives (A, G, L). 4. Latency (pattern maintenance): A system must furnish, maintain, and renew both the motivation of individuals and the cultural patterns that create and sustain the motivation. Johnson also throws light on the structure of social system and basic elements. According to him, it includes four elements which are as below:

- (a) Subgroups of various types, interconnected by rational norms;
- (b) Roles of various types;
- (c) Regulative norms governing subgroups and roles; and
- (d) Cultural values (quoted in Shukla 1976: 6-7).

This research has a scientific interest to observe the change and continuity in the structure and functions of social units within a village system. Therefore, Parsons' four functional imperatives are necessary for the systems and Johnson's idea of structure of social system might have some relevance to the involuntary displacement. Because displacement of village community and resettlement leads to changes in activities and functions of social units which, in turn, brings changes in structure of social units.

Each SBP affected village has its own definite structure of social system. It includes various kinds of sub groups' interrelated by certain norms. (for e.g. religious, castes, sub-castes, occupations, gender, age, etc.) within a village system. Such kinds

of village sub-groups perform various functions pertaining to life and livelihood system i.e. agriculture, fishing, artisan, wage labour, livestock, horticulture, village fair etc. The different kinds of functions and behavior of the members of these groups were governed by the common social norms. Each village also had its own cultural values which, in turn, helps to maintain the structural system of village community. But the process of land acquisition for SBP and displacement disturbed the structural and functional system of project-affected villages.

Disturbance to Physical Structure of Villages

The physical setting of any village community plays a significant role in socio-economic and cultural life patterns of inhabitants. This means that the physical settings and local ecology influence structural and functional aspects of village community. Hence the interventional relationships between different social units of village community are associated with their ecological settings.

The ecological settings of SBP affected villages are peculiar in their kind. All these are coastal villages. They are dispersed type of villages. The houses in these habitats are built in narrow and irregular lanes and streets giving rise to dissimilar types of houses. These dwellings generally have single entrance. There will be a small open space around the house for kitchen gardening and a small thatched shed for sheltering the cattle. The size and quality of house depends upon their economic position. The poor sections of the village community are having houses of thatched roof and middle classes usually have mangalore-tiled houses constructed with mud and brick walls. The rich class people have houses with plastered walls and mangalore or even R.C.C. roofs.

Whatever may be the kind of house, the speciality of every house is that it has a compound wall and small well in it. The coconut, mango, jackfruit, drumstick and

variety of flower bushes all around the house are grown. These different kinds of trees are not only the basis of the source of livelihood for the family but also the source of social status and social significance for people.

In the affected villages, man-land ratio was very low. Quantitatively agricultural land was very less but qualitatively it was very rich. The soil was good for growing valuable commercial crops like coconut, cashew nut, areca nut and variety of pulses. The problems of poverty and unemployment were also widely prevalent due to the absence of factories, industries and business firms. However, these problems compelled the inhabitants to involve in home industries and occupations related to common property resources (CPR). All around the affected villages a number of, full of CPRs were available. The mountains, thick, green and rich forest areas, marine area, grazing area etc. were the common property resources. Thus, the local inhabitants developed their own 'traits' and 'techniques', 'skills' and 'tools' to produce variety of articles and handicrafts. In this way, they were not only adjusted but also assimilated with nature and ecological settings.

The involuntary displacement disturbs the ecological structure and communities symbiotic relations with the ecology. The inhabitants lose the long learned occupation, sources of livelihood and functional interdependence. This is true in case of the villages under study.

Disturbance to Livelihood Systems of Villages

All economic activities are carried out in a framework of social relationships. Production is organized socially, markets function as social institutions and consumption patterns are shaped by social norms and cultural values (Jodhka 2003: 1213). The economic activities in rural community are generally related to agricultural land. Therefore, agricultural land is the fundamental source of life and

livelihood for rural masses. Since agricultural land is the major capital in rural community, the people in rural areas try to invest in land and agriculture. Our study indicates that the economic structure of project-affected villages is also based upon the agricultural land and allied sources. The available agricultural land in all the project-affected villages is unequally distributed among different caste groups inhabited in it. This unequal distribution of land is one important criterion for the origin of different 'stratas' within the village community. Sengupta's (1973: 76) observation on social significance of land in rural community is relevant here. "Land is the source of wealth and the means by which a caste can lift its position in the local status system". Srinivas (1966: 12) also speaks more or less in the same way: "If land ownership is not always indispensable passport to high rank; it certainly facilitates upward mobility".

In the seabird project affected villages, generally, three types of land are found.

I. Reddish Brown

II. Red Sandy Loam

III. Saline Sandy Soils

The agricultural land belongs to the families, which 'own' the land. It means the family's relationship with 'land' plays significant role. Based on such relationship, one finds three kinds of land owned families in project-affected villages.

i. Encroachers

ii. Hangami Lagandars

iii. Private Land Owners

The families of private landowners are also broadly divided into three categories.

- 1.families cultivating land by themselves;
- 2.families cultivating part of their land themselves and remaining part cultivated by sharecroppers.
- 3.families' entire land cultivated by tenants or sharecroppers.

This shows that the functional interdependence prevailed between land owned families and landless families in project affected villages. The process of land acquisition resulted in the disturbance of this agrarian structure. All the rural inhabitants, directly or indirectly, related to agrarian structure are sufferers. The long lasting economic, occupational and social network was dismantled because of displacement.

The position of landless families in this part of the world is a little peculiar. Because though they are called as landless, many of them have some amount of open space around their dwellings, which they have converted into kitchen gardens. They grow coconut, mango, chikku, banana, drumstick and jackfruit trees. This was possible for them because of availability of sufficient water and support of soil quality. A few of them were also working as sharecroppers and wage laborers in agriculture as well as fishing occupation. Due to availability of rich forest based raw materials, some families were involved in rope making, mat making, basket making, alcoholic distillation from cashew fruit etc. The landless families in affected zone played a significant role in local economy. They were functionally related to agrarian structure, fishing structure, rural household industrial structure. Thus, all the families engaged in different occupations within and outside the village community were interdependent.

Some other families in project-affected villages were involved in artisan and caste based service occupations. They were carpenters, ironsmiths, gold smiths, tailors, salt makers, masons, priests (poojaris), small kirana and pan beedi shopkeepers, basket and rope makers, etc. The Jajmani system did not prevail in affected villages but some kind of barter system prevailed. The artisans and service caste groups provided their service to the villagers of their own as well as neighbouring villages. For this, they received payment, either in cash or in kind or both. They used to sell some other products in taluka or district weekly markets.

Some Achari and Catholic families were involved in carpentry and iron smithy work. They were involved in making and mending of agricultural implements like wooden plogy, drill poouty etc. They also made doors, windows and household furniture. Apart from agriculturists, the fishermen also sought their help for making and repairing of their boats.

Some Brahmin caste families performed their duty as priests, poojaris in their own or neighboring village. They performed the daily pooja of 'Gramadeva' and other deities in the village. They also presided over certain ceremonial occasions like birth, marriage, vastu pooja and funeral in the village. Their services were paid in cash and kind like rice, wheat, coconuts, fruits etc.

Some people were in service sector working as teachers, clerks, conductors, drivers, nurses, compounders, peons, attainers, etc. both in private and public sectors and as soldiers in army and navy. They, being knowledgeable people, were the major source of legal and official information to the villagers. They provided intellectual service to the villagers. Even now in the resettled colonies, they continue to do this job.

This indicates that in the affected village each caste group or groups of families were involved in their own traditional and other occupations. Thus, the caste based and service based division of labour existed in the village community. This functional interdependence among castes, and family groups helped to maintain village structure and village solidarity.

The Harikantas, Kharvis, Mogers, Gabits, Agers and Catholic as well as Muslim communities belonging to SBP affected area were involved in fishing occupations. They were doing this occupation from generation after generation. Hence, they had established the customary right over the sea (common property resource). Fishing is a hereditary occupation of fishing community. They know very well about the good fishing spots, which they generally keep secret for obvious reason. The fishing knowledge and technique is transmitted from one generation to next.

Generally in project affected villages, majority of the fishermen are small-scale fishermen. They are mostly traditional fishermen. Few fishermen families use the motorized boats for fishing. Non-fishing communities and castes are also involved in fishing occupation.

There is a gender-based division of labour among the fishing community. The men folk go for fishing, where as women folk are engaged in other fishing related activities like drying, freezing, selling fish into the market etc.

Disturbance to Socio-Cultural and Religious Ecology of the Villages

The people belonging to Hindu, Christian and Muslim religions resided in SBP affected villages. The Hindus constituted about 90 per cent of the total population. They belong to different castes and sub castes. Details about castes are

mentioned in table 3.6 on page number 13-14. However, the people belonging to different castes and religions stay in harmony in these villages.

Family and Marriages

The patrilineal family system is prevalent in this area. Normally, either the wife or the eldest son inherits the property and the burden of managing the family falls on such a person. This kind of custom exists in joint families. In other nuclear families, property is equally shared among all the sons (brothers). Like in other parts of India, in this part too, joint families are losing their importance. However, some joint families still exist in affected villages.

Usually, parents or guardians arrange the marriages. The marriage rites are performed at the bride's house or at a temple. The sacramental rites followed during marriage ceremonies vary from caste to caste and religion to religion.

Food Habits

The inhabitants of project-affected villages take both vegetarian and non-vegetarian kind of food. Since they are living in the coastal habitats and involve in fishing occupations, fish curry and rice is their staple food. They occasionally eat the meat of chicken, goats and wild animals killed in hunting such as rabbits, wild pigs etc. They take pickles, chutney, roasted papad or fried fish as the condiment. During the festival and holy days, they usually prepare 'payasa' (sweet dish) with the cereals and jaggery as ingredients.

Dress Habits

The people of affected villages have their own kind of dress pattern. The working class people wear half shirt and half pant usually. The office goers wear half or full bush shirt and pants. Women wear sari and choli (blouse). Elderly women wear sari in katche style ('sari' rapped in trouser style), while the women of a younger

generation wear sari in round fashion. The teen-age girls and boys have adopted modern dress style like T-shirt, pants, jeans, skirts and Punjabi.

The Halakki-Vakkal women wear traditional dress consisting of a small length of coarse sari about five meter long and 3.5 feet wide, reaching upto the knee with one end covering the bosom. They are not accustomed to katche and do not wear blouse or choli. Instead, bead necklace and other cheap ornaments cover their neck and bosom (Kamat 1995).

Festivals

Like in other parts of India, people of this area also celebrate different festivals and feasts throughout the year. The Christians popularly celebrate Christmas; Muslims celebrate Muharrum and Id-e-milad. The Hindus celebrate Yugadi, Ram Navami, Ashad Ekadashi, Shravan Poornima, Naga Panchami, Gokulashtami, Ganesh Chaturthi, Navaratri, Bhoomi Hunime, Deepawali, Tulasi Pooja, Krishnashtami etc.

All the villagers of this area celebrate a very peculiar local festival called 'Bandi Habba'. This festival is held for seven days in the month of May. This festival is held to win the good will of all Gods and deities who preside over crops. These Gods have no images. It is said that the deities were placed in a bandi or cart with four wheels and the procession of deity was taken in ancient days. Hence, the festival is called 'Bandi Habba' (Cart Festival).

Therefore, we can safely conclude that the every SBP affected village has its own history of origin and development. It has its own fixed geographical locality and habitation pattern. Such kind of naturally evolved village communities have been developed a symbiotic relationship with their ecology and environment.

CHAPTER IV

SEA BIRD PROJECT: DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT

Introduction

This chapter makes an analysis of the idea of 'nation-state' and development of national defense force particularly, the growth of Indian Navy and its integrated modern naval base. It explains the fundamental goal of the 'nation-state', national development and need of naval development. It also deals with brief history of Indian Navy, the necessity of SBP, technical and geographical grounds for selection of particular area for SBP, and its national significance.

The term 'nation-state' refers to the fusion of the idea of the nation and the idea of the state in one political community. The process is generally considered to have begun around 200 years ago, though the term itself did not enter into common use until after the First World War (McIver 1999: 2). As a nation, the nation-state is ideally a homogeneous cultural community, with a common language and common values, sentiments and attachments. It is based not just on common interest but also on assumed common historical characteristics which is more fundamental than the former: it provides or aspires to provide its members with their dominant source of collective identity. The story of nation building and state formation over the past 200 years is the story of the coming together of these two ideas in a mutually reinforcing union, which has become the universal political organizing principle of the modern era. They were in a sense, 'made' for each other (Jenny 2002).

India became free from British rule in 1947. After that, this independent and free country has its own 'nation-state' identity. Since then, like elsewhere, the planners of our nation made several efforts to achieve development in different fields.

Such developments will raise the standard of living, and provide rich and wide opportunities for the life and livelihood of its citizens. Towards this end, they planned and implemented several small, medium and mega projects relating to the different fields such as the agriculture, irrigation, water and power supply, industries, transport and communications, rural, urban and tribal development etc. Thus, through five-year plans, India as an independent 'nation-state', made efforts for infrastructure development. Mahapatra (1994: 37) also writes in the same line: "since independence of our country, there has been sustained efforts to develop the infrastructure through major industrial, power generation and water management projects. Such large scale projects were not established during the British colonial regime. However, soon after independence, free India was in a great hurry to make up the shortfall in development to catch up with the advanced countries of the world".

This shows that India's freedom and independent 'nation-state' identity has played a significant role in her overall development. However, all such kinds of developmental efforts have some meaning only when the particular 'nation-state' is free, independent and secured. It means that the national security is more important for the independent 'nation-state' like India. Because, on one side, it helps for the continuity of building the Indian nation-state and, on the other side, its citizens will enjoy the fruits of nation building in real sense. Therefore, along with infrastructure development for socio-economic progress Indian 'nation-state' made effort towards the infrastructure development for national security. The nations like USA, Russia, and England are strong and dominant in the global world because, on one side, they have developed countries' infrastructure and technology, and on the other side, they are having powerful armed forces. Thus, nations, like India, are forced to develop their own defence force.

An attempt to achieve modern integrated development in national defence has been based on two interrelated processes: one, the unchecked use of the earth's natural resources; and two, the transformation of people, often against their will, into a dispossessed working class. These processes were not new. They had their antecedents in India's history of colonial and pre-colonial extraction, and they continued after Independence, though they were legitimized in different ways. The project of national 'development' is not limited to the Indian state alone, but is embedded in contemporary global structures such as the arrangement of the world into nation states, and the expanding system of international capitalism (Baviskar 1995: 35).

Hence, the development of a common identity is seen as necessary to enable the state to mobilize and control its citizens. Therefore, on the one hand, we have a situation in which the nation-state fixes the people to a particular place or territory, but on the other hand, as an all-encompassing spatial division of the world into like units, the system of nation-states enables the movement of people and things across those divisions to become predictable and routine. Thus, the fundamental goals of the nation-state project are in conflict. The figure of the forced resettlers, 'displaced' in the 'national interest' to make way for large-scale development projects, highlights a related tension within the idea of the nation-state (Jenny 2002: 6).

The problem under this study, the development of Sea Bird Project, Karwar and displacement of coastal habitats from west coast also raises same kind of issues. Due to this, the paradoxical situation is encountered by our 'nation-state'. Because, on one hand, our independent nation-state is democratic and a welfare state, whose aim is to achieve the welfare of all citizens, and on the other hand, due to land acquisition for the establishment of the SBP, the coastal habitats of Karwar region had to be uprooted

from their hearths and fields. As a result, the uprooted people lost the symbiotic relation with their habitats. The paradox here is that the nation state's 'gain' is some citizens 'pain.'

Jenny (2002: 6) has also highlighted the paradoxical situation of the nation-state and how the state exercises the idea of 'eminent domain' to overcome it. He writes: "The development-induced displacement is a tension between the nation-state as the ultimate source of legitimate political control over a given territory and as a community of equal citizens, for, in development-induced displacement and resettlement projects the, state exercises its monopoly of legitimate force to uproot a group of its own citizens, usually as we shall see, a relatively impoverished and powerless group of citizens and usually with disastrous consequences for their socio-economic well being".

Thus, after independence the idea of 'eminent domain' as main tool is used by our planners to attempt the development of national infrastructure, even though they are contradictory to displacement of indigenous people. At the same time, the contemporary citizens resisted such kinds of contradictory developmental attempts. As a result, the debate between the supporters and opponents of developmental projects are highly controversial in nature. For example the development projects like Sardar Sarovar in Narmada basin, Upper Krishna Project, Nagarjunsagar Dam, Koyana Dam etc. The project supporters highlight the positive aspects of the project such as growth in irrigation, agricultural production, electricity, urbanization, transport and communication, national security etc. Whereas the opponents of such projects highlight the consequences of development particularly the socio-cultural and ecological-economic impacts on the uprooted indigenous population, such population is mostly found in almost remote and self-sufficient rural and tribal communities. In

addition, majority of them belong to socially, economically, educationally and politically backward sections. Such kind of poor and powerless uprooted people always look towards the welfare state to reconstruct their disintegrated life patterns and livelihood systems.

Fisher (1997: 8) summarises this entire controversial debate in the following words: “The proponents and opponents seem to be sincere in their commitment to goals of sustainable development and social justice, but what they mean by these terms differs. Sharing the same rhetoric to describe profoundly different goals and means disguises fundamental philosophical differences and maintains confusion in the global debate about development. While widespread commitment to the term ‘sustainable development’ might suggest a growing worldwide consensus on the need for development that is sustainable, there is no agreement about the specific goals of development or the appropriate means to achieve them”.

This shows that development is required but what is required more is that it should be ‘sustainable’ in nature. The ‘gains’ from the development should be much more than the ‘pains’. Jenny and Cernea have focused these arguments in a different way. Jenny (2002: 7) states: “The main objectives of development-induced displacement projects are to benefit a much wider population than that of the displaced themselves. In addition, the key characteristic of this wider population is that it shared with the displaced population membership of the same nation-state”. Co-membership of the nation-state, therefore, makes legally and morally legitimate a situation in which, as Cernea (2000: 12) has put it “some people enjoy the gains of development while ‘others’ bear its pains’. However, who are these ‘others’, who are also fellow citizens? In what sense are they ‘others’? Is it just that they are ‘not us’ or is it, more fundamentally, that are ‘not like us’, that they, have a different and

systematically inferior relationship with the sources of state power? If the later position is correct, the figure of the forced resettler challenges not only policy makers and planners to come up with better-planned and implemented schemes, but also the ideology of the nation-state itself as community of equal citizens and as principle agency of development”.

INDIAN NAVY

The present day Indian Navy can trace its pedigree line from two great Navies; the Royal Navy and in more recent years, from the Soviet Navy. It has inculcated the best from both these fighting services. The origins of the Indian Navy can be traced to a maritime force established by the East India Company in the seventeenth century. This force had a variety of names The Bombay Marine and The Indian Marine. Till 1934, its identity as the Royal Indian Navy was established. In the early years, the Indian soldiers served primarily in the lower-level positions. Following the Independence of India in 1947, The Royal Indian Navy inducted Indians into the officer cadre to convert it to the Indian Navy in 1952. However, it continued to be headed by British Admirals until 1958. During this period, the threats to India were seen by the National leadership to be more land-based, and this small service was sadly neglected (Rai 2003: 1).

Indian Navy planners took the clue and planned for a large Navy. India's leadership, finally, also appreciated that India's long coastline of 7500 kms the safety of the 1000 islands dotted around, and the off shore energy assets have to be defended under the changed parameters of maritime security post. It is now recognized that India's Navy needs to become a reckonable force in the future. India has also been accepted as a nuclear power. Hence, the Navy has scripted ambition to possess a potent sea based second-strike capability, and that program is being generously

funded to induct nuclear propelled submarines. The Indian Navy of the future has, therefore, shifted focus from a Pakistan centric force, to become a blue water sea control capable maritime force. This was inevitable in the newly changed geopolitical and globalised scenario with the cold war a relic of the past (Ibid.).

INS Kadamba: Project Sea Bird

The Indian Naval Ship (INS) was involved during the liberation of Goa in 1961, and largely involved in two Indo-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971 respectively. Until now, the Indian Navy has only three major naval bases at Mumbai, Vishakhapatnam and Kochi; besides smaller establishments at Goa and Kolkatta. These naval bases are getting increasingly crowded now. It is felt that they will not be able to support the Navy's expanding strategic three-dimensional role in the future. Therefore, the need for a third naval base was felt by the Indian state. Consequently, an integrated naval base at Karwar was visualized (Bidanda 2001).

History of Origin

A former Chief of Naval Staff (CNS) admiral O.J. Dawson originally conceived the project Sea Bird in the early 1980's. This idea emerged because of the felt need to have a dedicated naval base on the west coast of India to meet its long pending needs. In January 1985, the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet (CCPA) sanctioned the setting up of a naval base at Karwar, code named 'Sea-Bird Project' at a cost of Rs. 350 crores. The late Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi laid the foundation stone for the Sea-Bird naval base on 24 October 1986, near Binaga bay at Karwar. After an initial feasibility study, a three-tier management structure was established in 1986 with cabinet, project management board and project management authority to steer and execute it.

The process of compiling the detailed staff requirements and writing various design assignments in consultation with the Naval staff selection and appointment of consultants for making the master plan and the detailed project report (DPR) took over two years during which numerous geographical and design studies were also conducted. The Engineers India Ltd. (EIL) were appointed as the prime Indian consultants and subsequently M/S REDECON of Australia with M/S NEDCO of Netherland were taken as the foreign consultants for preparing the master plan and the detailed project report for the marine works. In drawing up the master plan and DPR, great care was taken to incorporate the latest technology, concepts and innovations, which would be able to meet the foreseeable needs of at least century of future developments (Sharma 2004, Bidanda 2004).

The establishment of sea bird project at Karwar was based on certain considerations, such as:

1. the changed strategic situation;
2. to ease congestion of Bombay Naval Dockyard;
3. to provide a modern integrated dockyard to cater to the requirements of our growing navy;
4. to develop capacity building, testing and providing the indigenous weapon platforms and systems for the surface forces;
5. to provide security and exclusiveness to undertake classified projects; and
6. to provide requisite training facilities for the special force units in the Navy of the future (Anonymous).

The master plan envisaged the infrastructure and the facilities to be built in two phases for basing of about 50 warships and associated yard craft. However, the project was delayed until 1995 due to a severe resource crunch and financial

turbulence. In 1995, the Government decided to implement a truncated Phase-I of project Sea Bird for 10 warships and associated operational and administrative infrastructure to be executed in 10 years (i.e. by year 2005) at the completion cost of about Rs. 1290 crores. However, the actual construction work commenced in the year 2000, soon after the evacuation of project-affected families from their respective villages. Again, in the year 2003, based on experience gained, advancement in the technology and changed political as well as strategic scenario certain facilities were upgraded and a revised cost of the project for about Rs. 2500 crores was approved (IDC Report 2005).

Important Milestones

1. Initial Sanction	1985
2. Foundation Stone Laying	24 th October 1986 (By Late Sri Rajeev Gandhi)
3. Acquisition of Land	1985-1988
4. Master Plan and Detailed Project Report	By 1990
5. Truncated Phase-I Sanctioned	Oct. 1995
6. Execution of Project	1995-2005
7. Rehabilitation Phase-I	1995-1999
8. Construction commenced	2000
9. Priority Housing	Feb. 2003
10. Breakwater Completed	Feb. 2004
11. Sailors Residential Colony	July 2004
12. Anchorage completed	Nov. 2004
13. Pier Completed	Feb. 2005
14. Officers Colony at Kamath Bay	Feb. 2004
15. Karwar Naval Hospital	Feb. 2005 (Temporary Location)

16. Shift Lift installed

April 2005

17. INS Kadamba Inaugurated

5 May 2005

(By Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee)

Source: IDC Report, June 2005.

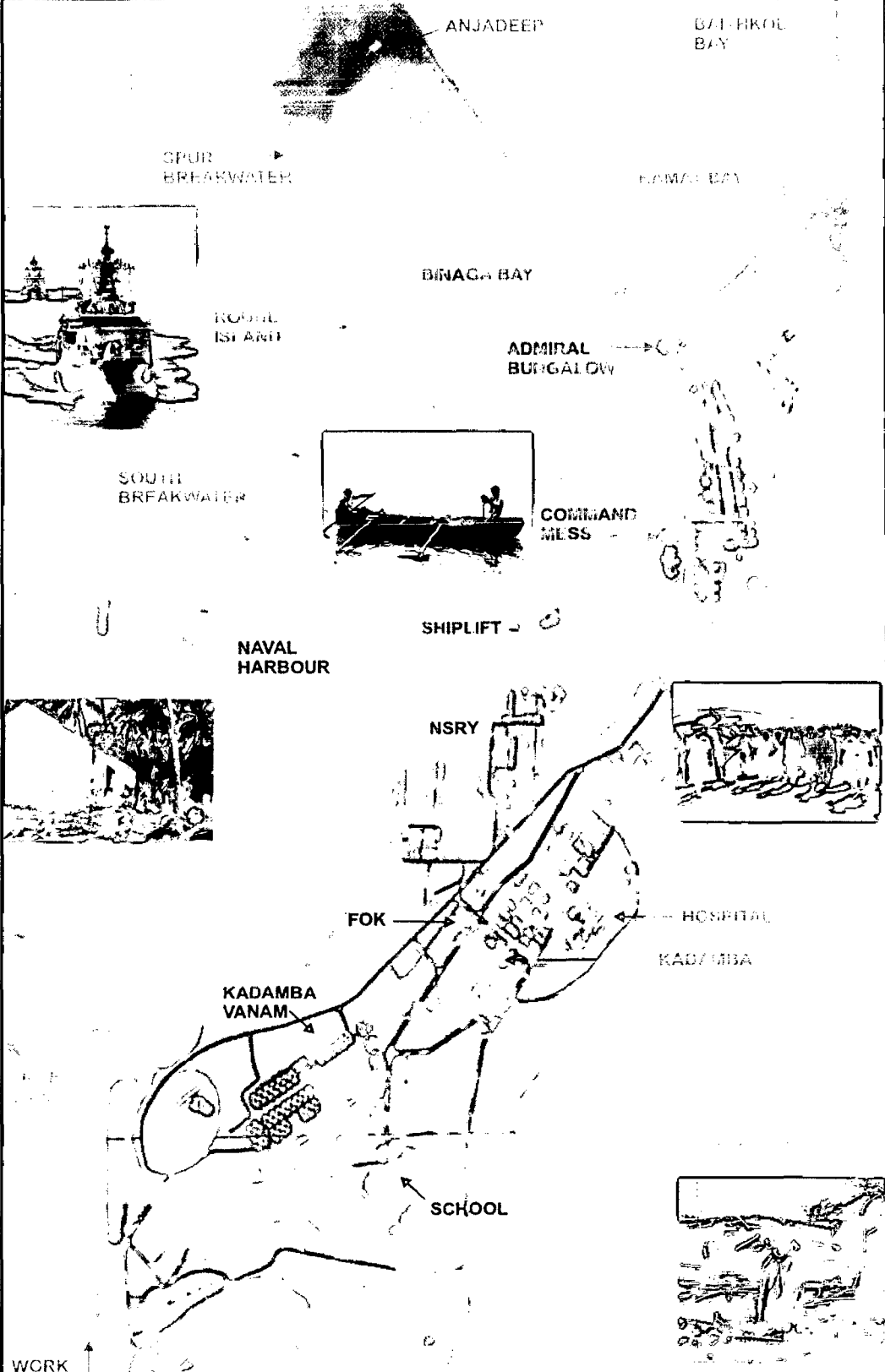
Seabird at Karwar: Selection of Location and its Significance

Certain infrastructure projects can only be located in specific areas or locations. The defence projects like seabird naval base cannot be constructed in any geographical part of India. Whereas other infrastructures like industry, airports, highways etc. can be located at any place where land is available the naval base needs location of seacoast. The Karwar being right on the Arabian Sea Coast was selected for the establishment of Sea Bird Project.

From time immemorial Karwar harbour has been a place of solace and security to the Sea fearers. While we delve through the folds of history, we find that the Eastern as well as Western sea fearers had taken shelter in the placid waters of Karwar. Though our own native kings had their navies and also subsequently during the British period, a number of Royal Naval Officers time and gain brought out the immense possibility of utilization of this natural harbour, effective use of Karwar as a sea port was made (Anonymous Np).

Drawing attention to Karwar's suitability as a base, the former chief of naval staff Admiral O.S. Dawson, one of the architects of project sea bird, said, "no other place on the western or eastern sea boards is as valuable as Karwar is. The water depth is available only half a mile into the sea. Besides, Karwar's hilly terrain provides excellent camouflage to ground installations, and pens cut on the rock face can conceal submarines. The extent of the land available in and around Karwar will enable the navy to disperse its forces, a crucial necessity in times of an attack" (Ramchandran 2005: 2).

4.1 A VIEW OF SEA BIRD PROJECT



Source: www.globalsecurity.org-Kadamba Base .



4.1 The foundation stone ceremony of SBP-1986.

(Late Pri Minister Rajeev Gandhi with Late Chief Minister Ramakrishna Hegde and Local Leaders).



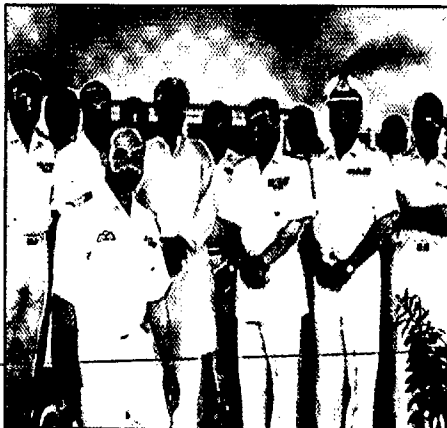
4.2 The foundation store ceremony of first phase of SBP - 1999.

(Project Engineer explaining SBP plan to defence Minister George Fernandes)

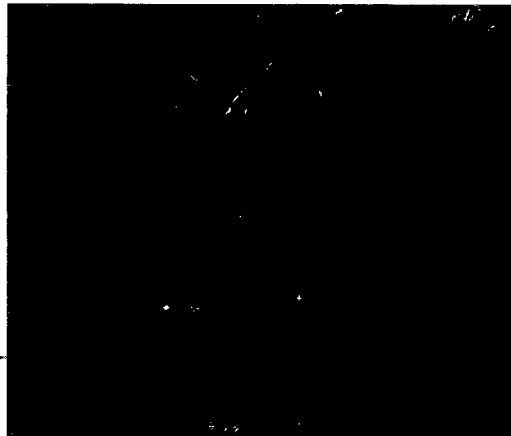


Project Seabird
Karwar
FUTURE OF THE NAVY

4.3 A view of Project Area



4.4 Defence Minister George Fernandes and Naval Officers.



4.5 Displaced Halakki-Vakkaliga women Resettled outside the RC.

At present the Indian Navy has three commands with the Eastern Naval Command (ENC) headquartered at Vishakhapatnam, the Southern Naval Command (SNC) at Kochi and Western Naval Command (WNC) at Mumbai. The SNC is only a training command, with a training squadron and a few small ships not operationally oriented for war, while the WNC co-located with the Mumbai commercial port cannot accommodate more warships. The commercial vessels take up the bulk of the space at these ports, and often-heavy commercial traffic means that vessels have to wait for hours at sea. The expansion of the Mumbai base was impossible and nearby buildings such as the Bombay Stock Exchange presented a security risk (Chennappa 2004: 111, Ramachandran 2005: 1).

Therefore, the Navy has articulated a new naval base on Western Coast at Karwar. This location has several advantages of its own. They are as below:

1. Karwar does not face any problem of silting as does Mumbai and Kochi. It will not have to be dredged as frequently. Since its waters are deeper than those of other naval bases are, it allows for better anchorage.
2. Karwar's geographic environment with its hills and forest cover is ideal for a naval base, because it provides screen from satellite surveillance. Besides, its bays and offshore islands provide strategic protection.
3. The seabird project also includes naval armament dept, missile technical position and naval air station at Nallur Kanchan Bail as part of the plan. It indicates the nature of the naval capabilities that would eventually be available at Karwar.
4. The availability of water depth near seashore played a vital role in establishment of ship lift facility. The ship lift and submarines for repairs are the most unique feature of the project, seabird. The ship lift facility being

installed by M/S SYNCROLIFT INC, USA is capable of handling ships upto 10,000 tons displacement.

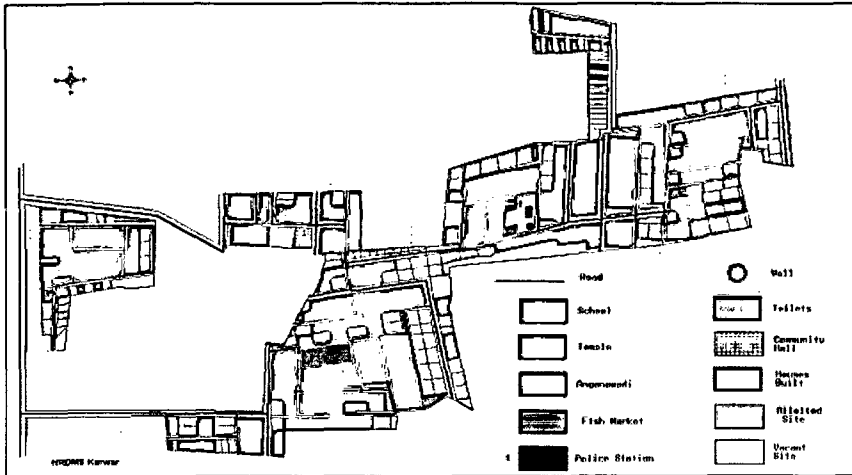
5. Above all, Karwar is located further away from the Pakistan port of Karachi. Karwar is 900 nautical (1450 Kilometers) miles from Karachi, while Mumbai is 580 (900 kilometers) nautical miles away. Therefore, it is more inaccessible and less vulnerable to the enemy's action. Perhaps like the Pakistani navy which is setting up new naval bases at Ormara and Gwadar, the Indian Navy too appears to be on an expansion mode (Chingappa 2004: 1, Ramachandran 2005: 1, IDC Report 2005: 3, Anonymous Np).

Physical and Human-Made Ecology of Rehabilitation Colonies

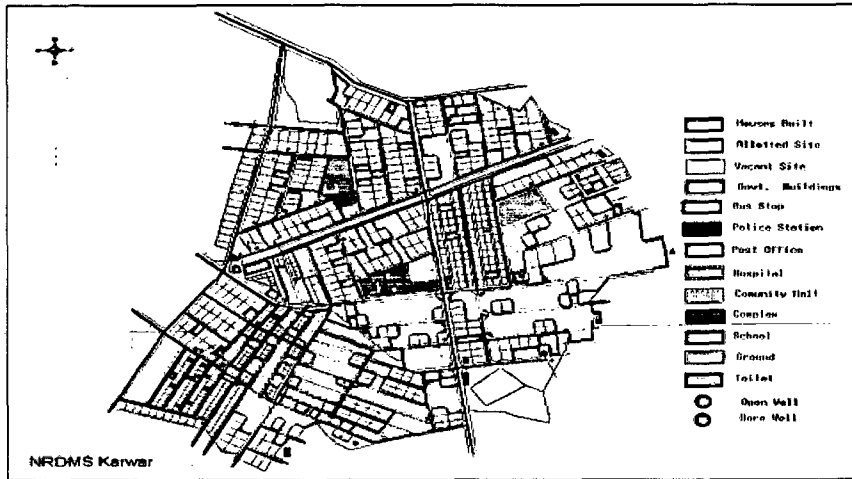
Today our country is in the process of evolving a viable and credible maritime strategy to meet the demands of the 21st century. Karwar naval base code name, 'Project Sea-Bird', is an essential part of the integrated development of the Indian Navy (DC 1999: 1). This project, which has 'larger interest or national interest', led to the dismantling of 13 coastal habitats and their structures. Eventhough there is no clear-cut law existed, the rehabilitation of displaced persons was achieved through the establishment of seven rehabilitation colonies. This was done with the provision of required civic facilities.

The R and R authorities, while allotting house sites, took care to settle fishermen families in the RCs of Chittakula, Amadalli, and Harwada, which are right on the sea coast itself. The sites for agriculturists have been formed at Todur, Belekeri, Mudageri and Hattikeri. The Agasure-Shivgunji and Sakalben are the areas where agricultural plots have been formed for those project-affected families who wanted land for land. Detail information about rehabilitation colonies is mentioned in Chapter number II. After knowing the ecology and structure of project-affected habitats, it is interesting to know the physical and human-made ecology of sample rehabilitation colonies i.e. Chittakula, Todur and Belekeri.

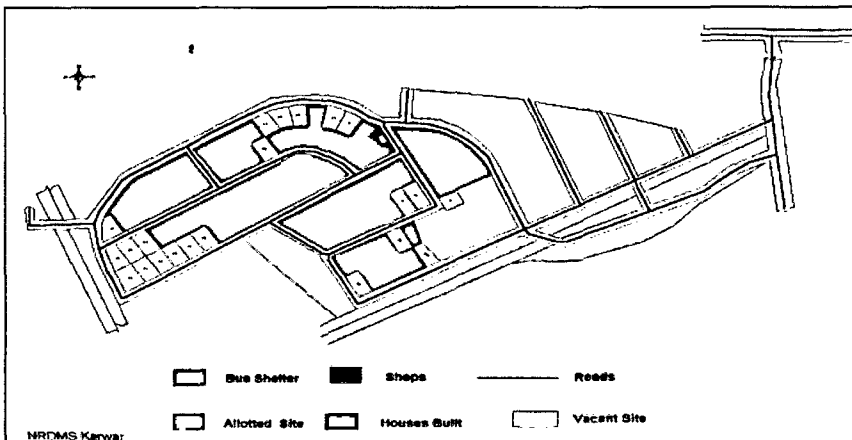
IV. Site plan of Chittakula Rehabilitation Colony



V. Site plan of Todur Rehabilitation Colony



VI. Site plan of Belekeri Rehabilitation Colony



CHITTAKULA REHABILITATION COLONY

The Physical Structure

Table No. 4.1
Physical Structure of Chittakula RC

Sr.No.	Information about Physical Structure of RC	Frequency
1	Total Area in Acres	37
2	No. of Sites Formed	392
3	Size of Sites	
	(a) 45 X 67 sq.ft.	185
	(b) 50 X 60 sq.ft	57
	(c) unequal size plots	150
4	No. of Houses Built	206
5	Distance from H.Q. (in Kms.)	8
6	Distance from National Highway	1.5
7	Distance from Sea/Coast in km.	1/2

Source: DC. 1999, 2003. Status Report, UK. and Field Survey.

Table 4.1 exhibits the physical settings of the Chittakula RC, where fishing families are resettled. Totally, 392 sites are formed in 37 acres of land. This shows that on an average, each family got a land measuring 3.77 gunta. This includes internal roads, public buildings, and wells and bore wells. Though authorities established and distributed 392 sites, only 206 families have built their houses. Thus, more than 45 percent families have not yet decided to resettle in the RC

This RC is hardly eight kms away from the district H.Q. This is the major advantage for the resettlers of this RC compared to other RCs. Because of the nearest distance, local R. and R. authorities as well as state authorities occasionally visit this RC and fulfill the demands of the resettlers. This RC is hardly 1.5 kms away from the national highway number 17. However, the resettlers are facing the major problem of physical distance between RC and sea (Coast), which is half km away. Since they all are fishermen so that they wanted their dwellings close to the sea.

Table No. 4.2
Civic Facilities Available in the Chittakula RC

Sr.No.	Type of Civic Facilities	Frequency
1	Education: Balawadi	2
	Primary School	1
2	Water: Open Wells	40
	Bore wells	25
3	Primary Health Centre	1
4	Community Hall	1
5	Community Toilets	20
6	Temple/God	Hanuman
7	Drainage Facility	1
8	Post Office	1
9	Bus Facility	4 + 20 = 24
10	Electric Facility	Yes
11	Interior Roads with Surface	Yes
12	Police Outpost	1
13	Temporary Sheds	Yes, 112.

Source: DC. 2003. Status Report, UK. and Field Survey.

The facilities available in this RC, is definitely better than their original villages. In the beginning some families faced the problem of temporary sheds. However the civic facilities in this RC are far better than those in other RCs.

Table No. 4.3
Socio-Economic Characteristics of Chittakula RC

Sr.No.	Socio-economic Category	Total
1	No. of Families	206
2	Total Population	997
3	Sample Population	441
4	Gender Background: Male	496
	Female	501
5	Total Adult Population	697
6	Sample Adult Male Population	162
7	Sample Adult Female Population	164
8	Children	300
9	Sample Children	115
10	No. of illiterates	163
11	Sample illiterates	57
12	Caste Heterogeneity	2
13	Village Heterogeneity	4
14	Occupational Heterogeneity	2

Source: DC. 2003. Status Report, UK. and Field Survey.

As indicated in Table 4.3, the total population of Chittakula RC is 997 of which 496 are males and 501 are females. The average size of the families is 4.8. Compared to the original habitats, a significant change is noticed in the composition of caste and occupation. The residents of this RC belong to Harikanta and Kharvi castes and they are engaged in fishing and other occupations. A significant characteristic of this colony is that the people belonging to four project affected villages live here.

TODUR REHABILITATION COLONY

The Physical Structure

Table No. 4.4
Physical Structure of Todur RC

Sr.No.	Information about Available Physical Structure in RC	Frequency
1.	Total Area in Acres	144
2.	No. of sites Formed	912
3.	Size of Sites (a) 30 X 40 sq.ft	188
	(b) 30 X 65 sq.ft	108
	(c) 60 X 90 sq.ft	616
4.	No. of Houses Built	197
5.	Distance from District H.Q. in Kms.	18
6.	Distance from National Highway	2
7.	Distance from Sea/Coast	5

Source: DC. 1999, 2003. Status Report, UK. and Field Survey.

The R and R authorities established this centre mainly to resettle agriculturists. The data in Table 4.4 indicates that totally 912 sites are developed on 144 acres of land. The sites formed vary in size more number of sites are of 60 X 90 sizes (616). Since the agriculturists are resettled here and they lost more land to the project, they are eligible for big size homestead plots. Hence, authorities have provided a little more than five gunta of land to agrarian resettlers. The resettlers might have got less land compared to the land lost to the project. However, land is not a major problem for majority of the resettlers but the quality and fertility of land is a main concern of the resettlers. Lack of irrigation facility is also a serious problem. Due to these reasons, many agriculturists are not resettled in the RC even though this is specially developed for them. People have taken possession of sites but not constructed houses. About 75 percent sites are vacant. This colony has been named after one of the project affected villages called Todur. However, the significant point is that from Todur village only four families were evacuated and none of them is resettled in this RC. It

is established some 18 kms. in the south direction of district H.Q. and two Kms. in the North-east direction of national highway number 17 but sea distance is more than five kms. A dry mountain with semi-green forest area situated about one km. away from the RC is the only common property resource base for the resettlers.

The Civic Facilities

Compared to the Chittakula RC, here the civic facilities are less both in terms of quality and quantity. This may be due to comparatively long distance (18 Kms.) from the district H.Q. and the weak bargaining power of the people in the absence of strong organization. The data in table 4.5 shows the type and frequency of civic facilities available in Todur RC

Table No. 4.5
Civic Facilities Available in the Todur RC

Sr.No.	Type of Civic Facility	Frequency
1	Water: Open Wells	7
	Tap water and Boar well	15
2	Education: Balawadi	1
	Primary School	1
3	Primary Health Centre	1
4	Bus Facility/Bus Stops	6
5	Electricity Facility and Street lights	Yes
6	Post Office	1
7	Temporary Sheds	128
8	Community Toilets	18
9	Community Hall	Yes
10	Temple and God	Hanuman
11	Interior Roads with Surface	Yes
12	Drainage Facility	Partially
13	Police Outpost	Yes
14	Market Complex	Yes

This colony has abundant water supply. Open wells, bore wells and taps are the main sources of water supply. Still, during the summer, the resettlers face shortage of drinking water. A primary health centre is also established in the RC but due to lack of permanent residential staff, the resettlers face problems during night times particularly in case of emergency. The concept of police and police outpost is little known to the resettlers, as the original villages were not having such facilities. A market complex is rendered useless, as no one has come forward to start a business. This may be attributed to bleak business prospects. A few resettled families have started small kirana and pan-beedi shops in their respective sites. However, all the shopkeepers are facing the problem of sustainable business. The school facility in this RC is comparatively better. There is availability of newly constructed school building, full teaching staff and student's attendance. Compared to the original village, the student attendance is higher, because of two reasons: first, the parents do not seek the help of the children as after displacement families have lost household industries, cattles and grazing fields and fishing areas; second, the State Government introduced free mid-day (Madhyan Bhojan) meal facility to school going children. Hence, there is no problem in the RC up to the higher primary education. For the purpose of high school education, the students of RC will have to travel three to four kilometers. For the purpose of college education, either students go to Amadalli having four kms distance or to Karwar having eighteen kms distance. The community toilets are also constructed in this RC but all are closed due to the poor maintenance. This shows that it is not enough to give any facility to the community but is also necessary to teach them how to maintain the facility given.

The Socio-Economic Characteristics

Though 912 sites are formed, only 197 families are resettled in this RC even after three years of evacuation. The total population of the RC is 961 of which 454 are males and 507 are females. This means that per 1000 males there are 1116 females, which is higher than the district ratio. As far educational level of resettlers is concerned, 83 percent population is literate and 17 percent is illiterate. Originally, the families resettled in this RC belonged to Binaga, Arga, Kodar and Chendiya villages. Thus, as far as the caste, the village and the occupational heterogeneity are concerned, this RC is more complex than rest of the RCs. It is indicated in table 4.6.

Table No. 4.6
Socio-Economic Characteristics of Todur RC

Sr.No.	Socio-Economic Category	Frequency
1	No. of Families	197
2	Sample Families	88
3	Total Population	961
4	Sample Population	480
5	Gender Background: Total Male	454
	Male Sample	177
	Total Female	507
	Female Sample	170
6	Total Adult Population	679
7	Adult Population Sample	347
8	Total No. of Children	282
9	Children Sample	133
10	Total No. of Illiterates	212
11	No. of Illiterates Sample	97
12	Caste Heterogeneity	8
13	Village Heterogeneity	4
14	Occupational Heterogeneity	4

Source: DC. Status Report 2003. Field Survey.

BELEKERI REHABILITATION COLONY

The families belonging to the agriculture and allied occupations are resettled in the Belekeri RC. This RC is seven kilometers away from Ankola taluka HQ and twenty-three kilometers away from Karwar district HQ. The data in Table 4.7 exhibits the details about the physical structure of the Belekeri RC.

Table No. 4.7
Physical Structure of Belekeri RC

Sr.No.	Information About Physical Structure	Frequency
1	Total Area of RC in Acres	30
2	No. of sites Formed	105
3	No. of Houses Built	78
4	Size of Sites	
	(a) 52 X 100sq.ft	23
	(b) 60 X 90 sq.ft	48
	(c) Unequal size plots	34
5	Distance from District HQ (in Kms.)	23
6	Distance from NH 17	2.5
7	Distance from Sea/Coast (in Kms.)	2.5

Source: DC. 1999, 2003. Status Report, UK. and Field Survey.

The Belekeri RC is established on hill area of Belekeri village. The surface of land is uneven, dry and rocky. The total area of RC is 30 acres in which totally 105 sites are formed. These sites are of different size. Though R and R authorities formed and distributed 105 sites, only 78 families are resettled in RC after three years of displacement. This reveals that due to several reasons, project displaced families have not built their houses in allotted sites at RC.

The Civic Facilities

The civic facilities in this RC are very poor in comparison with Todur and Chittakula RCs. This can be attributed to two reasons; one, the physical distance between district HQ (R and R Office) and RC is very long. This Colony is 23 kms

away from the district HQ; two, majority of resettlers belong to Halakki Vakkaliga (Gouda) caste, who are economically backward and socially and politically powerless. Therefore, they failed to put the pressure on R and R authorities to get more R and R benefits. The data in table 4.8 shows the type and frequency of civic facilities available in the Belekeri RC.

Table No. 4.8
Civic Facilities Available in the Belekeri RC

Sr.No.	Type of Civic Facility	Frequency
1	Water: Open Wells	2
	Bore wells	5
2	Education: Balawadi	1
	Primary School	No
3	Electricity and Street lights	Yes
4	Interior Roads with Surface	Partially
5	Market Complex	Yes
6	Post Office	No
7	Bus Facility	No
8	Temporary Sheds	No
9	Community Toilets	No
10	Community Hall	No
11	Drainage Facility	No
12	Police Outpost	No
13	Primary Health Centre	No
14	Temple and God	Ganapati

Source: DC. 1999, 2003. Status Report, UK.

As is evident from the above data the resettlers are facing various problems emerging out of the shortage of civic facilities. Drinking water is the major problem faced by the resettlers. The market complex and bus stop have remained unused, as no one has started business in market complex and no bus service is available.

The Socio-Economic Characteristics

Table No. 4.9
Socio-Economic Characteristics of Belekeri RC

Sr.No.	Socio-Economic Category	Frequency
1	Total No. of Families	78
2	Total No. of Sample Families	33
3	Total Population	451
4	Sample Population	178
5	Total Male	234
	Sample Males(Adult)	62
	Total Female	217
	Sample Female (Adult)	61
6	Total Adult Population	300
7	Sample Adult Population	123
8	Total No. of Children	151
9	Sample Children	55
10	Total No. of Illiterates	152
11	No. of Illiterates Samples	50
12	Village Heterogeneity	1
13	Caste Heterogeneity	4
14	Occupational Heterogeneity	3

Source: DC. 2003. Status Report, UK. and Field Survey.

All the resettlers in this RC belong to one village i.e. Bhavikeri. This village is partly affected. The Nayaks (Nador) and other caste groups, who lost only land and not houses, have remained in their original village. The Halakki Vakkaligas and some Achari caste groups have lost both dwelling place and land. Hence, they involuntarily resettled in the Belekeri RC. Compared to other two RCs., this RC is smaller both geographically and demographically. The total population of the RC is 451, out of which 234 are males and 217 are females. In this RC, 300 are adults and 151 are children. In this RC, illiteracy is more widespread compared to other two RCs. About 34 percent are illiterate, and 66 percent are literate.

Nature and Composition of Castes in Rehabilitation Colonies

Caste is a significant social unit of village structure, which performs important role in the unity, and organization of the village community. The important characteristic of each caste is its association with traditional occupation. Senart (1930: 37) throws light on the caste-based professions. He says: "Many castes are called by the names of the professions which generally they follow". He further argues that "the speciality and hereditary occupation have not only been a powerful bond within the castes but have often been the centre of attraction".

In the area under study, it is generally observed that traditionally every caste group is bound with its own traditional occupation. However, in contrast to this, some follow non-traditional occupations. This means, either two or three caste groups are involved in one occupation or a one particular caste is involved in more than one occupation. Thus, the multi-caste occupations and multi-occupational caste groups prevailed in the project affected villages. It means that the rule of caste-based occupation is not strict but rather more flexible in nature. This type of occupational flexibility is not uncommon in the Indian social structure as Srinivas (1955) opines, "occupational alternative choices not only give flexibility to the traditional social system but also help in preserving these in the indirect way".

The occupation-based castes in the project-affected villages can broadly be divided into five segments. They are:

1. The cultivating castes
2. The fishing castes
3. The artisans and servicing castes
4. The priestly castes
5. The other castes.

During the field study it was observed that totally ten different caste groups resettled in the three RCs. Among these ten caste groups, nine are Hindu caste groups, whereas one belongs to Christianity. They are:

1. Achari
2. Ager
3. Bhandari
4. Brahmin
5. Catholic (Christian)
6. Gunagi
7. Halakki Vakkaligas (Gouda)
8. Harikranta
9. Kharvi
10. Komar-panth

1. *Achari*

The families belonging to the Achari castes come under the village artisans. Such kind of artisan families were displaced from project affected villages. These families lived in Kodar village, which is totally displaced. The Achari families usually involved in wood and black smithy. The family, involved in the woodwork, is called Acharies i.e. carpenters and family involved in ironwork is called Lohar i.e. blacksmiths. The carpenter Acharies are involved in making of agricultural (wooden) implements, household furniture and building houses etc., where as lohar Acharies are involved in making of knives, sickles, agricultural implements etc. Generally, they have the working sheds on one side of their dwelling. Their common food is rice and fish, but sometimes they also eat flesh. Their mother tongue is Konkani but they know Kannada as well.

2. *Ager*

The name Ager is said to have been derived from the word 'Agera' or 'salt-pan', which indicates the traditional occupation of the original village settlers. Some of them are saltpan workers and some others are coolies or field labourers. Traditionally, they make palm leaf umbrellas. They are also involved in basket making and fishing occupations. Tulasi marriage is their sacred and religious festival of the year. They speak Kannada. They belong to the Schedule Caste.

3. *Bhandari*

The term 'Bhandari' is derived from Sanskrit word 'Mandharak', which means a distiller. Liquor tapping and selling was the special work of the Bhandaris. It is said that they were experts in navigation during the rule of Shivaji. They are also engaged in liquor contract, timber sawing, hand pounding etc. At present, they are working as labourers (agriculture and fishing), cultivators, carpenters and pan bidi shopkeepers. They are educationally backward. They speak Konkani and Kannada languages. They worship 'Samadevi' of Nandangadda, Karwar.

4. *Brahmin*

Very few families belonging to Brahmin caste were inhabited in project-affected area. They broadly belong to two sub castes; One, Havic Brahman; two, Gouda Sarswat Brahmin (GSB). Traditionally the Havic Brahmins are considered superior to the GSBs. They were mostly involved in caste-based occupations such as priests, astrologers, and puran readers. Some are engaged in trade, money lending, and in government services as well as agriculture. They know Konkani, Marathi, as well as Kannada languages.

5. *Catholic (Christian)*

The catholic Christians are traditionally carpenters and tailors. Some of them are also landholders, cultivators, forest and wood labourers. They are also involved in fishing occupation as fishermen or boatmen. They are non-vegetarian. They speak both Konkani and Kannada languages. The objects of their worship are Jesus, Mary, St. Anne, St. Francis Xavier, St. Antony and St. Joseph.

6. *Gunagi*

They belong to agrarian community. Some of them own and till the land. The rest of them work as sharecroppers and landless laborers. They have also learnt the art of fish catching. Thus the landless Gunagi families are involved in both agriculture and fishing occupations. They are hard workers. Their everyday food is fish, rice and vegetables. Their houses are generally small with narrow verandas and front yards. They speak both Kokani and Kannada Languages.

7. *Halakki-Vakkaligas (Goudas)*

The word 'Halakki' means white rice and 'Vakkalu' means 'agriculturist'. The Halakki-Vakkaligas are mainly agriculturists (rice cultivators), sharecroppers and agricultural labourers. They are experts in rice growing. They live in thatched huts. They have strong caste organization. They speak a local dialect of Kannada called 'Hallakki Kannada'. They worship Venkataramana of Tirupati, Hanumantha, Bete Deva and Tulasi. The dress and the profuse black-bead necklaces, which they wear, give a distinct identity to their women. Their harvest dance 'Suggi Kunita' in honor of God Karidevaru (Black-God) is a colourful folk dance. They are poor and powerless people. They are educationally backward. The divorce and widow marriage are permitted among them.

8. *Harikanta*

It is said that the name 'Harikanta' is from 'Harakarta', which refers to making of coco fiber ropes, especially for preparing fishing net. Their surname is Tandel and Harikanta. They are kannada-speaking fishermen. Mostly they are sea-fearing fishermen. Some of them own cargo boats and some others are sailors of boats. Cultivation is their subsidiary occupation. They worship Venkataraman of Tirupati and also Mahasati, Durga Parameshwari, Bae Beera (Sea Shore) and Bale Beera (Net Hero). Though their mother tongue is Kannada, they speak Konkani as well.

9. *Kharvi*

A name 'Kharvi' seems to have come from 'Khar' a corrugation of the Sanskrit word 'Khar' meaning 'Kshar' (salt). They are traditionally salt-water fishermen and good sailors. They also work as domestic servants and labourers. The caste panchayat is prevalent among them with 'Budhivanta' (knowledgeable) as their head. Their family deities are Kantradevi of Aversa and Baneshwara of Ankola. They speak Kannada and Konkani languages.

10. *Komar-Pant*

The Komar-pants mainly work as agricultural, forest and fisheries labourers and as woodcutters. Their women are engaged in poultry keeping, milk vending and lime pounding. Some of them are mason coolies and flower and vegetable venders. They worship Hulidevaru, Mahadeva, Durgadevi and Marikamba. Their mother tongue is Kannada but know Konkani as well. They are non-vegetarians.

The above ten caste groups are found in three-rehabilitation colonies. Each caste is endogamous in character and functions independently of other castes. Traditionally, these caste groups were involved in their own family occupations. However, in the modern days, these castes are not identified by their traditionally

assigned occupations. This has happened mainly because of disintegration of Jajamani system and occupational mobility in rural habitats. As a result, more caste groups than one are involved in the same occupation. A limited number of income generating occupations is also responsible for this social change. However, some caste groups until today continue to engage themselves in their conventional occupations. For e.g. Acharies as a carpenters and blacksmiths, Brahmins as a priests etc. In the original coastal habitats, these caste groups were mainly dependent upon 'agricultural land', 'sea' and 'forest' for their occupations and these were the sources of livelihood. However as each caste group was involved in its own function, there was functional interdependence between different caste groups.

The Socio-Cultural Background of the Respondents

Here, our main emphasis is on the analysis of the social and cultural background of the respondents. Such kind of analysis is significant in the sociological study of displacement and rehabilitation. Because, it not only provides a profile of the displaced, but also gives an insight into the background factors and processes, which may be relevant in the analysis of the whole process of displacement, resettlement, adaptation, social sufferings, change and continuity.

Age

Mandelbhaum (1972: 38) has rightly noticed the significance of age. He states: "Elders have greater authority as compared with young persons. Difference of a year or two in age is sufficient to establish firmly who formally superior is". Thus, the age is one of the important personal characteristics of an individual. It reflects the years of experience that have moulded the man in him. Age of a person particularly, in rural society is one of the significant variables that determine not only commands obedience but also submission from those younger to him. In all types of functions,

the elders provide the leadership (Patil 1992: 165). Based on their background of age, the respondents are divided into four different groups. The table below represents the distribution of respondents based on age.

Table 4.10
Age Wise Distribution of Respondents

Sr. No.	Age-Group	Chittakula RC		Todur RC		Belekeri RC		Total	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1	18-20	1	1	5	6	2	6	8	4
2	21-40	21	24	30	34	11	33	62	30
3	41-60	43	51	38	43	14	43	95	46
4	61-80	21	24	15	17	6	18	42	20
Total		86	100	88	100	33	100	207	100

It may be observed that a large number of respondents are in the age group of 41-60 and 21-40. About 20 percent respondents belong to the age group of 61-80 years and only 4 percent belong to age group of 18-20 years. There is no RC wise significant difference in age background of the respondents. Out of the total respondents, majority belongs to two middle age groups i.e. 21-40 and 41-60; together they constitute 76 percent. Comparatively, old age and young age respondents are less in number. They are 20 percent and 4 percent respectively. This shows that more number of respondents belong to working age group. It means that the dependency ratio among involuntary resettlers is less. This age background also helps to understand the occupational 'profile' and 'problems' of the displaced both before and after displacement.

Gender

In the society like India, gender plays significant role. It determines the social, economic and cultural status of a person. In rural India, men folk have the formal property rights and automatically they enjoy the formal authority. Since it is a male dominated society, they usually hold the position of the head of the family. The table 4.11 shows the gender wise distribution of the respondents.

Table 4.11
Gender Wise Distribution of Respondents

Sr. No.	Gender	Chittakula RC		Todur RC		Belekeri RC		Total	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1	Male	55	64	67	76	25	76	147	71
2	Female	31	36	21	24	8	24	60	29
Total		86	100	88	100	33	100	207	100

The above data indicates that highest number of respondents (71 percent) belong to male category, whereas only 29 percent belong to female category. The percentage of the female respondents is significantly less in number compared to the male respondents. This is not because the female population is less in the RC but because of two possible reasons. First, as a research strategy, the head of the family was mostly interviewed. However, in rural community, the headship of the family is hardly held by females. Second, rural women, being conservative and less exposed to outside world, hesitate to give interview to the outsiders. They feel that they will be unable to answer all the questions pertaining to the land acquisition, compensation, resettlement and rehabilitation. Among the three RCs the female respondents are slightly more in number in Chittakula RC. This difference is mainly because the female folk of this RC are involved in fishing trade and business both before and after

displacement. Hence, they are more exposed to outside world. During business transactions, they meet several people, which enhance their knowledge and courage. Thus, they were found to be more open to interview.

Marital Status

Marital Status is also one of the important personal features of an individual. It determines the social status of a person in his own habitation. It is observed that the rural society puts many social obligations on married as well as on widow (er) compared to the unmarried persons. He is considered as a responsible member of local community.

To find out the pattern of distribution of the respondents on basis of marital status, they were categorized into three groups as below:

Table 4.12
Marital Status-Wise Distribution of Respondents

Sr. No.	Gender	Chittakula RC		Todur RC		Belekeri RC		Total	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1	Married	53	62	59	67	22	67	134	65
2	Widow(er)	7	30	14	17	5	18	26	13
3	Unmarried	26	8	15	16	6	15	47	22
Total		86	100	88	100	33	100	207	100

The data in table 4.12 exhibits that the maximum number of respondents belongs to married category (65 percent). The respondents belonging to widow (er) and unmarried categories are 13 percent and 22 percent respectively. Among the three RCs, the percentage of widow (er) category is slightly more in Chitakula RC than remaining two RCs, whereas percentage of unmarried and married respondents in it is less than in the rest.

Status Within Family

The respondent's status within the family as 'family head' and the 'relationship with family head' also plays important role in it. Within a family, the head of the family has more responsibility compared to rest of the members. Hence, his concern and approach about the whole process of displacement, compensation and involuntary resettlement is naturally more valuable than the other members of the family. During the fieldwork, an attempt was made to interview the maximum number of the heads of family. However, due to some unavoidable circumstances, other adult members of the sample family were interviewed. It is observed that 76 percent of the respondents are holding the status as head in the family. The remaining 13 percent, 4 percent, 3 percent, 2 percent, and 1 percent respondents are holding the position of a son, daughter, wife, mother, and sister, brother of a head of the family respectively.

Table 4.13
Respondent's Status Within the Family

Sr. No.	Respondents Status	Chittakula RC		Todur RC		Belekeri RC		Total	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1	Head	70	81	65	74	23	70	158	76
2	Son	6	8	15	17	6	18	27	13
3	Daughter	3	3	3	3	3	9	9	4
4	Wife	1	1	5	6	1	3	7	3
5	Mother	4	5	0	0	0	0	4	2
6	Sister	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
7	Brother	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total		86	100	88	100	33	100	207	100

Education

Education is a powerful factor, which not only influences the behaviour but also influences the attitudes and responses of the individual. Since the views and attitudes of involuntarily resettlers towards the problems and sufferings of the displacement are vital in the present research study, the level of education of the respondent is significant. The study assumed that the educated respondents might understand the social, economic and legal aspects of displacement and rehabilitation in the better way.

Therefore, to find out the educational level of the respondents, they were categorized into five educational groups as below:

1. *Illiterate*: Those respondents who cannot read and write any alphabet but few of them know to sign.
2. *Primary*: Those respondents who are having formal education either up to lower or higher primary level.
3. *Secondary*: Those respondents who have taken education up to 10th standard.
4. *College*: It includes the intermediate or graduates respondents.
5. *Technical*: Those respondents who are having technical education and training like ITI, (electrical, mechanical, turner, fitter) and computer.

Table 4.14
Educational Category Wise Distribution of Respondents

Sr. No.	Educational Level	Chittakula RC		Todur RC		Belekeri RC		Total	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1	Illiterate	27	31	25	29	12	36	64	31
2	Primary	28	33	40	45	12	36	80	39
3	Secondary	18	21	16	18	5	16	39	19
4	College	7	8	1	1	1	3	9	4
5	Technical	6	7	6	7	3	9	15	7
Total		86	100	88	100	33	100	207	100

The data in Table 4.14 depicts the literacy picture of the respondents. It shows that only 31 percent respondents belong to illiterate category, whereas 69 percent respondents belong to literate category. Among literate categories, 39 percent are educated up to primary level, 19 percent up to high school level, 4 percent up to the college level and remaining 7 percent have undergone technical education and training. The technically trained respondents are slightly more than college educated mainly because of two reasons: First, those who learn both college and technical education may respond to technical education only; second, free technical education is provided to displaced young who studied up to 10th standard by R and R authorities.

Caste

Caste is one social unit which plays significant role in the village structure. In rural society, the ways and pattern of personal and social life are based upon caste. The person of one caste does not marry those of another caste. Such kind of caste groups are divided into various sub-castes. In this regard, Hutton (1963: 48) opines: "... caste divisions and sub-divisions are introduced on different principles. In this way, two hundred million Hindus are so much divided and sub divided that there are castes, which cannot marry outside fifteen families".

Thus, the caste in rural community not only assigns status and tradition but also regulates the behaviour of the person. This is possible because each caste group has its own unwritten rules in the form of caste custom, traditions, beliefs and values. These caste norms directly or indirectly control the behaviour and activities of person.

—During the fieldwork, ten different caste groups are observed in three sample rehabilitation colonies. The data indicated in Table 4.15 explains the caste background of the respondents:

Table 4.15
Respondents Caste Background

Sr. No.	Caste	Chittakula RC		Todur RC		Belekeri RC		Total	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1	Bhandari			11	12			11	5
2	Komar-Pant			29	33			29	14
3	Halakki-Vakkaliga			28	32	30	91	58	28
4	Gunagi			5	6			5	2
5	Brahmin			1	1			1	1
6	Achari			4	5	3	9	7	3
7	Harikantra	40	47	0	0			40	19
8	Ager			8	9			8	4
9	Catholic			2	2			2	1
10	Kharvi	46	53	0	0			46	23
Total		86	100	88	100	33	100	207	100

The data in the table reveals that there are only 1 percents respondents belonging to non-Hindu caste group i.e. Catholic (Christian) and rest of the respondents (99 percent) are belonging to Hindu caste groups. Among the Hindu respondents, highest number (58) belong to socio-economically backward caste group of Halakki-Vakkaligas, then 23 percent, and 19 percent belong to fishing caste groups i.e. Kharvi and Harikranta respectively. The remaining respondents are Komar-Pant 14 percent, Bhandari 5 percent, and Gunagi 2 percent who are cultivators and labourers. The respondents belonging to schedule caste i.e. Ager are 4 percent and 3 percent respondents belong to Achari caste whose traditional occupation is carpentry and black smithy. Only 1 percent respondent belongs to priestly caste of Brahmin.

Positive Aspects of SBP Displacement: A Critical Analysis

Until the decade of the 70's geo-strategic situation placed greater emphasis on the continental strategy. However, the changes in geo-political environment thereafter, necessitated the shift in the emphasis. Accordingly, Indian Navy also started evolving a viable and credible maritime strategy to meet demands of both present and the future (Sampathgopal 2000: 1). As a result, the third naval base code name 'Project Sea-Bird', Karwar is planned and implemented on the west coast of India. This project will meet all the naval requirements, which were hitherto not available in both Mumbai and Kochi naval bases.

The 'Sea-Bird' is the most prestigious national defence project of India, when completed it will be the largest naval base in Asia. The SBP has underlying assumption that it would bring human as well as financial capital to this region. This, in turn, would help to change and develop the socio-cultural and economic life and living conditions of the local population (communities) in general and displaced in particular. This will help the people of Utter Kannada district as well.

The Utter Kannada district is comparatively less urbanised district of the Karnataka state. The district has a rich human and natural resources. However, it is industrially backward with very poor trade and business linkages. As a result, there is the absence of urban centers, small and large-scale industries, trade and commerce, well-developed transportation and communication, professional educational institutions, modern medical centers, technical experts, scope for entrepreneurships etc. Hence, the establishment of sea bird project in such a backward district will help structural change and development in the region. In the coming decades, the people of this region will enjoy the fruits of development. The foremost benefit of this project is that it will provide some direct as well as indirect employment opportunities to the local communities.

The direct employment opportunities of the project can broadly be divided into two sub categories. Such as:

1. Skilled (engineers, doctors, software and hardware technicians, strategic experts, naval commanders, solders, mechanics, administrators etc.).
2. Unskilled (Physical labourers/ Manual wage labourers.)

The indirect employment opportunities in various fields that SBP can create in this region are:

1. Transport and communication
2. Small scale industries
3. Boarding and Restaurants
4. Educational Institutions
5. Health care and medical centers
6. Large scale trade and business
7. Consumer goods
8. Fruits, milk and vegetable markets
9. Mechanical and electrical goods and services etc.

The people of this region particularly the SBP displaced are eagerly looking for such job opportunities. These will fulfill their hopes of getting alternative sources of livelihood. These jobs are more significant for them because, after displacement every occupational group lost its source of earning. The agrarian community rejected the land-for-land resettlement offer provided under the SBP rehabilitation package. They rejected this livelihood offer mainly due to certain problems related to the offered land such as the low fertility of land, lack of irrigation and long geographical distance. As a result, they adopted the cash compensation for land and rehabilitation grants. However, none of them invested this money in agricultural land due to

insufficient amount to purchase alternative land. As a result, all the landowners (Haves) turned into landless labour (Have-nots) category. This disturbed the livelihood network of families dependent upon the agriculture. Sinha and Rao (1998: 147) have also noticed the same, in their study. They write: “agricultural employment has disappeared in the post-displacement phase. Once the people are taken out of the agricultural production system, their employability in the sector also declines. They may then have a status as a migrant labour, where they have to compete with others in output and in the wages. Only the persons in certain age group can sustain themselves as migrant labourers”. The condition of fishermen is also not much different from this. Though they resettled in the fishermen RC’s close to seacoast, more than 65 percent families have discontinued their fishing occupation, due to lack of availability of fish, sharp flow of water, unsuitable area for traditional fishing, more distance between dwelling place and sea, etc. This indicates that during the transitory phase of involuntary resettlement families face the employment and livelihood problems. Particularly, on one side, they lose their productive system and on the other side the alternative productive system is not yet developed. Only those who are in public and private services, the skilled workers like masons, carpenters, drivers, blacksmiths etc are able to maintain their livelihood condition some how.

Thus, the wide-open options remain before the displaced groups. Some of them are: 1) migration in search of livelihood, 2) to get employment (in the project or outside the project), 3) earning through self-employment. The field observation and experience reveals that the displaced people of this coastal area may not migrate to other places in search of livelihood. Because prior to displacement, more than private property, the common property resources played significant role in earning their livelihood. Everywhere there is the shortage of CPR. Hence, they may not take the

risk of migration. It is difficult for them to adapt and adjust with altogether new kinds of jobs or occupations. The other reasons are: they are less mobile, more rigid about the food habits (Fish Curry), lack of skills. Moreover, they know that there is dearth of employment opportunities everywhere. Further, they are aware that the construction of SBP creates varied types of job opportunities.

The field data reveals that the people from different parts of India and the world have migrated to this area in search of employment and livelihood. During the first stage of the construction of SBP, a group of engineers and technical experts were involved in the project. They belonged to Engineers India Ltd, M/S REDECO of Australia, M/S NEDCO of Nether land, Larsen and Turbo etc. A number of people from different parts India have also come to work in the SBP. They are contractors, sub contractors, supervisors, technicians, clerks, lorry owners and drivers, unskilled labourers etc. On the other hand, the resettlers are repeatedly raising the issue of livelihood problems in the RC's established close to the SBP construction area. They do not realize that the knowledge, skills, and job experience they have is not suitable for the available jobs in the project. They even do not understand that the main and sub contractors of the project have their own group of permanent and temporary employees. They only know that they have sacrificed their original sources of livelihood for national development. Hence, they believe that the fruits of development should reach to those who have made sacrifice.

The project contractors are worried about the completion of their work within a given time, while maintaining the standard and quality. Hence, they prefer to use their permanent human skill and resources. On the other side, the displaced people were unaware about the nature and types of job opportunities that SBP would create. They were also not much alert about the skills and the training required to avail those

opportunities. It is the moral duty of the planners to make the project affected people aware about the future job opportunities and to provide appropriate training to them. This helps them to avail the new jobs and the sources of livelihood soon after the displacement.

The project is expected to provide more than ten thousand direct (skilled and unskilled) jobs of different types after its completion. The local people, more particularly, the displaced youth will be the beneficiaries. Such regular jobs in the project will help them to re-establish their life and livelihood. The success of human resettlement and rehabilitation is probably more dependent upon the quick adaptation of the alternative sources of livelihood. Hence, the R and R of SBP affected families will be determined by the number of job opportunities made available to the displaced people. Hasan (2006: 99) has emphasised the significance of any kind of job to the displaced people particularly during the initial stage of resettlement. "The benefit generally valued most by resettlers is wage employment, which yields a steady income flow and a sense of control over their lives. Even temporary wage earning during the project construction ensures much needed income during transition period".

The funding agencies like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, etc issued their own policy statements on the involuntary resettlement. They insist the local governments and project planners to provide job resettlement and alternative livelihood systems for the uprooted people. As a result, today the government and project planners are giving some serious thought to the job resettlement of displaced people. The R and R policies of Maharashtra Electricity Board, Indian Railway (Konkan Railway Project), Kudaremkh Iron Ore Project in Karnataka, NTPC in Sangruali region, etc. added job provisions in their respective plans.

Hasan (2006: 100) has summarised the project wise position of employment provided to displace as follows: "In Rihand and Vidhyachal projects 890 project-affected families (PAF's) are working with contractors. Similarly, out of identified 10,099 eligible persons under the coal sector environment and social mitigation project, 2736 PAF's had been absorbed in regular mine jobs and about 316 were working with contractors (up to May 1999)". Almost all the eligible persons displaced by the National Aluminum Company were given regular jobs in the company (Mahapatra 1999). Warren has also noticed this trend in his study. He states: "the R and R policy of Orisa Water Resources Sector reserved five percent of all government jobs in class III and IV categories for the displaced people. Similar provisions are available to the displaced families of the Upper Krishna Project in Karnataka. Most of these permanent jobs are highly prized and are often passed as inheritances within families" (quoted in Hasan 2006: 100).

Likewise, at the time of evacuation, the R and R authorities of SBP also promised to absorb the displaced youth in the project gradually. However, it is difficult for Indian Navy to recruit one youth from each SBP displaced family. The other infrastructure development projects like industries; railways, transport and communication can absorb one youth. The SBP being a defence project, the criteria of selection are different from other project. The age, gender, physical fitness, education, skills, confidentiality, etc. are more important. Hence, youth, with all such qualities, may not be available in each and every displaced family. Probably, because of such reasons displaced people of Bombay Naval base got fewer jobs in the project. In Jawaharlal Nehru Port, 91 percent families lost all their land to the project but less than 33 percent of them got employment (Parsuraman 1996). Field study has brought out that during the transitory stage of resettlement, some displaced youth got

permanent and temporary jobs in the project. To some extent, this helped them to re-establish livelihood soon after relocation in the colony. The table 4.16 gives clear picture about this.

Table 4.16
RC Wise Distribution of Job Resettlement Families

RC	No Job	Got Job	Total	Security of Job		Nature of Job	
				Permanent	Temporary	Skilled	Unskilled
Chittakula	70	16	86	2	14	9	7
	81%	19%	100%				
Todur	69	19	88	1	18	4	15
	78%	22%	100%				
Belekeri	33	0	33	0	0	0	0
	100%	0%	100%				
Total	172	35	207	3	32	13	22
	83%	17%	100%				

This shows that only 17 percent resettled families managed to get jobs during first phase of SBP construction. It is interesting to note that no family of Belekeri RC was able to avail any kind of job in the project. The reasons for this are many. This RC is established in Ankola taluka, a little away from the main construction area. Also, the resettlers of this RC are socially, economically and educationally backward. They are also politically powerless, and have weak managerial skills. The most important factor is that by generations, they have developed the habit of suffering and survival of adjustment with problems. Some of them have adopted the sharecropping, wage labour and CPR based livelihood after displacement. Like other projects, in general, in this project also among the displaced the 'haves', elites, educated, comparatively powerful and those who have managerial skills have grabbed all the

job opportunities created by the project. However, most of the jobs are temporary and unskilled in nature.

The local youth settled in urban areas (Karwar, Ankola, Kumta, Honnwar, Sirsi etc.) have availed more number of jobs in the project. This is mainly because they are comparatively more qualified, and have acquired the technical and managerial skills pertaining to jobs available in the SBP. The problems of the displaced youth is that they come from the background of rural coast, not well qualified and never got any kind of exposure to the modern/technical professions. As a result, they develop some kind of negative attitude towards the entire process of SBP development. During the focused group discussion, they expressed their helpless condition and negative approach. They said that: “those, who give the bribe only, get jobs in the project. After displacement we are dying everyday without livelihood. Instead of that, they should put bomb on us so that we can sacrifice our life also to the project along with the livelihood”. Some youth also expressed some positive points of the project. According to them, this project helps the nation and national security; some regional youth may get certain opportunities to show their talent. The project will bring lot many developmental activities. Ashok Naik resettled in the Todur RC after division in his joint family. His mother and two brothers, one among them is polio victim, are staying outside the RC. He raises basic question of development: “What we gain from the project? Our families have been divided, neighbourhood relationships are disintegrated, occupational groups are scattered due to non-availability of productive system in the RC. Of course the nation got security, the state and the region got prosperity but our long learned skills and hands have no work other than to beg”. This is mainly because after resettlement in the RC’s, the traditional livelihood skills handed down from one generation to another have lost their

relevance. Hence, they are suffering to sustain their families. This is only a 'Technical Unemployment' problem. Once the necessary technical skills are acquired, then slowly the Navy will recruit the eligible displaced youth through direct recruitment.

The project planners are giving requisite training to the displaced youth according to their individual interest and educational qualification. Particularly the youth who have passed the tenth and above examinations are selected for the ITI and computer training. One member of displaced family is eligible for such kind of training. The cost of training is entirely borne by the project. Every such candidate also gets a stipend of rupees one thousand per month for two years. The local ITI has given a grant of Rs. 36 lakhs for up-gradation and augmentation of their training facilities. This aims at creating a better-equipped ITI in the region with additional trades included in the curricula. This would result in enhancement of the skill levels of the local people, which would, in turn, create better job opportunities and also would create trained manpower to meet the future requirements of the Navy (Shashidhar 2000: 17). The project has also provided free self-employment training to men and women belonging to displaced community. This includes training in bar binding, plumbing, photocopying, photography, beauty parlour, service and repairs of TV, computer, refrigerator, washing machine, AC, making of candles, papad, pickle etc. The field data regarding this is given in the table 4.17.

Table 4.17

RC-wise ITI/Computer and Self-employment Training Obtained by the Youth

RC	No Training	Got Training	Total	No Training	Nature of Training		Total
					ITI/Computer	Self Employment	
Chittakula	57	29	86	57	23	6	86
	66%	34%	100%	65%	27%	8%	100%
Todur	57	31	88	57	26	5	88
	65%	35%	100%	65%	30%	5%	100%
Belekeri	28	5	33	28	5	0	33
	85%	15%	100%	85%	15%	0%	100%
Total	142	65	207	142	54	11	207
	68%	32%	100%	68%	26%	6%	100%

Though the government was ready to provide free training to all displaced families, only thirty-two percent families have been trained. There are several reasons for it. In some families, the children are below the age and educational qualifications required for the training. Some other families are having members above the age limit. Some of them are dropped out of self-employment training after getting work on wage basis either in the project or outside the project. However, some of them, who have undergone such trainings, are given suitable jobs either on permanent or on temporary in project. They are absorbed particularly in the jobs like bar binding, motor winding, welding, computer operator, attainer, storekeeper etc. Some of the trained youth have taken self-employment like small-scale industries such as making of kokum drinks and other soft drinks, making of candles, papad, pickles etc. However, due to lack of experience of marketing the product and proper business linkages, they are unable to continue the self-employment activity gainfully. This shows that simply giving the training and pushing them into wide open, highly competitive and liberalised private market, is not the real justice to the displaced. The

continuous follow-up measures are required. The R and R authorities should provide continuous support and guidance until the successful pursue their business. At initial stage, it is a moral responsibility of the government to provide financial and technical support to start self-employment. Hasan (2006: 99) has rightly pointed out the important aspects of success of self-employment scheme. He opines: “the package should include skill training, investment support (both infrastructure and working capital), and establishing required market linkages for raw materials and sales of produce”. However, R and R authorities feel that such aspects, on one hand, consume more time and, on the other hand, require to generate the social, human and financial capital. The authorities working under the formal bureaucratic system are bound up with their respective duties and government rules. Moreover, they are in the transferable job. Hence, long before actual displacement, government must seek the advice of experts and introduce well-planned R and R package.

The study strongly recommends two things. One, every key government officer, who is directly or indirectly involved in R and R process, should not be transferred for minimum eight to ten years of period. Second, instead of giving the self-employment training to individual member they should organise individuals and gives specific training to such organised group for it has more chances of success. When particularly the project like sea bird is at the first phase it will create lot many entrepreneurship opportunities in the near future. At that time, these well-trained organised displaced youths will dominate over the local self-employment market.

Future Fortunes for Entrepreneurship

The transportation and communication are expected to receive boost with the commencement of the naval base. There will be the increase in the frequency of trains, road traffic and shipping is expected to grow. This kind of growth will provide

number of job opportunities, particularly, in services sector like autorikshaws, taxi, heavy vehicles, automobile shops, workshops, petrol and diesel pumps etc. Recently, a Bangalore based businessperson has started 'Sea Bird' travel agency. These buses are run between Karwar and Bangalore and Karwar and Mumbai. The area of business in the radio, TV, phone, mobile and internet services will also expand rapidly.

The demand for the modern restaurants and lodgings will increase. The people from different parts of India and world will be attracted towards SBP area. Naturally, there will be a demand for variety of quality food dishes and lodgings. This industry will provide a number of jobs to local youth from supplier to manager.

At present, there is no medical and engineering college in the district. Such professional colleges are likely to be started in near future. Indian Navy is also going to start some educational institutions likes Kendriya Vidhyalaya, Dockyard apprentices' school and other vocational training institutes (Shashidhar 2000: 18). As a result, the teaching, non-teaching and certain professional jobs will be increased. Moreover, the local people will get excellent opportunities to have professional education.

The Indian Navy has already prepared a plan for the establishment of Naval Hospital at project area. This hospital will have modern medical equipments highly with qualified doctors. After its establishment, the requirement of medical practitioners, medicine and drugs suppliers will increase. Outside the project also, some health care clubs and hospitals are likely to be establishment.

There is also scope for improvement in the trade and business, which, in turn, will open number of jobs, particularly in the banking, financial institutions, insurance companies, chit funds, share market etc.

A mass migration of people to SBP area will increase demand for consumer goods. To fulfill such demands, the variety of cloth shops, janata bazaars, electronic show rooms, shoe shops, laundry, LPG suppliers etc will start on large scale. As a result, local youth will get job opportunities.

When the SBP becomes fully functioned with its full strength (Ten Thousand Naval Staff), it will require not less than 10-12 thousand Kg food grains, 4-5 thousand Kg vegetables, 20 thousand eggs, 5-7 thousand liter milk per day. Outside SBP, also there will be an increase in demand for such goods. There will be a substantial increase in the non-vegetarian market particularly, fish, chicken, and mutton.

The locals will also get wide employment opportunities in the mechanical and electrical goods and services field such as TV, radio, computer, watch, mixer, grinder, aquaguard, washing machine, tape recorder and water pump set repairs.

This indicates that plenty of self-employment opportunities will be created by SBP in future. The displaced youth will enjoy the real developmental 'gain' for their present 'pain'. What is required is the development of proper plan, organisation and action. Their major worry is the requisite skill, knowledge and finance. Only time will tell how many displaced youth will avail these opportunities.

CHAPTER V

REHABILITATION: POLICY, PACKAGE AND PRACTICE

Introduction

Forced displacement takes away the basic livelihood of the people. Therefore, it becomes the legal and moral responsibility of welfare state to provide alternative means of livelihood (Cernea and Guggenheim 1993). The naval base called Sea Bird Project, Karwar, also affected, and displaced thirteen villages of coastal belt. This infrastructure induced displacement and separated families from their hearth. It raises several crucial sociological questions: Where do the displaced live? What kind of life do they lead? How do they earn their livelihood? What happens to the vulnerable sections like women, children, and widows? What happens to their village community, solidarity and identity? Do they have pride towards sacrifice for the nation and the national good? What kind of treatment do they get from the government authorities?, so on and so forth. One can seek answers to such kind of questions in the analysis of sea bird rehabilitation policy, package and its practice.

Therefore, in this chapter an attempt has been made to assess the acquisition act and its deficiencies, the present status of national rehabilitation policy and the Karnataka state government's rehabilitation act. A detailed analysis is also made of the sea bird rehabilitation policy, its practice and the tangible impact on involuntary resettlers.

Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (Amended in 1984): Its Deficiencies

The development programmes like industrial and power mega-projects, large scale construction of multi-purpose irrigation dams, mining operations, reservation of forests and creation of sanctuaries and national parks, construction of canals,

highways, defence projects etc. demand thousands of acres of land. Such land is acquired through land acquisition legislations or purchased directly from the landowners. Whatever might be the case, the process brings in its wake hardships to the persons whose lands contribute to the process of growth (MRD 1995: 57).

The original Land Acquisition Act was enacted in 1894 by the British government. Ninety years later, it was amended by the Indian Parliament and passed a new act. The two middle numbers were transposed, as the year was 1984. A few changes, generally for the worse, have been made. The whole exercise is not fit to be called enactment of a new law (Fernandes 1997: 40).

Therefore, to understand such a controversial act and its deficiencies is necessary in the study of development-induced displacement and involuntary resettlement. Because, it gives a clear picture of legal basis of state and its idea of 'public purpose'. Some important attributes of the Land Acquisition Act are:

1. *Public Purpose*: The land acquisition act has the power to acquire any land (private, forest or government) for the 'public purpose'. The acquisition under this provision may include agricultural land and homestead or both. Thus, under this provision the government directly acquires the private land for the scheme of development sponsored by the government and by a local authority or private company with the prior approval of the appropriate government.

2. *Declaration of Intended Acquisition*: When the appropriate government is satisfied after considering the report, if any made, under section five (a) sub section (2) that any particular land is needed for a public purpose, or for a company, a declaration shall be made to that effect under the signature of a secretary to such government or some duly authorized to certify its orders by the same notification under section 4-sub section (1).

3. *Publication of Declaration:* Such kinds of land acquisition declaration shall be published in the official gazette and in two daily newspapers circulated locally in which the land is situated. Of these two newspapers, at least one shall be in the regional language. The collector shall show the public cause notice of the substance of such declaration to be given at convenient places in the said locality. After declaration, the collector issues the order for acquisition. Then he serves notice to persons concerned.

4. *Award of Compensation:* The award of compensation is made under section 11 in the name of legal titleholder of the land. The amount of compensation is generally calculated based on the market price of the land, wells, trees and houses lost due to the acquisition of land.

5. *Power to Take Possession:* After the declaration of award, the collector may take possession of the land. Such land, thereafter, rests absolutely in the government free from all encumbrances. However, in case of urgency, the government can take away the private land from its owner with much shorter notice (within fifteen days) without the declaration of award.

6. *Land Owners Right:* The legal titleholder, whose land is acquired under the land acquisition act for the public purpose, has certain rights to raise objections. He has right to file his case pertaining to low valuation or inadequate compensation or disputes about the legal titles of land etc.

7. *Payment of Compensation:* Under section 11 of the land acquisition act, the collector shall tender payment of compensation awarded by him to the person who lost this property. If he found any kind of legal dispute or the awardees denied accepting the same, the collector shall deposit the amount of the compensation in the court in such cases.

The above are some of the important attributes of the existing land acquisition act in our country. It has several deficiencies and legal controversies. The act is against the protective laws. Particularly, against the provisions of the article 17, 19, and 21, of Indian constitution. The Indian social scientists have listed the deficiencies and weaknesses of new land acquisition act, 1984. This new act has made land acquisition easier. Until 1984, land could be acquired only by the state for public purpose. It means that the public sector which obtained it through the government and private sector, had to buy it in the open market. Now the public sector can acquire land directly and the private sector can do so through government. Land can even be acquired for colonies (Fernandes 1997: 40). As a result, much more land than required is taken over and often misappropriated by the officials or their relatives (Vaswani 1992: 156 quoted in Fernandes 1997: 40).

This shows that there is no clear-cut definition of 'public purpose', for which the land is acquired from the private owner. According to the act, there is no distinction between the government sponsored development projects such as construction of dams, airports, railways, defence projects etc. and the projects sponsored by the private or multinational companies like Tata, Birla, Kirloskar, ICICI, Pepsi etc. The companies, which acquired more land than the requirement, may use for the construction of staff quarters, schools, swimming ponds, entertainment clubs etc. After acquisition, such personal purposes are also automatically considered as the 'public purpose' Thus, the role of 'welfare-state' in protecting its citizens has become a controversial issue.

The observations made by other social scientists also support this. The state has the absolute power to displace whole communities on the claim of a 'public purpose', which has not been defined until now. The acquisition has deliberately

ignored the protective laws. The spirit of the democratic norm, which is the basis of the Indian constitution, is against the practice of displacing people without their consent. This goes against article 21 of the Indian constitution, which has been defined by the Supreme Court of India as right to life and dignity. Article 19 confers on all citizens the right to reside in any region of India. But 'eminent domain' takes this right away from them, since they can be displaced without their consent in the name of 'public purpose' that is yet to be defined satisfactorily (Dhagammar 1998: 30, Kothari 1995: 10, Ramanathan 1995: 46, Cernea 1999: 23, Fernandes 1998: 261).

This shows that the very basic idea of Indian welfare state seems to be just as an 'Ideal Type'. According to the Max Weber 'Ideal Type' is nothing but only a 'mental construct' not a 'perfect reality'. Thus, the controversial question arises about the Indian welfare state and its genuine intent. Because, its legal system, particularly, the land acquisition act, is based on the principle of 'eminent domain' under which the citizens of welfare state has no freedom or right to protect their own land, property and livelihood systems.

Another significant aspect of the land acquisition act is its provision of publication, of declaration of the proposed land to be acquired for the 'public purpose'. The system of declaration through the state gazette and the two locally circulated news papers makes no much sense, particularly, when the land is acquired from the remote, and the isolated villages, where majority of inhabitants belong to educationally backward and the ignorant farming and fishing communities. Hence, there is no question of regular reading of newspaper or state gazette. Thus, until they receive the land acquisition notice personally and come to know its contents from educated person, they will be in dark about state's 'public purpose'. The empirical studies of involuntary resettlement have indicated that in many cases without knowing

about the legal aspects of their own property rights, market valuation, the cost of property and compensation etc people have moved from their original habitats. During field investigation, this study also found out such kinds of problems, which are explained in the next chapter entitled, 'Resettlement: Socio-Cultural Transformation'.

The uprooted villagers or tribals are usually ignorant about the legal procedures. To understand every simple official letter, (Government letter /document) they usually depend upon their caste or village leaders, who also mostly rely upon the advocates or revenue officials at taluka place. It means that though they received notice from the government about the land acquisition, the knowledge reaches them through the third or fourth hand. In the process, lot of deletion or addition in the information is possible. Hence the villagers did not understand all the things mentioned in the land acquisition notice or compensation award. This kind of educationally backward displaced groups will not think of fighting for their legal rights through court, though the act had the provision to raise objection. Generally, they accept whatever award given to them by the government and move from secured past to insecure and indefinite future.

The payments of compensation for property so acquired poses a formidable problem for both the authority acquiring the property and problem for receiving party. The literature review on involuntary resettlement reveals some common complaints pertaining to the compensation. They are: 1) under valuation of the land and other assets; (2) delay in distribution of compensation; (3) no clear definition of market value of land and other assets; (4) corruption and payment of inappropriate compensation etc.

Nath (2002: 122-126) has also highlighted more or less the same aspects. It is difficult to ascertain the market value in case the land is situated in interior areas, where the sale deed or the purchase deed is not available. The price or valuation of land is mainly based upon the quality of the land held by the displaced people. But the quality based price of land may not provide fair compensation to the oustees due to two reasons: first, the usual practice of showing lower price of the land by the buyers of the land in the registered sale deed with a view to avoid stamp duty. Second, the tendency of the people to record their fertile land as low grade land to pay less land revenue to the state. Thus, the idea of land as a market value may not exist in the minds of poor and illiterate villagers.

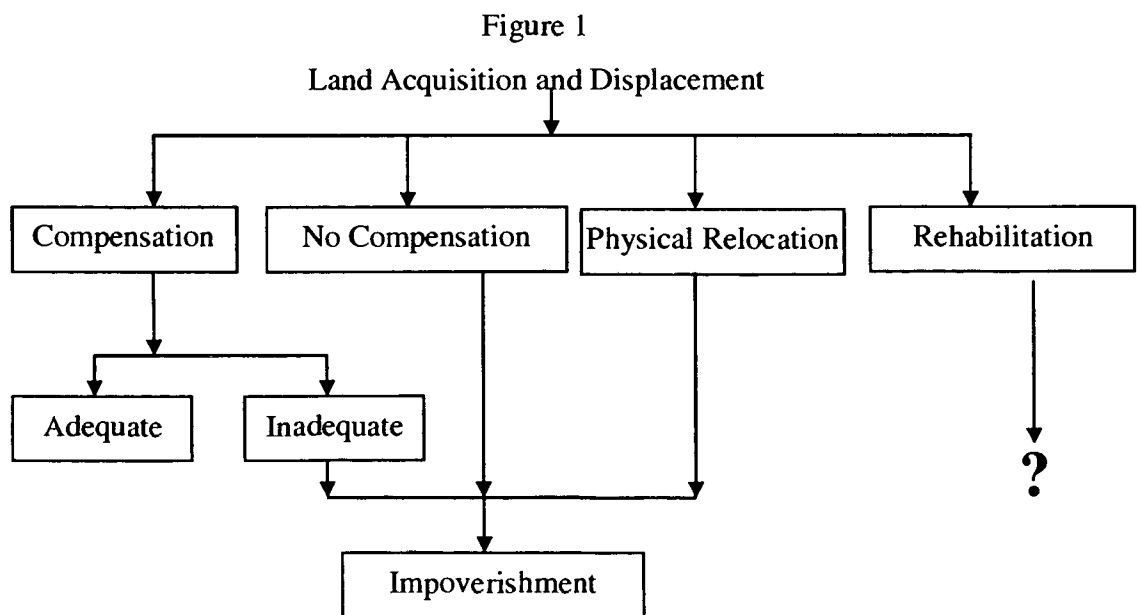
This kind of ignorance and illiterate nature of rural masses affects them in several ways during the compulsory relocation. Generally, more than legal rules, the villagers follow customary and social rules. Such kind of rules govern their life and property. Normally, the family property is joint in nature, which is in the name of the 'karta' of particular family or in some cases; it may be in the name of the elderly male member of the family. Sometimes, joint family is informally divided and the separated families live under the same or the separate roof and cook food on separate hearths. In such cases, family's common property is not legally divided. Such families face legal and other problems pertaining to compensation. In case of land acquisition and displacement, the separated families have share in family's common property but their names are not recorded in the land title so that they are excluded from compensation awards. Thus, though they have customary rights over property, the physically displaced are not eligible for any award.

Rao (1995) has brought out some other kinds of impact of land acquisition. The tiller of the soil would be the real sufferer in receiving the compensation money.

The act does not provide any compensation to a property less tenant, share cropper or agricultural labourers. Only the legal titleholder is eligible for compensation and not others.

The basic feature of the land acquisition act is the direct relationship between the state and the individual who holds the legal title on land. The Act does not go beyond its legal frame. The sharecroppers, tenants and agricultural labourers, artisans and service caste groups etc. have no provision of compensation in the act.

The act highly focuses on the legal titles and on the monetary compensation only. The Act does not speak anything about the resettlement and rehabilitation of the uprooted people. As a result, the people, who sacrificed their land and assets for the 'public purpose', are usually impoverished after displacement. In the figure I Ramanathan (1996: 1491) has attempted to show how the process of land acquisition and displacement leads to impoverishment of the people.



- Reduce Subsistence Level.
- Migration: Wage Labour, Skilled, and Unskilled.
- Social Risks: Landlessness, Homelessness, Joblessness, Morbidity, and
- Food Insecurity, Loss of CPR, Social Disarticulation.

The families based upon CPR, the encroachers on a forest or government lands are not given compensation as the act has no such provision. "Under the principle of 'eminent domain' the CPR's continue to be acquired without compensation on the pretext of there being state property" (Fernandes 1998: 261). The present study of SBP displacement has also found out such cases. Some families of SBP affected area belong to the status of encroachers, hungami lagandars, and Karnataka Sarkar cases. According to the land acquisition act, they are not eligible for compensation for land lost. However, on humanitarian ground, SBP rehabilitation package treated them project-affected families and awarded them the normal resettlement and rehabilitation grants. This is the positive factor of SBP rehabilitation package as this saved some families from impoverishment.

Absence of a National Rehabilitation Policy

The Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (LAA amended 1984) does not speak a single word about the resettlement and rehabilitation of the uprooted communities. This was quite natural with LAA due to two reasons; one, the original act was passed by British government. At that time, the national development projects and the process of land acquisition was not the main concern of the rulers. Second, though there was displacement of indigenous communities, the nation was governed by the foreign government which had little concern for the welfare of people.

However, after independence it was the legal and moral responsibility of our welfare state to amend the act and to make some rehabilitation provisions in it. Otherwise, it is the government's duty to pass an independent rehabilitation act or formulate a national policy on it. However, our state has failed to bring such kind of act or policy till date. Since independence, right from the Jawahar Lal Nehru's period to present times, our national development programmes have displaced millions of

people under the so-called 'public purpose'. However, our planners have not given serious thought to the life and livelihood systems, identity, and dignity, social and human capital of those displaced for larger good. As a result, India does not have a comprehensive national rehabilitation policy. Hence, it is not possible to provide the genuine rehabilitation. This indicates that the national planners lack the commitment to the rehabilitation of our own citizens who sacrifice their hearths for the sake of national good.

Cernea (1999: 20) goes one-step ahead and brings out the relationship between federal system of government and absence of national rehabilitation policy and legal framework in India. He enquired why does not India – a big country not have a national policy? The answer was that the resettlement being a state level matter, the policy formulation is considered to be the responsibility of the state government and not that of the central government. The information available at the state level reveals that in most of the states the resettlement and rehabilitation policies and acts are not found.

Only three states have their own rehabilitation law. The Maharashtra was the first state in the country to pass a law in 1976. In the year 1985, Madhya Pradesh Government passed a rehabilitation law, which applies only to irrigation projects. The rehabilitation act was passed by the Karnataka state in 1987 but received the president's assent seven years later in 1994 (Fernandes and Paranjype 1997: 13-16). Some other states like Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, and Orissa have their state rehabilitation orders.

This should be a major concern of the social scientists, social activists, NGO's, funding agencies, and planners. Instead of a lot of researches being done about each development induced displacement and involuntary resettlement, the

country is unable to form a national rehabilitation policy. On the contrary, the small countries like Ghana, Indonesia, Burma, Bangla Desh etc. have their won national rehabilitation policies. Here, Cernea's question as to why India being such a big country does not have a national rehabilitation policy might be of some relevance to answer this issue. We think this 'Big' is a problem to gain a more appropriate, wider, and comprehensive knowledge and understanding of displacement and rehabilitation, and to have a comprehensive national rehabilitation policy. This is not only because India is 'geographically big' country but it is big in its heterogeneous socio-cultural, politico-economic and psycho-anthropological nature settings also.

The opinion of Deegan (1997: 47) also supports this idea. "The Indian subcontinent in both its real and imagined worlds is cultural diverse. Languages, religions, settlement, patterns, food and dress habits, dance and musical expressions, house type, temple design and interpretation of ancient texts all offer variation and contradiction". Thus, probably more than anything, this Indian diversity comes in the way of forming a comprehensive national rehabilitation policy.

As a result, the peoples' right remains undefined and unprotected, while unsatisfactory practice thrives (Cernea 1999: 21). The absence of national rehabilitation policy causes several problems. It is a problem not only to those displaced for national good but it is a problem from the point of view of nation and national planners also. The problems arising out of the absence of national rehabilitation policy are:

1. Variation in compensation package
2. Variation in resettlement and rehabilitation provisions.
3. Delay in the development project.
4. Crisis to state's welfare goal.

5. Raising fund for development is problematic.
6. Issue of rehabilitation override the national development
7. Loss of human and social capital.
8. Social problems.

1. Due to the absence of the national rehabilitation policy, each state government and its bureaucrats put an independent effort towards the solution of the displacement problem. This is a waste of human as well as financial capital. In the process of handling the independent project, the valuation made for assets lost by the displaced community may differ from one project to another project within the state. There is no comprehensive and standard compensation package throughout the country and within a state. As a result, by comparing their compensation packages with other displaced groups' compensation package, the localized displaced groups raise the question of justice, equality and rights.

2. Not only the compensation package but also the resettlement and rehabilitation provisions vary from one state to another state or between different projects within a state. For example; the industrial projects like NALCO and Kudaremkh Iron Ore, provided one job to each displaced family and Sea Bird Project offered 70,000 rupees rehabilitation grant to two adult issues of each displaced family. The case of SSP is very interesting. This dam on Narmada River is concerned with three states; Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The Gujarat government offered minimum two acres of irrigated land to each displaced family, irrespective of families landless or land holding statue. On the contrary, the Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh governments continued to limit the provision of two acres of land to 'landed; oustees. This means that encroachers and landless labourers are not entitled for benefits in their own states of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh (Morse and Berger 1997: 373).

This shows that there is disparity in the provisions of the rehabilitation policy of different states belonging to same development project due to absence of the National Rehabilitation Policy (NRP).

3. The experiences indicate that the people who are going to be dislocated due to the development projects, are worried about their future (resettlement and rehabilitation). Since there is no clear rehabilitation policy, the authorities concerned with particular project are also not sure about the exact plan of R and R. Thus, they keep displaced communities in dark and make false promises to them to get their things done smoothly and quickly. This, in turn, causes agitation or resistance against the project or against the R and R package. As a result, there is delay in the completion of the project, which increases the economic cost of the project. This has happened in several development projects. A vague R and R planning in the initial stage of the SSP gave room for the agitation and delay in dam construction. Their resistance through NBA got the international recognition.

4. After independence, India adopted a model of welfare state. It is the general responsibility of the welfare state to look after the social development of its citizens. It is the duty of welfare state to protect the interests of certain weaker sections such as, SCs, STs, physically and mentally weak, socio-economically backward, poor and powerless rural masses etc. However, in the process of the development through mega projects, the people belonging to weaker sections are uprooted and are subjected to 'socio-cultural and economic pains'. To solve such critical problems and to maintain the identity of the welfare state free from paradoxical situation, the state must need to have a comprehensive national rehabilitation policy.

5. The funding agencies, particularly, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), Asian Development Bank (ADB), etc. are ready to invest huge amount of

fund in the national development planning. These funding agencies insist on the submission of detailed plan of resettlement rehabilitation to fund the development projects that lead to displacement. But, due to absence of national rehabilitation policy, many Indian states are facing the problem of raising fund from international funding agencies as they cannot submit a precise and concrete plan. Thus, absence of policy comes in the way of development of India.

6. The human rights movements all over the world have succeeded in getting recognition of the rights of victims of development-induced displacement. Apart from the judiciary and the press, the mushrooming growths of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and people's organisation have contributed their might for popularizing the human rights of the displaced. Judicial intervention has forced the national governments and funding agencies to recognize the rights of the displaced (for e.g. SSP, UKP, Three Gorege Dam etc.) and to provide the better R and R programmes (Jamdar 1998: 44). The main idea of 'national development' takes a back seat as the issue of violation of human rights, resettlement, and rehabilitation assume more significance in the absence of national rehabilitation policy. As a result, uprooted people, NGOs, social activists, and social scientists bring the issue of resettlement and rehabilitation to the front line.

7. Earlier studies indicate that over a period of 50 years the development-induced displacement has become synonymous with further marginalisation of socially disadvantaged people (Savyassachi 1998: 54). In the absence of national rehabilitation policy, the concerned authorities fail to provide appropriate resettlement and rehabilitation to the displaced groups. The adhoc resettlement leads to disintegration of families, caste and kin groups, neighbourhood relations, and village communities. As a result, at new place of resettlement, the uprooted communities are

neither able to maintain their long earned social capital (caste, kin, neighbourhood, family friends etc), nor are they able to use culturally developed human capital (occupational skills, techniques, knowledge and power). Hence, after displacement, they feel 'no where people' or 'no body's people'.

8. In a hurry to finish the development project in time, the concerned authorities neglect the issue of resettlement and rehabilitation. Due to absence of clear R and R policy, this issue consumes their time as well as money. Hence they keep it aside. Thus, in the absence of well thought and research based plan, the uprooted communities are disposed in the barren lands called rehabilitation colonies. At new place of resettlement due to absence of community life, alternative occupations and sources of livelihood, some resettlers indulge in antisocial means for their survival, such as crime, robbery, prostitution, gambling etc. Thus, due to absence of national rehabilitation policy, there is lack of R and R planning and implementation in India resulting in the emergence of several social problems.

KARNATAKA RESETTLEMENT OF PROJECT DISPLACED PERSONS ACT, 1987

This act received the assent of the President on 8th August 1994, and it was published in the Karnataka Gazette (quoted in Fernandes and Paranjpye 1997: 409-440). The act was passed by the state government to provide for the resettlement of people displaced from lands that are acquired for projects of public utility. This act is divided into five chapters. To understand the positive as well as negative factors of this act, it is necessary to know the important provisions of the act.

The chapter one of this act, entitled 'preliminary' mainly contains the definitions. Some important definitions mentioned in this chapter are:

- (1) *Project*: Project means the construction, extension or improvement of any work for the supply of water for the purpose of irrigation or for the

production and supply of electricity or of any work conducive to electrical development and includes any other work of public utility, construction, extension, improvement or development which results in displacing persons from lands, which may be used for such work.

- (2) *Displaced Persons*: Means any tenure holder, tenant, government lessee, or owner of other property, who on account of acquisition of his land (plot in gramathana or other property) in the affected zone for the purpose of the project, has been displaced from such land or other property.
- (3) *Family*: Family in relation to a displaced persons means the family of the displaced person consisting of such person and his or her spouse, minor sons, unmarried daughters, minor brothers or sisters, father and mother and other members residing with him and dependent on him for livelihood.
- (4) *Agricultural Labourers*: Means the persons normally resident in the affected zone for a period of not less than two years immediately before the declaration of the affected zone. Such a person earns his livelihood principally by manual labour on agricultural land in project-affected zone.
- (5) *Resettlement Officer*: The resettlement officer in relation to a project means, an officer not below the rank of a Tahsildar, appointed by the state government. (quoted in Fernandes and Paranjpye 1997: 409-440)

The chapter two of this act mainly deals with the powers and duties of Directorate of resettlement, as well as resettlement officers. Hence, this chapter analyses the bureaucratic system of controlling authority in the area of project displacement and resettlement. It explains the powers and duties of chief controlling officer, the director, joint directors, deputy directors, project engineers, resettlement officers etc.

Third chapter is devoted to the analysis of the functional interdependence of different authorities. Particularly, the land survey, land acquisition and declaration of affected zone, census of displaced persons, assessment of land available for resettlement, declaration of benefited zones, the payment of compensation and evaluation of affected people are explained.

The chapter number four gives the detailed plans and procedure of resettlement.

- (1) The state government shall resettle as many displaced persons as possible on land in the benefited zone or other villages or areas outside the benefited zone subject to the availability of land as far as practicable in accordance with the provisions of the Act and the rules made.
- (2) The Act provides the provisions to displaced persons, who are desirous to resettle by themselves with the amount of compensation awarded by the law to them. But they have to make such type of prior declaration. However, the option once exercised is final, under no circumstance they are allowed to change the decision.
- (3) The plots of land to be granted to displaced persons, agricultural labourers and non-agricultural labourers in a new gramathan.
- (4) The resettlement officer to prepare draft scheme of resettlement. This pertains the names of displaced persons, extent of land proposed to be granted to each family at new place of resettlement, public utilities and amenities and self employment schemes.

The last chapter of this act entitled 'miscellaneous' has highlighted one important factor.

Penalty of false Declaration: If any person knowingly makes a false declaration or statement under the Act, he shall without prejudice of any legal proceeding under any law for the time being in force on conviction, be punished with fine, which may extend to one thousand rupees (Ibid.).

The resettlement act passed by the Karnataka state government has both positive and negative aspects. Thus, these two aspects are critically analysed under two headings.

Positive Aspects of the Act

(1) For several years before passing this act, the state acquired private land and other assets from the people in the name of 'public purpose'. For such activities the state was provided some provisions mentioned in the land acquisition act, 1894 passed during colonial rule. However, the earlier studies finds out that several thousands of families were displaced from their heaths and habitats without any compensation and resettlement provisions. Hence the positive aspect of this act is that it filled some of the deficiencies of the land acquisition act.

(2) Another positive attribute of this act is that it clarifies the meaning and definition of important concepts like 'project', 'affected zone', 'benefited zone', 'displaced persons', 'family', 'agricultural labourers', 'gramathana', 'resettlement officer' etc. This helps not only the concerned authorities but also the affected people to understand the legal status and the provisions of compensation as well as resettlement.

(3) This act has systematically analysed the bureaucratic system of the project. This explains in detail about the hierarchical position, division of work, power and duties

of bureaucrats appointed by the state in the project zone. Thus, the concerned authorities can work smoothly without any bureaucratic hurdles.

(4) The significant aspect of this act is that the non-legal titleholder of project-affected zone is also considered for resettlement award, particularly agricultural labourers, non-agricultural labourers, tenants etc. This provision has filled the deficiency which remained in the land acquisition act, 1894.

(5) The act has made a provision for resettlement at the 'new gramathana' to all the project displaced families. The Act also gives freedom to those displaced families who want to resettle themselves outside the government formed 'gramathana'. Such families are free to receive their eligible compensation, resettlement award and to settle according to their own wish.

Negative Aspects of the Act

(1) The overall impression of this act is that it seems to be just an extension of the land acquisition act, with some modifications. This act emphasizes the procedure of land acquisition, declaration of project affected zone, benefited zone and the valuation of the property lost of by the affected people more.

(2) The second weakness of this act is that it focuses more on the bureaucratic system of the project areas. The power, position and functions of each officer are highlighted. This factor is less important from the point of view of displaced people and their rehabilitation. The Act speaks only of the government officials (bureaucrats) like tahasildar, commissioner, director, deputy director etc. The act has failed to recognise the importance of the academic and other experts in the process of resettlement and rehabilitation. It has totally neglected the role of social scientists and social activists in resettlement and rehabilitation of the people.

(3) Another weakness of the act is that it speaks only about the monetary compensation and physical resettlement of the displaced people. The act has neglected the socio-cultural, economic, and ecological rehabilitation, which is more valuable from the point of view of displaced people than the former.

(4) The act presumed that displacement is part of development project. Hence, it does not talk anything about avoiding or minimizing the displacement. In the process of resettlement, the social factor like caste, kin, neighbourhood, occupational network and village community are not given any importance.

(5) Another deficiency of this act is that it explains only about the economic and demographic social survey. The more important aspects social survey (for e.g. social and cultural life, religion, caste, kin groups, neighbourhood relations, human and social capital of project affected people etc.) are totally neglected. This shows that being a bureaucrat belonging to revenue department, the focus is only on quantitative aspects of social survey and not on qualitative aspects. If they emphasise equally both the qualitative and quantitative aspects during social survey stage, then they will be able to provide a genuine resettlement and rehabilitation to the uprooted people.

The government of Karnataka used this act only in some state sponsored development projects such as construction of dam (UKP), industries, irrigation canals, power projects etc. At the same time, the act has failed to define public purpose. This has contributed to the controversy regarding what constitutes public utility.

This act is not applied to the Sea Bird Project, the case under this study. This is a naval base project related to both state as well as central government. Hence, both the governments together have formed a separate rehabilitation package for the displaced people.

THE SEA BIRD REHABILITATION PACKAGE AND PRACTICE

Infrastructure is the physical scaffolding that shoulders economic growth and widens people's access to electricity, clean water, transportation, communication, and other services (Cernea 1994). Such kind of infrastructure development is indisputably needed. They improve many people's lives, provide employment, and supply better services. However, the involuntary displacement caused by such programmes also creates major impositions on some segments of the population. They restrict that the population's rights by state-power intervention and are often carried out in the ways that cause the affected populations to end up as worse-off. This raises major issues of social justice and equality. (Ibid. 2000: 11-12). Therefore, the supreme court of India declared – "Before any developmental project is taken up, the social cost involved must be evaluated with a view to balancing the advantages ... Every developmental programme must provide for the simultaneous rehabilitation of the persons who are thrown out of their land for such developmental projects. No developmental project, however laudable, can possibly justify impoverishment of large sections of people and their utter destitution" (quoted in Kibreab 2000: 293).

More often than not, projects for economic development cause displacement of human habitats leading to the problem of involuntary relocation. This occurs even in case of nuclear projects and national defence projects. The naval base called Sea-Bird Project, Karwar invariably displaced inhabitants of thirteen villages. The human beings have been attracted to grow their habitats on seacoast because of precious gift of water, marine life, climate and fertile soil. However, when the Indian nation felt that its national security is in danger and required to strengthen it, a decision was taken to establish a naval base on this part of the country. However, having lived here for generations together, indigenous population had developed symbiotic relationship

with the land and environment. Due to the establishment of national defence project, they were required to move out to resettle somewhere. While migrating, they had to leave behind their natural habitations, land, trees, tanks, houses, hearths, and common property resources like forest and sea. They had to leave their community feelings, socio-cultural and religious ties, kinship relations, family friends and neighbourhoods. Such kind of involuntary resettlement impoverished them in several ways like landlessness, joblessness etc.

Actual Evacuation

In the previous chapter, a detailed account of project-affected villages, families, population and area has been given. As per the memorandum of understanding (MOU) dated 6-8-1998, the project has been divided into two phases. Under the first phase, three villages of Karwar taluka namely, Arga, Binaga and Chendiya constituted the core area where the major construction activities of the Indian Navy have been concentrated. This area was to be handed over to the project authorities by 31st December 1998. However, on 21st April 1999, an area of 654 acres of private land in these three villages was handed over to the project authorities. As a result, 1,137 families were evaluated by an evacuation operation. The evacuation authorities claim that this operation was free from even a single untoward incident. These families were shifted to the rehabilitation colonies namely, Chittakula, Amadalli and Harawada, which are meant for the fishermen and Todur and Mudageri, meant for the agriculturists. The evacuation of remaining ten villages, three from Karwar, seven from Ankola taluka come under the second phase. This evacuation process was completed on 27-03-2000. The families have been shifted to Belekeri, Hattikeri and other rehabilitation colonies.

Sea Bird Rehabilitation Package

The concerned authorities namely, the Union Government, the Government of Karnataka and the Indian Navy are fully aware of the problems of rehabilitation of the displaced families. The government of Karnataka had appointed a high power rehabilitation committee, headed by a minister with fifteen officials and twelve non-official members. The committee over a period of two years (prior to actual evacuation), held seventeen meetings. After taking note of the views of all representatives, it formulated a comprehensive set of recommendations for the elaborate rehabilitation measures, which were accepted by the state and the union governments (DC 2003, Raykar 2000: 13-14).

The entire seabird rehabilitation package involves two distinct aspects.

1. Payment of compensation
2. Resettlement and rehabilitation provisions.

1. Payment of Compensation

In the absence of a national resettlement and rehabilitation policy, the compensation package for different development projects varied not only across the states but also within a state. Largely, the attitude of the policy makers toward project-displaced people had been insensitive. This was mainly due to the least importance accorded by the planners to the inequality of distribution justice and disruption of socio-cultural life of affected persons (Shah 2003: 27).

Since there is no any special law regarding the acquisition of private land for utilization of public purpose, the government generally followed the land acquisition act of 1894 (amended in 1984). Accordingly, the deputy commissioner of Uttar Kannada and the general manager of land acquisition and rehabilitation of sea bird project acquired the private land by following the method of market value as provided

in the land acquisition act. It refers to the sale transaction on the date of publication of notification under section 4(1) of land acquisition act. If the data regarding market value of this land at such date was not available, the market value of the land prevailing at the time of acquisition was considered for the purpose of valuation.

During the fieldwork, the relocated agriculturists expressed that due to displacement they lost three kinds of land: the land yielding three crops per year, two crops per year and one crop per year. The sale deed statistics of these various kinds of land is not available. Even if available the sale statistics is not real one, as both the buyer and seller have recorded lesser value in the registered sale deeds. This is simply to minimize the government stamp duty as well as the land registration fees. In this connection the observations made by the Reserve Bank of India is worth noting (1975: 60-61). "Different methods are followed in India for valuating the land. Statistics of sale of land from the area are adopted for the purpose. This may, however, prove to be inaccurate for several reasons. There is a tendency to deflate the value recorded in the sale deeds to avoid payment of stamp duty. Because of various restrictions on the sale of land under the Land Reform Laws, the number of sales may not be large in a given area. Finally the lands that have been sold may not be strictly comparable to the intending land under consideration" (quoted in Biswal 2000: 178).

Reddy (1987), in his study rehabilitation programme of NALCO industrial complex in Korapt District, has also expressed similar kind of experience. He states: "the land cost was determined on the basis of registered sale deeds of lands in the project area. The uprooted people alleged that the method of determining the land values was not justified because the buyers usually record a lower amount in the registered sale deed in order to avoid the payment of stamp duty. As a result, they were paid compensation at a lower rate and were consequently unable to purchase alternative lands of similar type and quantum due to the high market prices".

The table 5.1 shows the details of land acquired from each sea bird project affected villages, families and the total amount of compensation fixed by policy in the year 1999.

Table 5.1
Project Affected Villages, Land Acquired, PDF's, and Compensation

(Rs. In Lakhs)

Sr. No.	Name of the Village	Land Acquired (In Acres- Guntas- Aane)	Compensation Fixed	
			No. of Families	Amount
1	Arga	368-38-10.5	875	424.17
2	Binaga	71-37-11	417	265.21
3	Chendiya	215-03-07	657	423.32
4	Kodar	428-24-02	717	351.67
5	Amadalli	484-31-14	688	325.01
6	Todur	4-13-00	4	2.57
7	Belekeri	8-07-00	50	5.17
8	Bhavekeri	284-16-12	447	207.14
9	Harwada	4-28-10	4	0.91
10	Hattikeri	98-26-12	132	76.02
11	Algeri	64-08-04	120	18.61
12	Barade	74-07-00	101	18.55
13	N.K. Bail	303-10-06	232	128.78
Total		2411-13-00	4444	2247.04

Source: DC. 1999. Status Report, UK.

There are some peculiar kinds of landholders who lost their land for the Sea Bird Project. They are commonly known as Hangami Laganidars, Encroachers, and Karnataka Sarkar cases.

Hangami Laganidars (Temporary Lease Holders)

Hangami Laganidars are the persons to whom the government had given the forestland for cultivation on temporary lease. This lease-based land is not made permanent like private land. This land is acquired by the Sea Bird Project on the payment of ex-gratia amount of Rs. 150 per gunta to the hangami laganidars. The

package also paid them other normal rehabilitation assistance, and valuation of buildings and trees. In total 73-hangami laganidar families were identified in the project-acquired area. They all belong to Binaga, Arga and Chendiya villages.

Encroachers

In project area when the revenue department conducted a survey, it identified some 238 cases of encroachers belonging to Binaga, Arga and Chendiya villages. Their encroachment area consists of land pertaining to fisheries department, port department, and revenue department. Such kind of encroached families are also paid the valuation of trees and buildings along with the rehabilitation package and sites but not ex-gratia of Rs. 150 per gunta.

Karnataka Sarkar Cases

Karnataka Sarkar cases pertain to those tenants who had somehow failed to file applications for grant of occupancy rights before the land tribunal. However, recently amended Karnataka land reform act, section 77A (Form No. 7A), has conferred occupancy rights on them. They are totally 50 in number. All these cases are considered as the project displaced families and are paid admissible grant. This is positive aspect of the SBP rehabilitation package.

Land for Land

Agricultural land is the backbone of rural economy. It plays an important role in the agrarian structure. Hence, the farmers, who lost land for Sea Bird Project, demanded 'land for land' instead of 'money for land'. To fulfill agrarian communities demand, the Government passed the order No. RD52 REH 96 on 10th March 1998 to form the agricultural plots. Accordingly, the agricultural plots were formed at Agsur-Sirayunji and Sakalben of Ankola Taluka. The government put certain conditions on

the land looser opted for 'land for land' option. The data in Table 5.2 reflects the same

Table 5.2
Farmers Eligibility for Land

Sr.No.	Extent of Land Lost to the Project	Farmers Eligible for Agricultural Land
1	Land lost up to 2 Acres	Eligible for One Acre
2	Land lost above 2 Acres	Eligible for Two and Half Acres

Source: GOK. 1999. White Paper on Sea Bird Project.

The government order regarding 'land for land' option has also put another important condition that those who opt for agricultural plots will not be eligible for rehabilitation grants and house sites at rehabilitation colony.

The table 5.2 clearly indicates that there is no any logic behind the amount of land lost by the farmer and the amount of land allotted to them. The farmers, who lose one acre and the farmers who loose two acres of land, are treated in same manner. The rehabilitation package did not make any difference between one acre and two acres of land. Therefore, both kinds of farmers were given one-acre land at the new place. Again, no difference is made between farmer who lose two acres of land and farmers who lose any amount of land above two acres. All of them are given maximum two and half acres of land.

Because of this and several other reasons, the farmers who demanded 'land for land' option in the beginning, rejected this option ultimately. They all went for common rehabilitation package i.e. money for land, house site at rehabilitation colony and rehabilitation grants. This indicates that the rehabilitation policy impoverished the displaced population.

During the fieldwork, the resettlers gave several reasons for the rejection of land for land option. They are as below:

1. The agricultural plots developed are at a long distance of 18-20 Kms. From the original villages.
2. All the agricultural plots are formed in Ankola taluka. If the 'land for land' provision is opted, the project affected farmers of Karwar taluka must resettle in Ankola taluka.
3. The surface of agricultural land is uneven.
4. The soil is not fertile. It is rocky and dry.
5. There is no irrigation facility; the entire cultivation is dependent upon monsoon.
6. Only the owner cultivator family has to resettle in such rehabilitation colonies.

The government order and rehabilitation policy have established the supremacy of the planner in the entire process of R and R. They can determine the reformation and resettlement of communities. This shows that the people displaced from their ancestral land far larger good have, very little or no say in deciding their future life.

Compensation for Buildings and Trees

The sea bird rehabilitation package did not give any explanation about the payment of compensation towards buildings, fruit bearing trees, well and other immovable assets lost by the affected families. Some amount of compensation was paid to the affected families. Ultimately, the research got some reliable information about the method of valuation of such assets from the leaders of struggle forum, local advocates who filed the resettles cases in the court and some knowledgeable resettlers. The data in table 5.3 gives information about the valuation of immovable assets.

Table 5.3
Information About the Valuation of Buildings and Trees

Sr.No.	Category	Valuation (in Rs.)
1	Buildings	From 25,000 to 1,00,000
2	Coconut Tree	200 to 600
3	Cashew Nut	75 to 100
4	Mango	250 to 350
5	Jack Fruit	300 to 450
6	Other Trees: Teak, Honne etc.	300 to 500

The displaced population is not happy with the government valuation and compensation for the assets they lost. The respondents were of the opinion that the value of land in the market is Rs. 8000 to 12000 per gunta. The land in the original village was very much fertile. There was no scarcity of water and other facilities. Many farmers were growing three crops per year like paddy, vegetables; groundnut etc. but such a fertile and high yielding land was undervalued just at Rs.150 per gunta. The farming community felt that it is a grave injustice.

The value of one coconut tree yielding the fruits was fixed at Rs. 200 to 600. However, the fact was that the per year yield of one coconut tree was 200 to 300 coconuts. The average price of one coconut was not less than Rs. 5 to 7. This means that one coconut tree gave an annual income of not less than Rs. 1200 to 1500. Hence, 8-10 coconut trees around dwelling places provided sufficient base for source of livelihood for a small family.

In the original village, the people grew different variety of mangoes. Among them locally popular mangoes are Kari Isad and Bili Isad. The price of such per mango is not less than Rs. 5. A good fruit bearing mango tree yearly yields not less than 2500 to 3000 mangoes. This means, yearly income from one mango tree is not less than Rs. 12,500 to Rs. 15,000 but the government authorities have valued such valuable trees like a value of firewood trees. As stated in the table, the value of mango tree was fixed at Rs. 250 to 350.

The market values of 15-20 years old teak tree are not less than Rs. 35,000 to Rs. 40,000. However, displaced were compensated at the rate of Rs. 300 to 500 per teak tree. These are the few examples pertaining to undervaluation of trees and buildings. They lost several varieties of trees, tanks, wells, and buildings. The story of under compensation is endless.

2. Resettlement and Rehabilitation Provisions

The land acquisition act of 1894 (amended 1984) speaks only about the compensation and not about the resettlement and rehabilitation. Therefore, on the humanitarian grounds, the Government of Karnataka and the Government of India have made a memorandum of understanding (MOU) and the government order as regards payment of compensation and rehabilitation package for sea bird project affected families was issued on 22nd August 1998 as per the GO. No. RD/196/REH 98. This government order consists following R and R package and provisions:

Table 5.4
Rehabilitation Package for SBP Affected Families

Sr.No.	Nature of R and R Provision	Amount of Eligibility
1	Rehabilitation grant to PDF	Rs. 50,000 to Awardees
2	House Site	30 X 40, 35 X 60, 50 X 60, 60 X 90 depending upon the category of the PDF in fully developed R.C.
3	Rehabilitation grant to children of PDF	Rs 70,000 each to two adult issues, either male or female above 18 years of age as on 31-12-1997
4	Rehabilitation grant to unmarried daughter of PDF	Rs. 70,000, above 35 years of age as on 31-12-1997
5	Training at ITI	One member from PDF at the rate of Rs. 1000 per month for 24 months.
6	Transport Grant	Rs. 5000 at the time of evacuation
7	Subsistence Allowance	Rs. 2500 after evacuation
8	Land for land to Agriculturists	From 1 Acre to 2.2 Acres

Source: GOK. 1999. White Paper on Sea Bird Project.

House Site

The positive aspect of the sea bird rehabilitation package is that it provided house site to the entire project displaced families in fully developed rehabilitation colony. The rehabilitation package follows the following criteria for distribution of house site to PDFs.

Table 5.5
PDF-wise Distribution of House Site

Sr.No.	Amount of land lost due to the Project	PDFs Eligible for Site (In Sq.Ft.)
1	PDF losing 1 gunta	30 X 40
2	PDF losing within 1 and 2 guntas	50 X 60
3	PDF losing above 2 guntas	60 X 90
4	Fishermen losing 1 gunta	30 X 40
5	Losing within 1 and 2 guntas	50 X 60
6	Others: Encroachers, Hangami Laganidars etc. losing 1 gunta	30 X 40

The sizes of sites mentioned in rehabilitation package do not match with the actual sizes of sites formed in rehabilitation colony. The sites are allotted in the name of award holder. However, in the original village the land was common but held in the name of father or elder brother. Other brothers staying separately in small room under one roof with their families did not get separate sites in RC. Therefore, they either constructed two or three houses on one site or one or two among them resettled outside the RC. The policy of allotment of site to award holders (titleholder) segregated the families living under one roof. After displacement, the physical proximity among the brothers is widened.



5.1 National & State Political Leaders explaining rehabilitation plan to media (Late Chief Minister J.H.Patel, Rahsha Mantri George Fernandes and Revenue minister Somasekhar)



5.2 Deputy Commissioner & Local Leaders involved in deep discussion. (How to make omelet (project) without breaking egg (displacement)).



5.3 Role of Welfare State: Elderly Halakki-Vakkaliga woman is daily visitor pleading compensation at R and R office in mini vidhan souda, Karwar



5.4 State political leaders' explaining locals about government effort towards R and R plan



5.5 Struggle forum leader Ex. Minister Shri. Prabhakar Rane evaluating their effort towards Rehabilitation

Lots to allot the Site

The sites were allotted on the basis of lots drawn in the gram sabhas. The R and R authorities claim that the method of lots helped the PDFs to exchange the site freely. However, the opinion of the resettlers about the lots is different. They said that no PDF exchanged the site in gram sabhas. They gave several reasons for this. The respondents stated that they, being illiterate, could not understand the exact location of their sites based on colony map. During the group discussion, many youngsters shared their bad experiences about site allotment. They said that R and R office at district H.Q., put two to three chits of the same plot number and allotted it for two to three PDFs. Consequently, all of them dumped their dismantled house material on the same site resulting in quarrel with each other. They claimed that when such PDFs went to R and R office to settle the matter, the officers took bribe from the PDFs and allotted separate sites to each one of them. Such experience gave them the feeling of deprivation and injustice. They raised a very significant and relevant question: “we sacrificed everything for greater good. But with such bitter experiences how we can develop a feeling of pride for the nation and national good”.

Rehabilitation Grant

The empirical studies conducted by Indian Social Scientists point out the narrow perspective of rehabilitation policies. In India, more or less, the rehabilitation grant includes (a) the payment of cash compensation for the land and house lost, (b) provision of house plots to those losing houses and (c) development of basic services at the rehabilitation colony and shifting of people from their original habitats. However, the sea bird project rehabilitation package had comparatively wider approach, went beyond certain regular framework. This package offered seventy thousand rupees rehabilitation grants to two adult children belonging to PDFs. The

most significant aspect of this provision is that there is no gender discrimination. Both male and female adults are treated equally. Not only this, the package went one step ahead and declared that along with two adult issues one unmarried daughter above the age of 35 years will also be granted seventy thousand rupees of rehabilitation grant. However, the field observations reveal that in practice resettlers did not appreciate this package. Because mere cash compensation is often the fastest route to impoverishment. It is observed that this impoverishment was more among the displaced people belonging to rural coast, which have very little knowledge of the cash economy. They have tendency to spent money on consumer goods like radio, TV, motorcycle, fridge, drinking etc. Thus, instead of cash, the land and job are the best options for real rehabilitation of displaced population. Marsden (1998: 30) also throws light on significance of land and job in resettlement and rehabilitation. He said, "Land for land packages and job for land packages were the most popular bases for compensation packages, but as land become scarcer, and permanent jobs less easy to obtain, they are more difficult to implement". To avoid such kind of difficulties and tensions, the R and R authorities of SBP offered cash compensation in the form of rehabilitation grant to two adult children of PDFs. The table 5.6 gives information about the distribution of grants to adult issue of PDFs.

Table 5.6
Distribution of Rehabilitation Grants As on 31-08-2003

		(Amount in Lakhs)								
Sr. No.	Name of the Village	*RH grant		*RH grant		Transportation and		Cash in lieu of		Total Amount
		Rs.50, 000		Rs.70000		Subsistence		site		
		No.	+Amt.	No.	+Amt.	No. of Families	+Amt.	No.	+Amt.	
1	Arga	765	387	900	648	608	37.478	37	10.15	1082.628
2	Binaga	434	217	526	368.2	332	21.162	45	10.15	616.512
3	Chendiya	667	333.5	764	535.5	580	33.555	22	4.1	906.655
4	Kodār	487	243.5	579	403.9	477	30.717	186	49.9	728.017
5	Amadalli	481	241.8	627	438.9	265	16.417	365	84.5	781.617
6	Todur	4	2	8	5.6	-	0	4	1.2	8.8
7	Belekeri	49	24.5	66	46.2	1	0.078	28	4.4	75.178
8	Bhavekeri	364	182	501	350.7	154	9.412	193	51	593.112
9	Harwada	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	Hattikeri	96	48	133	93.1	52	3.981	46	10	155.081
11	Algeri	68	34	99	69.3	1	0.078	46	10.8	114.178
12	Barade	38	19	54	37.8	9	0.677	20	5.8	63.277
13	N.K. Bail	106	53	139	96.9	26	1.628	77	19.8	171.328
Total		3559	1785.30	4396	3094.10	2505	155.183	1069	261.80	5296.383

Source: DC. 2003. Status Report , UK. Note= * Rehabilitation Grant, + Amount.

As per the provisions of sea bird rehabilitation package only those adult male or female, above 18 years as on 31-12-1997 are eligible for rehabilitation grant of rupees seventy thousand. This provision was applicable also to those unmarried daughters who completed 35 years of age as on 31-12-1997. This norm creates many problems to the PDFs to avail this benefit. The PDFs having children below 18 years age are not eligible to get this grant. The newly married PDF having not children were also not covered under this provision. Those who are having more than two adult children on particular date, were eligible for maximum of two grants. The field observation and data support this. The table 5.7 brings out the problems faced by the PDFs in availing rehabilitation grant of rupees seventy thousand.

Table 5.7
RC-wise Distribution of PDFs Eligible for Rehabilitation

Sr. No.	Number of Members Eligible for Rehabilitation Grants	Chittakula RC	Todur RC	Belekeri RC	Total
1	No Member in Family Eligible	21 25%	15 17%	6 18%	42 20%
2	One Member in Family Eligible	25 29%	27 31%	15 46%	67 32%
3	Two Members Eligible	26 30%	25 28%	8 24%	59 29%
4	Three Members Eligible	10 13%	14 16%	4 12%	28 14%
5	Four Members Eligible	2 2%	7 8%	0 0%	9 4%
6	Five Members Eligible	1 1%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0.5%
7	Six Members Eligible	1 1%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0.5%
Total		86 100%	88 100%	33 100%	207 100%

Though the sea bird rehabilitation package offers seventy thousand rupees rehabilitation grants to two adults belonging to the PDFs, all are not equally benefited. The data above shows that about 20 per cent families did not have the eligible adult member in the family. Some 32 per cent families could get fifty percent benefit of this facility as they have only one adult in the family, where as 29 percent families reported that they have two adults. The families, having three, four, five, and six adults, are 14 percent, 4 per cent, 0.5 percent, and 0.5 percent respectively.

This whole picture looks different when we watch the filed data pertaining to actual number of adult members received rehabilitation grants. The table 5.8 indicates the same.

Table 5.8
Rehabilitation Grants Received by Adults in Each RC

Sr. No.	Number of Members Received Rehabilitation (REH) Grants	Chittakula RC	Todur RC	Belekeri RC	Total
1	No member received REH grant	22 26%	25 28%	8 24%	55 26%
2	One member received REH grant	29 34%	25 28%	20 61%	74 36%
3	Two members received REH grant	35 40%	38 44%	5 15%	78 38%
Total		86 100%	88 100%	33 100%	207 100%

The figures show that 26 percent resettled families reported that no member of their family received rehabilitation grant. The families, which received one rehabilitation grant, are 36 percent and those, who received two grants, are 38 percent.

Transport Allowance and Subsistence Grant

The Sea Bird rehabilitation package included the transport allowance and subsistence grant in PDFs. Free transportation facilities to those who own dwelling houses in order to shift the building materials, livestock, and other belongings from their original habitats to the site of their resettlement is provided by the package. In case the authorities fail to provide the transportation facilities an amount upto to Rs, 5000 cash was paid to PDFs. Not again all PDFs got Rs. 5000. Only those PDFs, who lost pucca houses, got Rs. 5000 and PDFs and those, who lost thatched houses, got Rs. 2500.

During the fieldwork, the researcher noticed different kind of impacts of transport allowance on different families. Those families, who hold more than one house, got only one transportation grant. In addition, the two or more families residing in one big house also got single transportation grant, which they divided

equally among themselves. Thus, several families either did not get any house transportation grant or they got some part of it. The table 5.9a and 5.9b exhibits the same.

Table 5.9a
RC-wise Distribution of PDFs Availied of Transport Facility

Sr. No.	Category	Chittakula RC	Todur RC	Belekeri RC	Total
1	No.Transport Grant	4 (5%)	4 (5%)	5 (15%)	13 (5%)
2	Truck	75 (87%)	75 (85%)	0 (0%)	150 (75%)
3	Amount	7 (8%)	9 (10%)	28 (85%)	44 (20%)
	Total	86 (100%)	88 (100%)	33 (100%)	207 (100%)
4	Total Cost	64 (74%)	48 (55%)	22 (67%)	134 (65%)
5	Partly	22 (26%)	37 (42%)	11 (33%)	70 (34%)
6	No answer	0 (0%)	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	3 (1%)
	Total	86 (100%)	88 (100%)	33 (100%)	207 (100%)

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicates the percentage.

Table 5.9b
RC-wise Distribution of PDFs Own Cost for Transportation

Sr. No.	Opinion About Aextra Cost	Chittakula RC	Todur RC	Belekeri RC	Total
1	Extra Cost of Rs. 1000	17	30	9	56 (80%)
2	Extra Cost of Rs. 1001-2000	5	6	2	13 (19%)
3	No answer	0	1	0	1 (1%)
	Total	22	37	11	70 (100%)

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicates the percentage.

Among the resettlers, 5 percent families reported that they did not receive any transportation facility from the government. Some 72 percent reported that they got transportation facility and 20 percent reported that they got amount for transportation.

The resettlers of Belekeri RC only received the amount for transportation as they come under second phase of evacuation. The 65 percent of the families reported

that they got total transportation facility whereas 34 percent families received transportation facility partly. One percent did not answer the question. Among those families, which got partial transportation facility, 80 percent are paid extra amount of Rs. 1000 and 19 percent are paid extra amount of Rs. 1001-2000. One family did not say anything.

In conclusion, we can say that the development-induced displacement and rehabilitation policy is not satisfactory. Our planners fail to overcome from the deficiencies of land acquisition act. Some state governments made little effort to provide legal security to the project displaced people.

CHAPTER VI

RESETTLEMENT AND SOCIO-CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

Introduction

This chapter makes an analysis of resettlement and socio-cultural transformation among the families resettled in the RCs. It mainly focuses on certain macro and micro socio-cultural units, particularly village, caste, family, neighbourhood, leadership, religion, education etc. This chapter also explains the process of adaptation and adjustment among the interrelated socio-cultural units both before and after resettlement, which invariably covers the socio-cultural problems and sufferings. With this view in mind, relevant information about the social, cultural and ecological settings both before and after displacement has been collected through household interview schedules, in-depth case studies, and group discussions. Thus, here the study mainly throws light on the changes in the symbiotic relationships between environment and community at two different points of times i.e. before and after displacement.

Hence, this kind of scientific effort helps to understand the resettler's effort towards adaptation to the new environment, socio-psychological stress, strain and sufferings, which, in turn, leads to the change and the continuity in the conventional life patterns. Thus, this scientific attempt not only helps to analyse the micro level change and continuity among the resettlers, but also helps to evaluate and find out the gap in existing rehabilitation policy, package and practice.

Before going into this, it is necessary to discuss the relevant social theories of adaptation, social change and continuity, social structure and social disorganization. In other words, before the direct analysis of field data, it is significant to review the

relevant sociological theories, so that the process of human displacement and involuntary resettlement could be understood in a proper perspective.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

After the independence, India's development strategy implicitly accepted the maxim that 'big is beautiful'. Consequently, the big projects symbolized the nation's progress and prosperity (Chaudhary 1998: 274). Because development programmes provide irrigation, jobs, energy for new industries, schools and hospitals in residential areas, or wider roads, and also defence and security to the nation. Thus, development programmes not only improve the national infrastructure but also improve the livelihood system and expand local and national economies as well as security. However, such developmental projects require restructuring of human habitats and settlement patterns. It means that to allow a development project to proceed for the overall social good, human habitats must be displaced from their ancestral land and other assets, which causes widespread traumatic psychological and socio-cultural consequences. These include the dismantling of production system, desecration of ancestral sacred zones of graves and temples, scattering of kinship groups and family systems, disorganization of information social network that provide mutual support, weakening of self-management and social control etc. (Kothari 1996: 1477).

'Development' means the process of moving away from 'underdevelopment', of rising out of poverty; it is sought and perhaps actually attained by means of 'Planning for development' (Pandey 1985: 90). This shows that the plan and appropriate means play very important role in the process of any kind of development. The development and its efforts must be sustainable. At any cost, the developmental activity should not lead to any kind impoverishment or human suffering. Cernea (1998: 43) also narrates the same: 'development programmes are not supposed to

include poverty or impoverishment. Yet under some circumstances, such impoverishment process does occur conflicting with the very essence and stated goals of development programmes. Under the new infrastructure programmes in developing countries such impoverishment processes, unfortunately, are frequent and large. This is why preventing impoverishment must be regarded as the central issue in development induced population displacement and relocation’.

The problem is that when the officials and developers decide to launch a programme entailing displacement, they inflict impoverishment risks not on themselves but on the people to be displaced. These people are subjected to huge risks, typically without their knowledge, participation or consent. This is why it is an incumbent upon the programme sponsorers, the state the officials or the private developers to counteract with the risks and provide full socio-economic protection to the people who are put in to risk by them. It means that it is the moral responsibility of the independent ‘nation-state’ to look after the reconstruction of the livelihood of displaced people. Such kind of responsibility is more on the ‘nation-states’ like India because it is a ‘welfare state’ and hence, the main goal is the welfare of the people, particularly, the downtrodden sections of society, those who are suffering socially, economically, politically and ecologically. Therefore, it is the prime responsibility of our planners to provide rehabilitation to the people uprooted for national development. Marsden (1998: 22) has rightly summarized that: “Resettlement is more difficult, more expensive and more time consuming than hitherto acknowledged. A large number of people, usually very poor, have to be moved and their former incomes to be reestablished and where they are below the poverty line, hopefully improved in a short period of time to avoid destitution”.

This shows that the displacement and involuntary resettlement exhibits confusing dualism among the resettlers towards the rapid social change. In the process of daily living, the individual family and group of families face a succession of free situations, which require new physical, socio-cultural and economic adjustments as well. This is inevitable because the family or group of families once displaced from original habitat and involuntarily resettled in the RC must adapt with new ecology and environment. The beginning of new life and life experience in the colony is continually changing but the ways of thinking, acting, functioning and behavior experience remain relatively static (Elliott and Merrill 1961; Marsden 1998).

This kind of gap causes a socio-psychological stress and leads to maladjustment among some resettlers. The new place of resettlement demands a rapid change within the family norms, customs, traditions, rules and definitions of behavior. In addition, they have to adapt as well as adjust with new inter and intra family, caste, village, neighborhood and occupational relationships. Here, the social change plays a vital role, which has occurred since dawn in history. Therefore, Elliott and Merrill (1961: 3) state that “the fact of change is by no means new, but the rate of change is unprecedented. Long before the industrial revolution ushered in modern times, men were forced to adjust to new technological and material developments”.

In the process of development-induced displacement and resettlement the individual, the family, the community are all involved in varying degrees in changing situations. The structural-functional network and unity among the original social units, the norms pertaining to the community life and livelihood may be inapplicable at new place of resettlement. At least in the beginning period of involuntary resettlement everything is uncertain and unpredictable. This is true when the displaced families resettled in the RCs' belong to different habitats. Because each human habitat

has its own way of material and non-material culture and cultural elements. This common culture not only controls the behavior and activities of inhabitants but also helps to maintain the structural-functional balance as well as unity within it. Hence, this aspect always plays very significant role in the R and R planning. If the R and R planners neglect this aspect, naturally the uprooted community will be more prone to social risks. Particularly the risk of social disorganisation is more dangerous from the point-of-view-of-displaced. Because it breaks the centuries old socio-cultural and livelihood relationships evolved among the original inhabitants. As Elliot and Merrill (1961: 3) have rightly pointed out: “the process by which group relationships are broken is called social disorganization”. This is applicable to the area under study. Due to the absence of qualitative social-economic survey, the planned rehabilitation efforts of SBP R and R planners are lagging behind the expected mark.

In a similar way, Leighton (1955) has also focused on the relationship between the social disorganization and the sudden dislocation of people for various reasons. He said, that the “Social disorganization is evident in societies that have been disrupted by forced migration, wars, economic disaster, individual revolution and extremely rapid acceleration”.

When the orderly process of social interaction and effective functioning of a group breaks down, there is a social disorganization. It is a very complex process. The breakdown of the group is caused by some combination of factors that produce it. In his study of the human groups, Homans (1950: 369) calls this process as social disintegration. He says “disintegration (disorganization) is a condition marked by a decline in the number of activities in which the members of group collaborate, by a decrease in the frequency of interaction between these members, and by a weakening of the control exercised by the group over the behavior of individuals. The healthy

functioning of group demands the active participation of its members without this participation, the group declines and eventually ceases to exist”.

The field data of the present research study also reveals more or less the same. After resettlement in the planned rehabilitation colonies, the resettles are facing the problem of work and activities pertaining to their life and livelihood. As a result, neither there is a formation of group nor is there a group activity in the RCs, and hence, there is no interaction and integration among the resettlers. This is probably one of the important reasons for many displaced families rejecting the RC. The SBP R and R authorities formed RCs’ and allotted the home site for the uprooted families. However, many families have refused resettlement in the planned rehabilitation colonies. This shows that the lack or absence of structural-functional relationships among resettled families results in rejection of rehabilitation package by the displaced families.

The functional interdependence among different social institutions is essential part of social structure. The term ‘Social Structure’ is applied to the arrangement of the interrelated institutions, social patterns and statuses and roles of individuals making up a given society (Parson 1951: 60). The success, with which an individual accepts these various roles, depends in some cases upon his genetic abilities and in other upon the social situation (Elliott and Merrill 1961: 10). In an involuntarily resettled community, there are often difficulties involved in carrying out the expected roles so that many individuals, though no fault of their own, are unable to perform their social duties. Displacement disturbs completely the socio-economic network, which gives rise to the problem of unemployment or joblessness. The member of a family, who played a role of breadwinner before displacement, may fail to perform the same role after displacement. This results in complexity of roles and status, for

which individual faces difficulty of personal and social adjustment. As a consequence, at least in the beginning years, many resettlers and families are not sure of their roles, status and position within the family and in the resettled community. Thus, as Elliott and Merrill (1961: 11) state, “the continuity between the generations in the performance of many roles has been broken by the rapidity of social change”. These changes in family patterns represent the disorganization of traditional group relationships.

Involuntarily resettlement leads to rapid change in the social structure. In the early years of community resettlement, the social structure has no fixed form. Hence, the statuses and roles are not clearly defined. As a result, the resettlers find themselves in the situations where no established role patterns exist. They are often forced to adapt to the new roles. This is difficult for them and often dangerous to the resettled community. This shows that when the statuses and roles are clear and well defined the community is relatively organised. In the absence of it, the social disorganisation sets in. The rapidity of social change due to displacement and involuntary resettlement disrupts the old social structure. Thus, the new social structure and social situation compels the resettlers to depart from the conventional roles. The married brother and son no longer remain in the same home, the physical proximity between homes of kin/caste groups no longer remains same, the old neighbours and intimate inter family relations no longer remain in the new place of resettlement. Hence, the resettled community also tends to be a disorganized are because of the disparity in the rate of change between the various elements. The field observation and data reveals such kinds of theoretical presuppositions. The best supportive example is (21.73 percent) the division in joint families after resettlement. Also, the intimate inter family relations, original neighbours, caste leaders, occupational groups

are dismantled after the resettlement. There is a drastic change in the social fabric or social capital after displacement. This shows that the change is more than continuity in the social structure of the community. Therefore, the rapid change and disparity in the rate of change and continuity in various social units leads to disorganisation of community life.

Elliott and Merrill (1961: 28) throws light on the close relationships between social change, social structure and social disorganization. Social change refers to “whatever may happen in the course of time to the roles, the institution or the orders comprising a social structure, their emergence, growth and decline”. A changing society is one in which a large number of people occupy different status and play different roles over a period. When we are considering society in terms of its structure, we are viewing it at one moment of time that is, when the statuses and roles have assumed a certain pattern. This pattern, however, is always subject to change. Social structure and social change are therefore, functions of time. The crisis of involuntary resettlement also produces a sudden social change, which tends to bring a change in social structure and social organization. This function of time leads to a serious interruption in the customary conventional activities and functions of a group, which requires adaptation and adjustment in patterns of resettlers’ behaviors.

The adaptation and adjustment always play very important role in resettlers’ life. Because the formation of community life, structure as well as functional interaction and unity all, depends upon the resettlers’ adaptation and adjustment with the new ecology and environment. Cohen (1968: 1) has thrown light on how the change encompasses two interrelated processes i.e. adaptation and adjustment. According to him, adaptation refers to adjustments that individuals and groups of individuals make to changes in the context of existence including their natural, social

and cultural environments. When we say that a population is adapting, we mean that it is altering its relationship to its habitat in order to make that habitat a fit place to live.... The adaptation of man is accomplished principally by cultural means, through the harnessing of new sources of energy for the productive ends (quoted in Prasad 1994: 5).

The processes of adaptation in the crisis like involuntary resettlement are considered complex and complicated in nature. Because it is not one time event. It involves a series of adjustments. Adaptation is understood as a sequential process in which solutions to problems become, in turn, a part of the next problem. Hence, the resettlers need to be more dynamic and adaptive in nature. According to Bennet a chain of problems and solutions each solution begetting another problem is called behavioral or social adaptation, the distinctive feature of human cognition being its anticipatory characteristic (cited in Prasad 1994: 8).

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

The Sea Bird Project is a national defence project, which forced the traditional habitats of coast to evacuate from their hearth and fields in the larger interest of the so-called national security. When habitats are involuntarily relocated on Government sponsored planned rehabilitation colony, they face immediate problem of socio-cultural adaptation and adjustment, which, in turn, leads to socio-cultural change and continuity. There are several factors responsible for such kind of socio-cultural transformation. The ontology of this study presumes that the strong reason among them is the division of village habitats, which, in turn is responsible for disintegration of caste, kin and neighbourhood networks. All the thirteen affected coastal habitats, which were evacuated from close geographical area of thirty-four kilometers, each was peculiar in its kind. Each had its own name, fame, socio-cultural identity; own

livelihood systems, caste, kin, gram deva (village God), village temples, and occupational networks, natural resources (CPR) like agricultural land, forest, sea, grazing land, and water bodies.

Thus, on outer look all affected villages seem to be homogeneous in character, both geographically and socially. But, the in-depth study reveals the sharp heterogeneity of these villages. By generations, each independent family belonging to particular village habitat has not only assimilated with the community but also developed the symbiotic relationship with the environment. This diverse background of resettled families is the hurdle for quick adaptation, adjustment and assimilation with the new community and to develop symbiotic relationship with available environment. In the process, change will be more predominant than continuity in socio-cultural factors, livelihood systems and in the relationship with the environment.

Other Indian social scientists have also focused on more or less same kinds of change in the process of involuntary resettlement. One among them is Behura. He argues that the relocation involves the movement of communities from one place and environment to another. It brings about a modification of the physical and social environment in which people find themselves and to which they have to adapt after relocation, the nature of modification of the physico-cultural environment determines oustees' new demographic, economic and social circumstances (1990: 57).



6.1 Youth of Kodar village celebrating 'Krishnastami' in the Todur RC shows gradual adaptation of new socio-cultural, religious life

6.2 During gender group discussion fisherwomen expressing their sufferings in the RC



6.3 Commensality was a common feature in the original Habitat

6.4 Agriculturists gradually cultivating horticultural trees at new place of resettlement.



The present study clearly reveals that the social structure and the functions of the resettled families have undergone the visible changes. Hence, for the purpose of scientific study these changes are studied under the following heads.

1. Family
2. Caste and Village
3. Marriage and Kin Relations
4. Neighbourhood
5. Village Leadership
6. Education
7. Vulnerable Groups
8. Religion: Socio-Cultural and Religious Functions

1. **Family**

Each person belongs to certain groups within his caste. One such group is the family (Mandelbaum 1972: 17). The family has been defined as the group of members united by ties of blood, marriage or adoption and having common residence, common purse, common property and common kitchen (Joshi 1982: 15). Each such family has its own size. The size of the family is discussed under four divisions, i.e.

1. Small size family consisting of 1-3 members
2. Medium size family consisting of 4-6 members
3. Large size family consisting of 7-9 members
4. Very large size family consisting of 10 and more members.

The different sizes of families are discussed here with reference to the occupation and the place of resettlement. The interest of such discussion is to see the correlation between the size of the family and the occupation of family resettled in the different RC's.

Table 6.1
Size of Family in Each Rehabilitation Colony

Sr. No.	Rehabilitation Colony	Small Size	Medium Size	Large Size	Very Large Size	Total
1	Chittakula	14 16%	59 69%	10 12%	3 3%	86 100%
2	Todur	8 9%	60 68%	16 18%	4 5%	88 100%
3	Belekeri	5 15%	21 64%	7 21%	0 0%	33 100%
Total		27 13%	140 68%	33 16%	7 3%	207 100%

Table 6.1 indicates the RC wise distribution of families according to size. It is seen that the number of medium size families are predominant in rehabilitation colony. Out of 207 families, 68 percent families belonged to this size. The large size families are 16 percent, the small size families are 13 percent. The very large size families are 3 percent. In Belekeri colony large size families do not exist. This is mainly because Hallakki-Vakkaligas are resettled in this RC. They have a tradition of staying in small size families. This is mainly because majority of them belong to 'Have-nots' group. A very few of them own agraricultural land. The rest are working as sharecroppers, landless labourer or earning through common property resourses. A very few Halakki-Vakkaliga families have their own common family property. Majority of them are propertyless and poor. Hence, soon after marriage, they establish their own small family.

The large size and very large size family norm is mostly adopted by the agriculturist and fishermen. The landless labourers and others are having the small size families. The land is a common family property, which binds the members together. Land also provides employment to many family members. Hence, among

the agriculturist, the large and the very large size families are more in number. Due to loss of common family property some joint families are now divided but the large size families still continue to exist after the displacement. The next to agriculturists, the fishermen are having large and the very large size families. This is mainly because of the nature of occupation. The fishing is more a group occupation than the individual. The maintenance of medium/large size fishing boat and net is not possible for the small size family. To use such kind of traditional fishing techniques, they require more members. As a result, among the fishermen also we observe more number of large and very large size families.

Intra Family Relations

In the original habitats, the relationship among the members of family was intimate and co-operative. However, displacement has led to a sudden change in each and every social unit of the project affected village communities. The family is one important social unit of the village community. Hence, it is interesting to see the changes in the intra-family relations after displacement. To understand this change, we have used a scale in the comparative degree to evaluate the relations. Such as: 1. same relations, 2. better relations and 3. stressful relations.

The 'same' relations means there is no change in the intra-family relations after displacement. The 'better' relations means compared to earlier relation, the intra-family relations are better after displacement. The 'stressful' relations indicate the stressful or unhappy relations among the members of family after displacement.

Table 6.2
Intra-Family Relations After Displacement

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Same Relations	Better Relations	Stressful Relations	Total
1	Agriculturists	0 0%	0 0%	67 100%	67 100%
2	Landless Labourers	0 0%	0 0%	35 100%	35 100%
3	Fishermen	4 5%	0 0%	82 95%	86 100%
3	Others	2 11%	2 11%	15 78%	19 100%
Total		6 3%	2 1%	199 96%	207 100%

The data in Table 6.2 indicates that only six families reported that intra family relations have remained same even after displacement. Among them four families belong to the fishermen community and two others category. Two families belonging to other categories which include carpenters, blacksmiths, job holders and retired from defence service. They reported that the relations have improved after displacement. A large number of families reported that the family relations have become stressful after the displacement. This is mainly because of loss of source of livelihood by the families after the displacement. Each member of the family feels unsecured with loss of earnings. This has adversely affected interpersonal relationships among the members of family. In spite of the stresses and strains, the family members still live together to remove the feeling of insecurity among family members.

The other studies on displacement have also studied the relationship between the crisis of displacement and the psychological stress and strain. Mathur in his study of displacement found that: "Involuntary resettlement leads to increased stress, both

psychological and socio-cultural and also heightens morbidity and mortality” More or less in the same way Agarval also highlighted the matter of stress: “Displacement is associated with psychological stress and emerges out of the fear of abandoning the places of worship, which may invite the wrath of god and goddesses, the result may be increased sickness, death and grief” (quoted in Verma 2004a: 33).

In the original village, families whether small or large, had their own structure and functions with some definite norms, customs, and traditions. They directly or indirectly governed the behavior and activities of its member. As a result, each member performed his function according to his status, role and responsibility within the family. Thus, the intra-family relations were co-operative, goal oriented and sympathetic in nature. Yet after displacement the very structure of several families is shaken. The families have no definite goal, status and role. As a result, there are no fixed norms to govern the behavior and activities of its member. It means that on one-side, the families lost their common livelihood system and on the other side, they lost social ties and obligations. Prior to displacement, these two interrelated aspects kept family members alive, active and happy. Therefore, the intra-family relations were comparatively good.

Intimate Inter Family Relations

In rural areas, families not only depend upon neighbours but also depend on intimate relations with other families who usually help them during the critical situation or crises, although they do not necessarily belong to the same caste, kin and occupation or neighbourhood community. These kinds of intimate and special relationships are developed with families beyond their own caste and kin groups. Sometimes, these intimate and special relationships established by the family go beyond one’s village. This kind of intimate inter-family relationship sustains each

other. But, these relationships are broken after the displacement. This is mainly because, on one side, the entire displaced village is not resettled in one place and on the other side, some villages are partly displaced and some are fully displaced. This is the impact of the sea bird rehabilitation policy. Because, it forced all displaced fishermen to resettle in one rehabilitation colony and non-fishing families in another colony. Thus, these two different occupational groups having such kind of intimate social network with each other were simply broken after resettlement in different RC's. The families having such kind of relationships within occupational groups were also separated because of lottery system of selection of sites. Some got sites together in the same colony and some others got sites in different rehabilitation colonies. This is great loss to the social capital developed by the families through generations. The table 6.3 gives information about the same.

Table 6.3
Account of Inter Family Intimacy After Displacement

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Old Relations	New Relations	No Relations	Total
1	Agriculturists	26 39%	32 48%	9 13%	67 100%
2	Landless Labourers	19 54%	15 43%	1 3%	35 100%
3	Fishermen	16 19%	58 67%	12 14%	86 100%
4	Others	5 26%	12 63%	2 11%	19 100%
Total		66 32%	117 56%	24 12%	207 100%

Table 6.3 shows that among the 207 respondents, more than half, i.e. 57 percent have reported that they have new established and new intimate relations after the resettlement. It is good that families are developing such kind of extended intimate

relationships with each other. Such relations are not easily born and developed within a short period of time. Staying together for decades at one place and getting the experience of helping each other at critical situations, emotional give and take, may help them to find out and develop the intimate relationship with other families beyond the blood relationships. Substantial percentages (32) of families are having the same intimate relationships even after resettlement at the RC. This shows that even the trauma of displacement has not affected their intimate family attachments. The gaining of same social capital after involuntary resettlement helps to sustain each other. A few respondents 12 percent have no intimate relations after the displacement. The process of building houses, converting them in the homes, establishing the inter family relations is going on in the RC's. The families which joined late or self centered families coming from partly displaced villages have lagged behind in developing such kind interpersonal relations. The passing time and the life situations will provide them opportunity to establish extended intimate relationships with other families. The families, which were quick to adapt and understand that the establishment of intimate relationships is two way process and helping each other will facilitate the establishment of long lasting relationship, have established such relations soon after resettlement.

Divided Families

The families in affected villages were patrilineal and patrilocal in nature. The father was the head of the house and he owned the entire property. After the death of the father, the property and other assets were equally divided among the sons, but the responsibility of running the household rested upon the mother or the eldest son. In the absence of sons, the widow, who had authority over the household, inherited the property.

Involuntary displacement due to the construction of Sea Bird Project has made its own effect on the size and ties of the family. Normally, in the village life, brothers did not wish to live separately nor did sons intend to separate themselves from old parents. However, the crisis of displacement and involuntary resettlement forced them to opt for homestead site and rehabilitation grant of Rs. 50,000 or Rs. 70,000, offered by the sea bird rehabilitation package. In some cases, brothers managed to get homestead sites at one place in the same rehabilitation colony. Many more wished to stay together but lottery system of selection of plot forced them to live separately either within the same rehabilitation colony or outside the rehabilitation colony. Before the displacement, all brothers had common property, which held them together. But after displacement, there is no any common property to keep them together. Thus, several families are divided after displacement because of SBP. Verma (2004a: 215) has also observed the same in his study of the displacement caused by the Rehand Super Thermal Power Project situated at Singrauli region. "It was found that the people are no longer willing to listen and take care of their family members. Conflict between brothers for the sharing of property, deserted parents due to lack of residential space and money, women begging or working as maid, break down of family structure and the development of nuclear families are the most quoted narratives of the region after displacement". The present study also finds out such kind of trend of breakdown of joint families after displacement. The data in Table 6.4 gives clear picture of families broken after displacement.

Table 6.4
Occupation-wise Distribution of Broken Families

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	2 Div	3 Div	4 Div	5 Div	Total
1	Agriculturists	6 35%	7 41%	1 17%	3 68%	17 38%
2	Landless Labourers	3 18%	3 18%	3 50%	2 40%	11 24%
3	Fishermen	6 35%	5 29%	2 33%	0 0%	13 29%
4	Others	2 12%	2 12%	0 0%	0 0%	4 9%
Total		17 100%	17 100%	6 100%	5 100%	45 100%

As indicated from the table, after displacement, out of 207 families 45 families have been broken. Among 17 families, each have undergone 2 and 3 divisions in the original family. Whereas 6 families reported about 4 divisions and 5 families reported about 5 divisions after the displacement. As far as occupational background of broken families is concerned, the highest number of broken families (17) belongs to agriculture, followed by the fishing (13), landless labourers (11), and others such as carpenters, blacksmiths, priests etc (4).

Due to the division of joint families into nuclear ones and separation of married brothers and sons, family solidarity, which was prevailed before, was lost after the displacement. After the division, each nuclear family looks after its own interest. Some of them have resettled in the same rehabilitation colony and some others have resettled outside the colony. Before displacement, they were staying under one roof, which provided them socio-cultural security, support and confidence particularly aged and weak members but now it is vanished after displacement.

However, during household interview some female respondents highlighted the positive side of household divisions. They said, one or the other day, they wanted to divide and lead a separate, independent and responsible family life. Thus, displacement has given a chance for the division. This helps them to make plan and work for individual progress of their family and children. In the joint families, there was a difference of opinion among the members about division of household work, education of children, purchasing of household items like dress to family members, priority to luxurious goods such as TV, phone, cupboard, LPG, refrigerator etc. After the division, with the help of compensation amount, they constructed house and purchased some household goods they wanted to buy before the displacement. This has made the realization of dream of some of the families possible.

In the original village divided families were staying in the same village, mostly in close physical proximity. However, after the displacement the divided families have not resettled in the same rehabilitation colony. They are scattered over different places. The table 6.5 exhibits the place of resettlement of the divided families.

Table 6.5
Place of Resettlement After division in the Family

Sr. No.	Rehabilitation Colony	Same RC	Outside RC	Both	Total
1	Chittakula	6 50%	6 50%	0 0%	12 100%
2	Todur	4 17%	11 45%	9 38%	24 100%
3	Belekeri	7 78%	2 22%	0 0%	9 100%
Total		17 38%	19 42%	9 20%	45 100%

It may be observed from the table that among the divided families, 38 percent have resettled in the same rehabilitation colony, some 42 percent have resettled outside the rehabilitation colony and among 20 percent families, which belonged to Todur RC, some have resettled in the RCs and some others outside the RCs. The reasons for disintegration of families and staying separately in the rehabilitation colonies are different, which are compiled in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6
Reasons for Division and Staying in Different Places

Sr. No.	RC	Lottery System	Insufficient Site	Rehabilitati on Grants	Support from Relatives	Other Reasons	Total
1	Chittakula	4	2	12	2	2	12
2	Todur	10	4	18	3	3	24
3	Belekeri	0	2	9	2	3	9
Total		14	8	39	7	8	45

Out of 45 divided families, a majority (29) reported that the rehabilitation grant was the main cause for division and staying in separate places. The main reason for the breakdown of joint families after forced displacement was a dispute among the family members. This dispute arose because of sharing of the compensation and rehabilitation grants. The sea bird rehabilitation policy like rehabilitation polices elsewhere-treated individual member and not family as a unit for the compensation. The compensation for loss of family assets was received by the legal titleholder and two adult sons of the family received rehabilitation grant of Rs. 70,000 each. This developed the idea of individualism among the family members. Hence, the joint families broke into number of small segments.

According to the SBP rehabilitation package, the individual having legal ownership of family property has the direct relationship with the state. Only the legal

titleholders were entitled to the award of compensation, homestead land at RC, transportation grants, and other rehabilitation grants. In the beginning to get maximum R & R benefit, they show formal records to the authorities. However, when the award was declared in the name of two or more members of same (joint) family, the members developed the idea of selfishness. As a result, the conflict started for the sharing of R and R benefits, which in turn caused the division of the joint family. This shows during the crisis period of displacement even the elder members and the Kartha (Head) of joint family was unable to control the family disputes. The matter of money and materialistic attitude dominated over the family norms, values, customs and respect for elders and the Kartha. The lottery system of selection of site is the second significant factor that forced them to resettle in different places. Small size of the site and support from relatives are other stated reasons for the separation of families. Some 18 percent families have given other reasons such as one or the other day, they will have to live separately, quarrel among the members of the family regarding household work and responsibility etc.

In the original habitats all the members of joint family were involved in the process of common production. They all worked together to achieve the family goal. In the process of earning the common livelihood, they were mutually interdependent with their own norms pertaining to division of work and common property. These norms, directly or indirectly, controlled their behavior and helped them to have co-operative and harmonious relations within a family. When the SBP acquired the common property and the livelihood sources particularly agricultural land, CPR's such as sea and forest, the individual member of the family developed the selfish idea of his own survival. This shows that prior to displacement the common family property and common family occupation was binding force behind keeping all the

members together under one roof. Even sometimes, there are differences of opinion among the still they live together for two reasons. One, the strong family norms and common sources of livelihood. Second, in rural community joint family has got its own social status. To maintain its status, the members cooperate with each other and remain united. However, after displacement, on one side, the joint family lost its common property and common family norms and obligations and on other side, the village community itself was split into number of small divisions. As a result, the joint families were also divided into several small units. The views of Ahuja (1999: 69) about the disorganization of joint family support our empirical findings. According to him, "family disorganization is a caused by the breakdown of harmonious relations and co-operation among the members or breakdown of social control or unity and discipline". On the other side, Ogburn and Nimkoff (1956) focused on the importance of family functions. According to them, "family disorganisation results from the loss of family functions". Another significant aspect is that the SBP rehabilitation package allotted them only a small piece of homestead site measuring 30X40 sq.ft., 40X50 sq.ft. and 60X90 sq.ft. at rehabilitation colonies. These small plots are unable to accommodate the large size joint families. Hence, the members of joint family started living in separate nuclear families.

2. Caste and Village

The caste is fundamental to village community, just like kinship is fundamental to the caste. The great rituals, events of the life cycle, marriages and funerals bring together the members of kin, that is, caste fellows. When a person goes to another village, he usually visits his caste fellows there. Communication between villages is largely between people of the same caste (Mandelbaum 1972: 321).

As far as caste is concerned, the village communities are heterogeneous in nature. No doubt that these different caste groups staying in the same village have different socio-cultural position within it. However, they are functionally interdependent upon each other. It means that within the village the inter caste relationship involves dependence, cooperation, duties and obligations. The caste groups also play important role in social control and social solidarity within the village community. Mann (1984: 233) has highlighted this point. In the mechanism of social control, the organization of local councils has been the most effective means of resolving conflicts, restoring normalcy and keeping social order get going without more of disruption. Caste has had a prominent position in the context of structure such as councils. Biradari or Jati or caste panchayat has been a very vital social control mechanism.

The caste groups are differentiated in terms of privileges. Some are more privileged than the others are. Apart from this, the nature of inter caste interaction supports the view that the members of higher and lower caste interact on occasions when certain essential services are to be obtained by the higher caste people. It is chiefly through such interaction that the people of the lower caste are treated as important members of the village community. Such occasions make the insiders as well as outsiders believe that the village community is a solid and cohesive entity. Death is another occasion when inter-caste interaction takes a somewhat liberal form. In the event of a death, persons from all castes are allowed to come and express their sorrow and condolence. The members of village community feel sorry when someone from the village dies (Mann 1984: 227-231).

Srinivas (1991: 14) has focused on how the castes involved in different occupations of the same and neighbouring villages who are bound to each other with

economic ties. He said: "economic ties bind the castes living in a village, or a group of neighbouring villages. Generally, the peasant castes are numerically preponderant in villages and they need the carpenter, blacksmith, and leather-worker castes to perform agricultural work. Servicing castes such as priest (Brahmin as well as non-Brahmin), Barber, the washer men castes meet the needs of everyone except Harijans. The Artisan castes produce goods, which are wanted by everyone. Most Indian villages do not have more than a few of the essential castes and depend on neighbouring villages for certain services, skills and goods.' Hence we find that the jajmani relations between the Yajaman's and Kamin's are extended beyond the village boundaries.

In the present study area, more or less, the same kind of economic relationship existed among different caste groups of project-affected villages. Before displacement, the caste system was related to the socio-cultural and politico-economic network of the village community. The process of land acquisition for the SBP and the involuntary resettlement in the planned rehabilitation colonies has affected the socio-economic aspects of caste composition, particularly, caste groups, caste dominance and subordination, occupational identity of castes etc. This empirical study finds out that the change in the caste composition leads to change in the socio-cultural as well as in the occupational fabric of the village habitat and in the settings at new environment. The data in the next two tables gives information about it.

Table 6.7
RC-wise Distribution of Caste Groups

Sr. No.	Caste	Chittakula RC		Todur RC		Belekeri RC		Total	
		Freq*.	%	Freq*.	%	Freq*.	%	Freq*.	%
1	Bhandari			11	12			11	5
2	Komar-pant			29	33			29	14
3	Halakki-Vakkaliga			28	32	30	91	58	29
4	Gunagi			5	6			5	2
5	Brahmin			1	1			1	1
6	Achari			4	5	3	9	7	3
7	Harikantra	40	47	0	0			40	19
8	Ager			8	9			8	4
9	Catholic			2	2			2	1
10	Kharvi	46	53	0	0			46	22
Total		86	100	88	100	33	100	207	100

*Freq= Frequency.

The data in Table 6.7 indicates that there is a significant change in the caste composition in each place of the resettlement. Because, in the original habitats all castes existed. They were multi caste villages. However, after the displacement, the Chittakula RC has only two castes both belonging to fishing community and in Belekeri RC also only two caste groups are resettled i.e. Hallakki-Vakkalingas and Acharies. Only in Todur RC, we find all caste groups except fishermen castes. The Hallakki-Vakkaliga is a dominant caste in Belekeri RC, where as Kharvi and Harikranta are equally dominant in Chittakula RC. In Todur RC, Bhandari, Komar Pant, and Halakki-Vakkalingas together constitute 77 percent and remaining all caste groups constitutes only 22 percent.

Prior to displacement, each caste had its own occupation. In the original villages, the caste groups were functionally interdependent upon each other. In the

original villages minimum 12 to 15 caste groups existed in one village. Some of them were involved in their caste based hereditary occupations, and some other caste groups were engaged in one occupation. Whatever may be, in the original villages different castes were functionally interdependent with each other. After the displacement due to imbalanced resettlement of caste groups in different rehabilitation colonies, the functional interdependence between different castes has been disturbed. This kind of imbalanced caste resettlement has created the problem of caste-based services. This is not only because of haphazard resettlement of the caste groups but also due to the non availability of natural resources like sea, land, forest etc, which help the caste to maintain its occupational network. The families belonging to the Brahmin caste were involved in performing pooja of village God and other deities. They also play significant role in different sacramental rites during the ceremonies like marriage, birthday, naming, puberty, guruhpravesh, death etc. The other caste groups of village depend upon the services provided by the priestly caste. After the displacement no priestly caste family is resettled in Chittakula and Belekeri RCs. The common temple is built in the RC but there is no poojary in the RC to perform pooja. Hence, they depend upon priestly families of nearby villages i.e. Bhavikeri, Hattikeri, Avarsa, and Sadashivagad. In the same way, in the original villages the Achari families were involved in the caste based hereditary occupations such as carpentry and blacksmithy. They provided service to agriculturists and fishermen. After the displacement, no single Achari family is resettled in the Chittakula RC. The fishermen resettled in this RC are dependent upon the carpenters belonging to Sadashivagad and Majali village. In contrast, the Achari families resettled in the Todur (4 families) and Belekeri (3 families) have no work in RC. Because, there is no agricultural land, agricultural occupation and fishing. As a result, Achari families provide their service

to the farmers of the nearby villages' and to the town people. Gradually, they are changing the nature of their work. Instead of making agricultural implements, they are making office and household furniture, doors, windows etc for houses, motor bodybuilding etc. This new nature of their traditional occupation helps them to earn comparatively more than what they used to earn in the original villages. In this way, the displacement has brought some positive change in the earning level of those Achari families, which have adopted new kind of jobs.

However, the division of original village communities and the lottery system of selection of sites have caused separation of the caste and kin groups after the displacement. At the initial stage, this created number of problems to individual caste groups. The caste based horizontal unity, composition and strength is weakened. This has adversely affected the caste based festivals, functions as well as marital relations.

The SBP rehabilitation package forced families of one village to resettle in different rehabilitation colonies. As a result, as far as the village background of resettlers is concerned, rehabilitation colonies are heterogeneous in nature.

Table 6.8
Village Background of Families Resettled in RC

Sr. No.	Rehabilitation Colony	Binaga Village	Arga Village	Kodar Village	Chendiya Village	Bhavikeri Village	Total
1	Chittakula	57 66%	13 15%	5 6%	11 13%	0 0%	86 100%
2	Todur	2 2%	27 31%	51 58%	8 9%	0 0%	88 100%
3	Belekeri	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	33 100%	33 100%
Total		59 29%	40 19%	56 27%	19 9%	33 16%	207 100%

The above data shows that in the Chitatkula RC families belonging to four different villages are resettled i.e. from Binaga 66 percent, Arga 15 percent, Kodar 6 percent and Chendiya 13 percent. In Todur RC, the agriculturists belonging to four different villages are resettled i.e. from Binaga 2 percent, Arga 31 percent, Kodar 58 percent and Chendiya 9 percent. The Belekeri is the only RC where all the resettlers belong to single village i.e. Bhavikeri 100 percent.

As far as caste is concerned, the original habitats were heterogeneous. The caste composition of all the rehabilitation colonies is different from the original habitats. The comparison to the original villages, less number of caste groups are resettled in the RCs, while the as families from different villages are more in number. This is a major problem for the resettlers to adapt to socio-cultural and ecological environment. Because, the families of different villages follow different customs, traditions and norms. They believe in different Gods, and Goddesses; celebrate village fairs at different times and in different ways. When such families, with heterogeneous background, resettle in one place, it is difficult for them to trust each

other. Thus, there is a lack of cooperation, mutual understanding, mutual help and solidarity as a whole. After the displacement more than the caste, the village background plays an important role in the socio-cultural life of resettlers. During the field work, this was clearly discernible among the resettlers. Particularly in Todur and Chittakula RCs the families belonging to same village are more involved in socio-cultural functions of the families. During the ceremony of marriage, birth, naming and death the families belonging to same village visit each other's house. For example some Ager families originally belonging to Arga village are resettled in Todur RC. The Ager families belong to scheduled caste groups. After the resettlement there was a death in Ager family. At that time only the people of upper caste belonging to Arga village attended the funeral ceremony while as the upper caste people belonging to other villages resettled in Todur RC did not attend. In another case, the man belonging to Naik family committed suicide after the resettlement in the Todur RC. He originally belongs to Todur village. During household interview his wife told that there was a police enquiry about the death. At that time her own villagers helped to settle the matter. In this RC, the families belonging to Todur village are more in number. The youngsters belonging to this Todur village started celebrating 'Krishnastami' saptah (week) in the RC. One young boy made the idol of 'Lord Krishna' and few other friends contributed some money. They all together worked and put one small pendal using locally available materials and celebrated the 'Krishnastami' saptaha. This shows that during initial stage of resettlement more than caste and kin, the village background of resettled families plays a significant role in the socio-cultural and religious life. At the same time, it is also observed that slowly the families belonging to different castes and villages are adjusting with new socio-

cultural ecology and environment. Probably, with passing time they may assimilate with each other and may develop the idea of 'we feeling'.

3. Marriage and Kin Relations

Due to the displacement, the network of kinship relations developed by families within a village and with the neighbouring village communities are disturbed. The SBP acquired totally thirteen villages. Out of it, some eleven villages are partly displaced and two are totally displaced. The significant aspect is that none of the affected villages is rehabilitated totally in one particular RC. All the affected villages are divided and resettled in different colonies. As a result, the families and caste and kin groups are diffused after relocation. In the original villages the caste and kinship relations played significant role in the socio-cultural and religious life of the inhabitants. Such kind of informal relationship provided them a social security and stability. The caste and kin related families were sustaining each other in the original villages. Thus, the network of kinship relationships played a role of social capital in the village community. This kind of social capital maintained and developed by the family for generations was altered after displacement. The involuntary resettlement, thrown out the families from the familiar common social ecology and environment to the uncertain, unfamiliar social ecology. As a result, the conjugal relationships have suffered a lot after displacement. Because before the displacement, the familiar social ecology and kin network was acting as anchor in establishing the marital relationships between different families.

Behera (1990: 74) has highlighted the importance of kinship relations in the social life of the people. He writes: "kinship relationships in any society are central to its social structure. Patterned interactions, claims, obligations and sentiments are determined in a society by kinship relationships. Kinship has to do with relationships

of consanguinity and affinity. In the simple societies, every individual is related by kinship or affinity to everyone else and affiances are limited for practical the purposes to a selected few”.

Thus, the kinship system is closely related with the patterns of the rights and obligations within a particular social ecology. It is an informal way of social control. It indirectly conducts the behavior and actions of the members within a framework of socio-cultural and ecological limitations. Therefore, every community, whether it is simple or complex, rural, urban or tribal, has its own system of kinship relations. Of course, the degree of its intensity may differ from one community to another community.

In the SBP affected villages the network of kinship system assumed an important position in social life of people. It played a significant role in the development of marital relations. To establish marital relations, the families are very particular about the caste, kin and social status. In the original villages, the scope for development of marital relations was very wide. Because each caste and sub caste group has a wide kinship relationship within a village or in the neighbouring villages. Hence, they had a wide range of choice in selecting a family to establish a new marital relationship. The caste and kin relatives were playing an important role as mediators to develop the relations. After involuntary resettlement in the planned RCs, the scope for development of marital relations is narrowed. The displacement and lottery system of selection of sites forced the caste and kin groups to resettle in different colonies.

During group discussion resettlers highlighted that the non-displaced caste and kin groups are not prepared to give their daughters in marriage to the boys belonging to displaced families. The parents of girls think that the resettlers have lost their assets

and sources of livelihood. They are facing the problem of sustaining their families. Such families will not be able to provide even basic necessities to their daughters. The non-displaced families do not prefer to take a bride for their bridegroom from the displaced families. In this regard they think that displaced are 'nowhere people'. They will not be able to give good dowry and marriage gifts. Therefore, there is an inhibition to develop marital relationships with the displaced families.

The youth of the rehabilitation colony have brought out some other aspects pertaining to the marital relations. They said: "Soon after one or one and half years of displacement, a number of marriages took place between displaced and non-displaced or among displaced themselves. Because at that time every displaced family received a big sum in the form of compensation and rehabilitation grants. The non-displaced people had no inhibitions in accepting the brides from the displaced families thinking that the displaced are capable to give good dowry and marital gifts. Similarly, they also had no inhibitions to give their daughters to the displaced youth, as the displaced families got lakhs of rupees as compensation. However, this type of perception remained only for about one and half years after their displacement. Afterwards everybody realized that the relocatees had exhausted their entire compensation money in the construction of house purchasing of household goods and for daily consumption. Now, there are rare chances of marital relationships between the displaced and non-displaced families".

Another significant change observed among them after the displacement is the way of marriage celebration. Before displacement marriages were generally arranged by brides' families in front of their house or in the temple of a village or in the temple of neighbouring villages. But after resettlement in the RC's many marriage ceremonies are held in marriage halls (Kallyan Mantapa or Mangal Karyalay) in

towns. This new trend developed among them basically for two reasons. First, after displacement the compensation money was jiggling in their pockets, which tempted them to celebrate marriage function in a grand way. Second, after the displacement they lost their social and human capital. In the original habitats the neighbours, intimate inter-family relations, relatives, caste and kin groups were used to provide free service during marriage functions. Everybody used to co-operate and mutually help to erect marriage pendal, writing and distribution of wedding invitations, collection of vessels for cooking marriage food, welcoming guests and giving them a homely treatment etc. The intimate inter-family relations and blood relatives provided coconuts and vegetable free of cost, which they grow in their horticultural fields. This social capital and human capital earned through living together has come to an end after resettlement in the planned RC's. Therefore, the displaced prefer to arrange their marriages at marriage halls in nearby towns.

Thus, the caste, kin, neighbourhood groups etc., which provide social security and social stability to the inhabitant families are disorgnised after displacement. After resettlement, the families are establishing marital relationships within a limited range of relations. At pre-displacement stage, the agricultural land, horticultural field and trees, fishing boat and net, sharecropping, and other income generating assets determined the status of the family within a particular caste, kin and village community. These income generating assets and livelihood sources of family played a significant role at the time of establishing the marital relations. However, after the resettlement in the RCs, the families lost their agricultural land, horticultural fields and trees, fishing boats and nets and livelihood sources and income generating assets. Some of them managed to get employment in the SBP on temporary or permanent basis. Some others are involved in sharecropping, wage labour and artisan work. Few

of them have undergone the self-employment training. Hence, in the near future the employment in the project or outside the project and self-employment activity will determine the status of family within caste, kin and rehabilitation colony.

4. Neighbourhood

The resettlement of families belonging to the different villages in the same rehabilitation colony and due to lottery system of selection of sites caused a change in the neighborhood. Hence, it would be interesting to know how far the rehabilitation colony as a whole helps to develop interpersonal and informal relations among the neighbours and pattern of mutual help and assistance between them. It is also interesting to see the change and continuity in the neighbourhood structure after the displacement. In the village social life, the neighbourhood relations played a considerably significant role. There is a system of rights and obligations, which bind together the families of a particular neighbourhood within the village community. As Reddy (1981:81) aptly writes: "during the period of difficulties, a family naturally looked forward to the assistance of its neighbours. During pregnancy and childbirth, women were helped by its neighbours; when its earning member suffered from illness and failed to procure any food, the other residents supplied some food every day: during the period of difficulties helping others was looked upon as a moral duty. At the time of conducting puberty, marriage and death ceremonies, the members of a settlement readily cooperated with one another. In certain other ways also the settlement acted as a distinct unit".

Before the displacement, some close social ties existed among neighbours but this character is lost after the resettlement because of several factors. On one side, due to partly displacement of villages, some families lost their original neighbours and on the other side, different villagers are resettled in the same RC by following lottery

system of selection of sites. Consequently, each resettled family got its neighbour by chance, who belong to different castes, kin, status and occupations. The close network of neighbourhood relations is not yet developed in the new place of resettlement. They are trying to deal with the problem of poverty through their own means like private loans, exchange of food grains, vegetables and other household goods and services. To meet the basic family needs, they seek help from their own villagers resettled in the same RC or some times outside the RC. In the RCs, water is supplied through taps and bore wells. This new system of water facility is appreciated by some families and criticized by some others. Some felt that in the original village they drew water from neighbourers well. This created dependency and indebtedness. But with the new system of water supply, they have become free and independent. However, others were of the opinion that one person is always required to fetch water. There is no fixed time for water supply. In the original villages they drew water at any time from their own well or neighbors well. The water was a means to maintain and develop social contact and relationships with each other in original villages. The table 6.9 shows the change in neighbours after relocation.

Table 6.9
Change in Neighbour After Displacement

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Old Neighbour	New Neighbour	Un known Neighbour	No Neighbour	Total
1	Agriculturists	3 4%	55 83%	3 4%	6 9%	67 100%
2	Landless Labourers	11 30%	19 55%	3 9%	2 6%	36 100%
3	Fishermen	12 14%	66 78%	4 5%	3 3%	85 100%
4	Others	2 11%	13 68%	0 0%	4 21%	19 100%
Total		28 14%	154 74%	10 5%	15 7%	207 100%

Beteille's (1969:19) observations in the case of Tanjore village are relevant here: "the physical structure of the village, in some measures, is a reflection of its social structure. The people, who are close to each other in the social system, tend to live side-by-side; the people whose social positions are widely different live apart. Other things being equal physical distance can be seen as a function of structural distance". Joshi (1982: 39) also notices same kind of residential pattern in village Pimpalwadi, which is displaced due to construction of Jayakwadi irrigation project in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra state. He said: "The residential arrangement tends to show that the groups of people are in proximity to one another, more or less, conforming to the pattern in the social structure. Those who live close to each other or side-by-side tend to be members belonging to one's own caste and/or kin as far as possible. These residential groups or clusters show the positions of the people in the social structure at two levels. (1) Those, whose social ranks or cultural traits are, more or less, alike, live close to each other, and (2) those, whose ranks are widely different or who are culturally different, live apart".

Thus, the residential pattern of any village community reflects the socio-cultural life patterns of the inhabitants. There is some kind of co-relationship between the physical proximity of families and their social status in particular ecology. This study also observed, more or less, such kind of ecological settings in original habitats. As the is already explained, the physical settlement of the coastal villages of this area is more dispersed in nature. However, the caste, kin and occupation based pockets of settlement was common in the SBP affected villages. Though the multi-caste and multi-occupational groups were staying in one village as a unit of solidarity, there were separate dwelling pockets in the form of 'Keri' or 'Wada' (Ward) within a village. The Achari families involved in carpentry and blacksmithy work were living

in the 'Achari Keri'. The socially, economically, politically backward families belonging to Halakki-Vakkaliga caste families were residing in the 'Gouder Keri', where as all fishermen were living close to sea area in the 'Kharvi Wada' or 'Harikrata Wada'. This shows that the people belonging to same caste, kin and occupation were living in close physical proximity, which helped them to develop the close neighbourhood relationships and intimate socio-cultural ties.

In the original habitat, which was affected by the SBP, the neighbours cooperated with each other in a variety of ways, and such kind of cooperation was invariably based on mutual help and benefit. Prior to displacement, one neighbour borrowed utensils or staple foods from another neighbour. The women folk, particularly those who did not have their own well, drew water from neighbours well. The male members exchanged daily labour required to cultivate the field or catching fish. They attended and celebrated family festivals, functions etc. together. All this was possible as they were staying in close physical proximity for several generations. However, after displacement, the neighbourhood structure is disorganized. The data in table 6.9 confirms this. The same kind of neighbourhood pattern is not continued after resettlement in the RC. Majority of the families reported that their neighbours belonging to different village, caste, kin and occupation. Due to the absence of livelihood sources and economic activities in the RC, the interdependence among the resettled families particularly, neighbours, is lost. There is no scope for exchange of labour, horticultural product, goods and services. Due to the absence of horticultural trees, cultivation, household industries, and caste based occupations, there is no socio-economic give and take among the neighbours. They are resettled in the same RC and in the same lane but living like strangers. Of course, after several years of living together in the same locality, they may develop interpersonal relationships.

The household interviews in rehabilitation colony reveal that only 14 percent households have old neighbours after the displacement. A large number 74 percent of households have got new neighbour after resettlement in the RC. About 5 percent families reported that they do not know who their neighbours are. This is mainly because the construction of houses and resettlement process is still going on in the RC. And 7 percent families reported that they have no neighbour at all, as the allotted sites are not occupied. Thus, there is significant change in the physical proximity as well as relationships among the neighbours after the displacement.

5. Village Leadership

Human life is essentially a group life. The existence of a group is necessitated by the fact that individual needs are satisfied through participation in and the help of a number of group activities. There is a concurrence between individual and group objectives. For achieving these objectives there must be someone to organize and unite the group, to mobilize it, to channelise its aspirations and resources and to lead them in achieving the common goals. The persons who lead a group for its common goal are known as the leaders of that group (Joshi 1982: 100-101). Thus, leadership is a group phenomenon. It is a product of group life (Bogardus: 1934). Sanderson and Polson write, "If the community is to be able to act as a unit it must have leadership which is recognized and has community confidence. Community leaders are necessary to make decision to direct community activities and to speak for the community in relation to both its internal organization and its outside leadership. If there is no leader, no one can speak for the community and the effective community action is aborted" (quoted in Joshi 1982: 101).

Before the displacement by SBP, each village had several leaders. They usually represented their respective castes. In the beginning, they collectively fought

against the project. However, when they realized that the state is more powerful and they are weaker, they stopped fighting against the project. They changed their goal of fighting for getting the maximum resettlement and rehabilitation benefits. These leaders were belonging to different castes, communities and occupational groups. However, when rehabilitation policy divided the village communities into fishing and non-fishing groups, the leaders got diffused and their influence diminished. Hence, the strong state became stronger and the weak leaders became weaker.

On the contrary, the Narmada Bachav Andolan (NBA), which is fighting for resettlement and rehabilitation of SSP dam, displaced people in Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh succeeded in bringing this issue at national and international level. Therefore, the question arises as why the leaders and struggle forum of SBP displaced people failed to get attention of the elite class and the government. The field observation suggests two main reasons. One, the number of project-affected population is comparatively less. This has weakened the struggle forum. The leaders of this area are not as strong as the leaders of the NBA. They are comparatively less dynamic to motivate the people and the elite class. The leaders of this movement lack the overall knowledge about the displacement and rehabilitation problem. Second, there is a difference in the nature of development project. The SSP is related to irrigation and power production. Due to this nature of the project, there is scope and freedom to launch a sustained movement either for cancellation of the project or to reduce the height of the proposed dam. Hence, along with displaced people the social activists and the elite class participated in the movement. It drew the attention of the national and world for its sustained and large participation. However, the SBP is not an ordinary infrastructure development project. It is the heart of the nation and the national goal. It is directly related to the national defence. The identity of India as an

independent nation-state and freedom of its citizens is based upon the national security. The displaced people are well aware of this. Naturally, the participation of NGO's, social activists, and the elite class in the movement is very less.

The village and local leaders failed to make movement strong. However, they did fight for getting the maximum R and R benefits. The displaced invariably depend upon them particularly, during the crisis period of the displacement. Because, the leaders were the main source to overcome from such crisis. The people in the project-affected villages are poor and illiterate. They have no any official contacts and knowledge about legal matters. Hence, they depend upon traditional leaders for any information outside the village. When they received land acquisition notice, many did not understand it and hence, they approached their leaders for consultation. The data in table 6.10 shows the faith and dependency of people on the village leaders.

Table 6.10
People Approached to Understand Land Acquisition Notice

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Not Responded	Advocates	Village Leaders	School Teachers	Revenue Officials	Others	Total
1	Agriculturists	0 0%	8 11%	51 78%	0 0%	5 7%	3 4%	67 100%
2	Landless Labourers	0 0%	0 0%	22 59%	3 9%	2 6%	9 26%	36 100%
3	Fishermen	1 1%	8 9%	64 76%	9 11%	1 1%	2 2%	85 100%
4	Others	2 10%	2 10%	14 75%	0 0%	1 5%	0 0%	19 100%
Total		3 1%	18 9%	151 73%	12 6%	9 4%	14 7%	207 100%

Table 6.10 exhibits that prior to the displacement the role of village leaders were significant. The villagers had a strong faith in their leaders. During the crisis of the displacement, they approached the village leaders. Out of 207 families, 73 percent

families reported that they approached their village leaders to understand the details about land acquisition and compensation notices. About 9 percent families approached advocates, 7 percent families met others like relatives, family friends, government servants etc., 6 percent families directly approached revenue clerks, and one percent families did not respond to this question.

The village leaders along with local leaders fought through the struggle forum for better compensation and proper rehabilitation. A number of high power committee meetings were held at the district head quarters and at the state capital city. Finally, the rehabilitation package was declared and families evacuated from their hearth and ancestral property. Every family received big sum as compensation. Many of them had never seen previously lakhs of rupees in their hand. They vacated their houses, left behind common property resources, sources of livelihood, buildings, wells, trees etc. and moved towards the new places of resettlement. Some resettled in rehabilitation colony and some outside the colony of their own. When the compensation amount and rehabilitation grants exhausted in construction of houses, consumption of food and social obligations, they felt that though the compensation amount appeared too big in the beginning it was meager for the rehabilitation. This realization led to the demand for revaluation of compensation and rehabilitation grants. In this respect, they needed guidance and suggestion from outside. In the original villages they used to approach their village leaders. However, after the resettlement, due to absence of those leaders, they began to look for others. The data in table 6.11 indicates this.

Table 6.11
Sources Approached for Revaluation of Compensation

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Not Approached Anybody	Revenue Officials	Village Leaders	Advocates	Struggle Forum	Others	Total
1	Agriculturists	25 37%	0 0%	2 3%	32 48%	5 7%	3 5%	67 100%
2	Landless Labourers	22 60%	0 0%	0 0%	6 17%	0 0%	8 23%	36 100%
3	Fishermen	45 53%	1 1%	20 24%	16 19%	1 1%	2 2%	85 100%
4	Others	5 26%	2 11%	0 0%	8 42%	0 0%	4 21%	19 100%
	Total	97 47%	3 1%	22 11%	62 30%	6 3%	17 8%	207 100%

Out of 207 resettlers, 97 families did not approach anybody to revalue rehabilitation grants. They felt that nothing would happen now. In addition, they had the thinking that if others get extra benefits, they will also get the same. This made them not seek help from anybody for the revaluation of R and R grants. Among the families, which sought help, majority (62) approached the advocates as they had shown interest to fight for revaluation of compensation. In addition, initially they charged very less fees to file the case. The second highest number (22) of respondents consulted village leaders. Out of 22 respondents, 20 belong to fishermen community as some fishermen leaders are settled in rehabilitation colony. The non-fishing leaders are not resettled in rehabilitation colony. About 8 percent respondents consulted others like relatives, family friends etc. Only 3 and 1 percent families consulted the struggle forum and revenue officials respectively. This shows that there is a significant decline in the role and the dominance of traditional leaders after the displacement. Of course, some new young leaders have emerged in the rehabilitation

colonies but they do not have social sanction of the entire colony. They themselves are acting as leaders in the new place of resettlement. They are the self-proclaimed leaders. In the original villages caste and community leaders' role in political field was minimal but their role was significant in the socio-cultural and religious sphere of the village life, particularly in arranging the socio-cultural and religious functions like caste and community festivals, village jattras, local and regional festivals, marriage arrangements and resolving conflicts, births and deaths in the village etc.

6. Education

Fernandes and Raj (1992) found that out of 184 children only 57 (31 percent) were going to school and out of 90 girls only 10 (11 percent) were in school- and this was after the school had established for nearly 20 years. The children in the nearby villages, by contrast, were receiving regular education either in the government school or in the village sponsored schools. Beyond India itself, calculations suggest that if 10 million people are displaced worldwide every year, mostly in Africa, Asia, Central America and South America, there could be at least 2 million children up to 14 years of old, or at least 2 million school age children, are affected by relocation (Mahapatra 1996, Mohanty 1983 quoted in Mahapatra 1999: 212).

The Indian researchers have observed the high dropouts of school going children in India and worldwide due to the phenomenon of displacement. The present study has also identified educational dropouts after the resettlement. However, such number is very negligible. However, at initial stage of resettlement one cannot arrive at a definite conclusion about the dropout rate among the displaced children. After passing a decade or so, the ratio of school dropouts and educational changes may be visible. One has to wait to see the real educational trend in the RCs'. Here, this study is not claiming that identifying such educational trend at initial stage is impossible.

Rather the main focus of our study is not on this aspect but its emphasis is on the total educational status of the RCs'. Hence, the study collected the primary data pertaining to the educational level of each member of the sample families, which, in turn, helps to calculate and understand the overall educational level of each family and the RC. This also helps to draw per capita educational standard of the rehabilitation colony. This study assumes that there is some correlation between the educational level of resettles and their bargaining power to get resettlement provisions at new place. The field data reveals the positive significance towards this hypothetical proposition.

Table 6.12
RC-wise Educational Condition

Sr. No.	Rehabilitation Colony	Children Below School Age	Illiteracy	Primary	Secondary	College	Technical	Total
1	Chittakula	26 5.90%	57 12.92%	148 33.56%	127 28.79%	42 9.52%	41 9.29%	441 100%
2	Todur	17 3.54%	97 20.20%	199 41.45%	119 24.79%	19 3.95%	29 6.05%	480 100%
3	Belekeri	10 5.61%	50 28.08%	77 43.25%	32 17.97%	3 1.68%	6 3.37%	178 100%
Total		53 4.84%	204 18.56%	424 38.58%	278 25.29%	64 5.82%	76 6.91%	1099 100%

The rate of illiteracy in Chittakula RC is lowest where as in Belekeri RC it is highest. This variation is primarily attributed to the fact that in Belekeri RC majority of resettlers belongs to socially and economically backward Halakki-Vakkaliga families. They had apathy towards education for generations. Instead of sending the children for schools, they used to engage them for field work, rearing of livestock, household industries etc. This was the main reason for high illiteracy among them. However, in the recent decades they have shown interest in the education of their

children. The total educational level of this particular RC is low. The educational level of Chittakula RC is highest among three RC's followed by Todur and Belekeri.

To calculate the per capita as well as each RC's education level a specific weightage was assigned to each educational status. To get clear statistical result, this study followed the weightage system as follows.

1. Illiteracy - zero.
2. Primary education- one mark.
3. Secondary education- two marks.
4. College education- three marks.
5. Technical education- four marks.

As a result, we got a different statistical picture about the educational level of resettlers and the RCs. The table 6.13 exhibits the same.

Table 6.13
RC -wise per Capita Educational Level

Sr. No.	Rehabilitation Colony	Total Population	Primary	Secondary	College	Technical	Total Weight	Rank
1	Chittakula	441	148	254	126	164	592 1.34	I
2	Todur	480	199	238	57	116	610 1.27	II
3	Belekeri	178	77	64	9	24	174 0.97	III
Total		1099	424 0.38	556 0.50	192 0.17	304 0.27	1376 1.25	

The study analyses in detail about the variations in the resettlement provisions in three different RC's in the chapter number four. The civic facilities available in the Chittakula RC are comparatively far better than that in the rest of two RC's. And in Todur RC civic facilities are better than the Belekeri RC but lower compared to

Chittakula RC. The civic facilities available in the Belekeri RC are worst of all the RC's. The resettlers get due concern from the R and R authorities only when they have strong bargaining power for better provisions. The education, though not sole but is one important factor, which plays a significant role in getting of better resettlement provisions. Another important factor is the organizational level of the resettlers. Here also directly or indirectly the level of people's education has some role in it.

7. Vulnerable Groups

The involuntary resettlement caused due to the SBP development is the outcome of a planned decision made by our welfare state, whose main goal is the welfare of the people, particularly those belonging to the downtrodden and vulnerable groups. The state justified the coastal displacement caused by the SBP on the ground by stating that it fits into the nation's ideology and the national good. However, the local inhabitants are permanently evacuated from their ancestral properties, ecology and environment. As a result, the displaced are confronted with the problem of adaptation and adjustment to the new socio-cultural ecology and environment. The worst affected among them are women, children and elderly people, who are the vulnerable group. These groups feel that the SBP's R and R package has not made any special provision for their protection and development.

Of course, the sufferings of these vulnerable groups are not new to the involuntary resettlement studies. Many researchers, engaged in the study of this phenomenon, have identified the problems faced by these vulnerable groups, particularly the displaced women folk. Mehta (2002: 2) said: "The notion of the oustee which is often unproblematically assumed to be a male householder, the family which is assumed to be a unitary and homogenous entity, the nature of losses which

are deemed to be calculable and notions of well-being which are often conceived of in material terms. However, women's rights, assets and spheres of control often center captured in and understood by policy makers and risk being undermined in the course of resettlement”

The present study also observed the socio-cultural and economic problems faced by women folk at new relocations. Prior to displacement their, day today life activities, socio-cultural give and take, status and roles were closely associated with the informal social network. They developed the symbiotic relationships with their own neighbours, caste and kin groups, co-villagers, and intimate inter family relations. This kind of social capital developed for generations had provided them social security and stability. The phenomenon of displacement made alterations in such social capital.

During the gender based group discussion some Hallakki-Vakkaliga women expressed their miserable condition in the RC. They said: “The SBP R and R policy makers have done injustice to the women community. We sacrificed our sources of livelihood and earnings for larger good. In return what did we get? A mere homestead and unfertile non-irrigated site. In the original habitats at least we survived with drinking sufficient drinking water available in our own well or in neighbours well. The drinking water, a basic necessity for human survival, is also lacking in the RC. For generations we used to bring fuel wood from the forest and sold in the village or nearby towns. The project took away our customary rights over forest earnings. This has disturbed our symbiotic relationship with the forest. As a result, we lost not only the independent earnings but also our emotional attachment with the forest. If the state will not care and protect our customary rights then who will protect us?”

Thukral (1988: 221) highlighted how the law of the state makes a gender bias. She opines: “The Indian Land Acquisition Act explicitly states that if the ‘person interested’ is not available to receive the notice for acquisition then it may be handed over to, or served on, any other adult male member who resides within family (him). If no ‘adult male’ is present then the notice may be placed on the outer door of the house or in some conspicuous place in the office of the collector or courthouse etc. In other words, if a notice is served on women, it is not legal”.

The Indian state has developed such kind of legal bias towards the gender. This may be because of the patriarchal and patrilocal lineage/family system existing in the Indian social system. Because law is always based on the customs, traditions and norms existed in the society. Not only this, the record of the rights pertaining to land maintained by the state officials are also most probably based on the male decent. Though the law provides for the provision of property rights to female child, in social practice male decent inherits the property. This social practice is reflected in the Land Acquisition Act of the state.

However, such kind of legal deficiencies can be overcome by providing some special benefits to women community through the rehabilitation package. The most positive sign of SBP rehabilitation package is that it gives equal status to gender. Policy does not make any discrimination on the basis of gender while allotting Rs 70,000 rehabilitation grant to two adult members of project-displaced family. Moreover, the women are given some extra benefit in the R and R package. Accordingly, one unmarried female member of the displaced family above the age of 35 years was considered for special R and R grants of RS 70,000. This is a positive sign of the SBP R and R package.

Probably, very few female members availed this special benefit due to certain conditions laid down by the R and R package like age and marital status. Hence, the women resettled in the Todur and Chittakula RC told: “we are not happy since resettled in the planned RCs. Here, the long learned skills and occupations have no scope, particularly, making of household items, drying and selling of fish etc. We lost income-generating activities. Our breadearning male members are also spending time idly due to non-availability of employment opportunities in the RC. As a result, our families are facing the problem of low income, which has reduced our purchasing capacity. We have no money to purchase daily necessities like rice, vegetables, coconut, fish, oil, sugar, tea powder etc. We women are the first victims of this, as what to cook and how to feed the family is our everyday problem. Hence, we are unable to serve good quality nutritious food to our family members particularly the children and elders”.

In the rural communities gender based division of labour exists. The men work in the fields or go for fishing where as cooking, cleaning vessels, fetching water, upbringing of children, collecting fuel wood, fodder etc are responsibilities of female folk. Thukral had evaluated such activities of women on social parameter. She says: ‘The collection of fodder and fuel or water is often not a purely economic activity. It is an opportunity to socialize and exchange confidences and news. In other words, they have a social relevance. If these activities stop, the social life is also altered’ (Thukral and Singh 1995: 20 cited in Verma 2004a: 34).

The present research study pertaining to the SBP displacement observed that women folk lost two kinds of capital: social and financial. In the original villages they were involved in socio-cultural activities and interactions. They were symbiotically related with neighbourers, caste and kin groups, and intimate inter family network.

They were responsible for socio-cultural give and take at the time of family functions, cultural and religious celebrations, village jatras and local festivals. It is women who played important role in the development of intimate relations with one's own neighbour. Women are invariably involved in fetching of water from neighbours well, exchanging food, vegetables, vessels, daily necessities and ideas. Such kinds of socio-cultural activities related to social capital are altered after involuntary resettlement. Now different villagers, new neighbours, caste and kin groups are resettled in the RC. However, slowly and gradually they are adapting to new ecology and environment.

On the other side, the women have also lost their familiar and more secured financial capital. Consequently, they feel that after the displacement they lost their contribution to family income. At new place, they are helpless to supplement the family income and livelihood. Some of them are adapting to new economic network. Like in the original villages, some fisherwomen are now getting involved in fish selling business. Some women belonging to Halakki-Vakkaliga and other castes are collecting and selling fuel wood and working as wage labours in agricultural field in the nearby villages.

In the original villages, along with the women, the children and the elders were also involved in common property based household industries such as the collection of leaves from forest to make leaf plates, flowers to make garlands, honey, gum and mushroom, fuel wood etc. They were also involved in making of baskets, ropes, mats and broomsticks with available local raw materials. The school going children, before and after school hours, helped their mothers and elders in the household industries. Some children belonging to fishermen community were earning ten to fifteen rupees daily and catching some fish by pulling rampancy fish net on sea shore.



6.5 A view of civic amenities in the Chittakula RC.

6.6 Displacement: Impoverishment and Homelessness.



6.7 Miles to walk for fetching of portable water after displacement.

potable

6.8 Evacuees waiting to load dismantled home (materials) in to the truck.



Like the women and the children, the elders are also facing some socio-economic problems after the displacement. Verma (2004b: 221) has focused on the significance of children and elders in maintenance of household tradition and culture. He states: "it is the responsibility of the community and society to look after the elders and the children, since the elders are the carriers of the traditional culture and values and children are seed of future generation. The Indian tradition and ethos have always advocated respect for the elders. But the spirit of respect and regards to elders was comparatively neglected in the new scenario after the displacement".

This kind of attitude develops among the members of displaced families due to the loss of common source of livelihood. They feel the elders are burden to the family. The individual member of the family after getting rehabilitation grant and other benefits in his individual name became self centered. The individualism and materialistic view dominated over his spiritual and traditional view about the elders and family. There are instances of children deserting their aged parents.

At the time of group discussion the elderly people expressed their helpless conditions at the new place of resettlement. They feel that they have capacity as well as skill to do some household productions and make some contribution to the family income. But the procuring of raw material is the main problem in the RC. They have no way other than to spend the time idly in the RC. Hence, after the displacement the income level of the family decreases, and the dependency ratio increases. As a result, the earning member of the family feels that the elders are burden to the family.

The elders expressed that the SBP rehabilitation policy has not given due importance to the elders. It is essential to add some special provisions in the rehabilitation policy to protect the interests of the elderly people. They further said that, 'we sacrificed everything for the nation. The government must declare some

pension scheme to the elderly displaced people, like a pension given to the freedom fighters. We are also one kind of freedom fighters. They sacrificed their time and life to get freedom; we have also sacrificed our hearths, habitats, socio-cultural ethos, and sources of livelihood, emotional attachments, ecology and environment for the national development and protection of the nation and national freedom'. If the government gives such facility to the elders, then they may be able to maintain their original status and command in the family even after the displacement.

8. Religion: Socio-cultural and Religious Functions

The displaced people leave behind not only their private property like houses, land, wells and trees but also community property like community hall, temples, Gods and Goddesses at their original habitats. Hence, when they resettle without such community assets in the rehabilitation colony, they feel like 'fish out of water'.

In the original villages, people celebrated various socio-cultural and religious festivals. Along with the regional, some local festivals played a significant role in socio-cultural and religious life of people. Each village celebrated a dozen of festivals during the year. The most significant were the 'Dodda Habba' (big festival), which marks the beginning of the agricultural year in February or March and festival of 'Dev Habba' (God Festival) which is celebrated during harvest.

The Halakki Vakkaligas and some other castes also celebrate 'Bandi Habba' for a whole week. These festivals are almost discontinued after the resettlement. Each festival has its own purpose. Both Dodda Habba and Dev Habba were connected with agriculture. However, the displaced people are not provided with agriculture land. Hence, these festivals are not celebrated.

Village Jatras

Each project-affected village had its own village God. Irrespective of caste and community difference, they all together used to celebrate jatra of village God. Such kind of jatras/fairs provided an opportunity to meet other villagers and their caste and kin people. These jatras provided good market to the traders to sell sweets, balloons, toys, ice candy etc. After the displacement and the resettlement in rehabilitation colony, the village jatras are not held. Because, at the new place of resettlement, the people have not developed the idea of their own village. There is a common God and temple in each rehabilitation colony. However, it is more mechanized in nature. Because, it is the R and R authorities who decided the place and architect of temple and even its God but not the displaced people.

The villagers of Kodar resettled in Todur rehabilitation colony brought their original Idols of Gods to the colony. However, these are not yet installed. The displaced people from partly affected villages did not bring the Idols of their Gods. During field investigation the resettlers reported three main problems related to Gods and their installation. One, there is no separate place in the RC to install the village Gods and deities. All the plots are allotted to the project displaced families. This shows that there is shortage of space in the RC. Hence, the fundamental question is that, how the next generations will adjust with this RC. How the RC will accommodate the natural growth of population and also increasing number of families due to the divisions. In the original villages, extra space was available to sustain village population and common village activities. Two, the maintenance of regular pooja is problem in the RC. This is not because of the absence of the poojari in the RC as the poojari (Rama Bhat) family of the original village is resettled but other reasons. The feeling of helplessness was evident in the poojari. He says: "In the

original village, I was doing pooja of many village Gods and deities. The worshippers brought coconuts, fruits and dakshina (gift in the form of money) to God. This helped us to sustain our family without any problem. But in the RC only one temple is built by R and R authorities. The families resettled here belong to the different villages. They also have yet not developed the idea of village God. They also have no money and kitchen gardens around their dwellings to bring fruits, food grains and coconuts to offer to God. Ultimately as poojari, we suffer. My son has got a temporary job in the project as a labour supervisor. It helps us to maintain our family. However, we are worried about the future. After the completion of the project, my son will become jobless. It will be difficult for us to maintain the family". Three, the original village is split into number of small divisions. Hence, the lack of unity and organization among the resettlers is also a problem to take up common religious activities. After the resettlement in the RC, the earning level of all resettlers has decreased. Naturally, they have no money to contribute for religious activities like the construction of temple, arranging the religious functions and ceremonies etc. Also there is no community accepted leader in the RC to organise the people for common socio-cultural and religious activities.

In summary, we can say that after the displacement from the original habitats, families belonging to different villages are resettled in various rehabilitation colonies. They belong to different castes, occupations and villages. The resettlers do not appreciate this kind of resettlement. They preferred village wise resettlement. However, the rehabilitation policy framed by sea bird authorities did not considered the views of the people, and hence, the village communities, caste and kin groups, occupational groups etc. are disorganized. As a result, the 'community feeling' is not yet developed among the resettlers in the RCs.

Mohamad (2000: 2007) has rightly pointed out the drawback of the Indian R and R planning process. He opines: “one of the major drawbacks of the existing R and R paradigm is its dependence on the state and the project officials. Since these officials are outsiders, they tend to homogenize the displaced and impose their worldview and understanding on them. They believe that the problems faced by the entire displaced are the same. Also, questions like, where to resettle them, what measures need to be initiated to enhance the quality of the settlers etc. are decided by the resettlement officials. The displaced thus became the objects and not the vehicles of development”.

This has also happened in the area under study. The entire SBP R and R planning is made by the officials and policy makers. Of course here and there some suggestions made by the leaders of struggle forum are incorporated in the plan. However, by the families evacuated from the traditional habitats hardly got chance to decide about their future life and resettlement. Hence, the entire R and R plan is criticised by the resettles. The co-operation and active participation of the project-displaced people plays a significant role in the R and R plan and practice. This is very much essential because for generations they are living together in a particular habitat. They know better than any body else about each others' needs, desires, skills, compatibilities, problems, though there might be the difference of opinion among them. They were assimilated with each other socially, culturally, economically and psychologically as they are living together for generations. The symbiotic relationship is developed with existing local environment. Therefore, their opinion and involvement in each and every stage of resettlement and rehabilitation is very much essential for the success of rehabilitation.

There was absence of involvement of displaced people in SBP R and R process. As a result, there was unrest and revolt among the displaced families. Many of them rejected planned agrarian areas and rehabilitation colonies. They were supposed to stay in the rehabilitation colonies but resettled on self-selected location. They were critical about the civic facilities available in the RC. In reality the lack of civic facilities is secondary matter for them as they did not have them in original villages. The most important concern is the lack of socio-cultural, economic, and common property resources. As a result, some displaced families have shown their resentment towards planned R and R process.

The history of origin of the RC is hardly three to four years old. Still the RCs are in the transitory phase of evolution. The displaced families are slowly and gradually joining the RCs. They are constructing their dwellings in the planned RCs. During the initial stage of resettlement each family physically belongs to a particular RC, socio-psychologically they are in the original villages. Each one feels like a stranger in the new place of resettlement. The idea of 'our own village' or 'community feeling' is not fully developed among them. This shows that the 'community feeling' is not developed among the resettlers not merely because of a material things, civic facilities and development of physical structures at particular locality. But it develops due to the natural inhabitation of families, caste, kin and neighbourhood relationships.

The idea of 'community feeling' is evolved among the inhabitants by living together for generations in a particular locality and by developing the symbiotic relationships with the ecology and environment. The resettlers had developed such kind of 'community feeling' in their respective original habitats, since they were staying in the fixed geographical area for generations. As a result, the local ecology

and environment powerfully determined the static and dynamic nature of the SBP affected coastal village communities. The families, castes and kin groups, religion, politics, economy and environment were assimilated and symbiotically related with each other. Naturally each and every inhabitant family developed the idea of 'our village' or 'community feeling' in the original villages.

The new rehabilitation colonies are neither having the characteristics of rural community nor the features of urban community. It means that the RCs are neither having agrarian nor fishing occupations like in rural society nor having industries and employment opportunities like in the urban society. While establishing the planned RCs, the R and R authorities forget the basic human needs and instincts behind origin of any human habitat. The main reason for existence of any 'human habitat' is to enable the human beings to satisfy their (socio-economic, bio-psychological) needs and desires, hopes and aspirations. Therefore, the place and pattern of habitat must be decided by the people themselves. Habitat must develop its own community systems. The people belonging to it have opportunities to involve in socio-economic functions and activities. The community requires an opportunity to develop relationship with environment and common property resources. The functional interdependence within community and between community and environment is necessary. This helps for the stability, fraternity, unity and organization of a community as a system.

The families resettled in the SBP planned RCs have originally come from the naturally evolved rural coast. Before the displacement, they were actively involved in agriculture, forestry, CPR based household industries, fishery etc. These socio-economic activities helped them to develop functional interdependence among themselves and with local environment. They had developed mutual co-operation, understanding, stability, security, fraternity, unity and community feeling. After

resettlement in the RCs there is no scope for functional interdependence. Each family is searching its own source of livelihood outside the range of RC. They are trying to develop the functional relationship with families, firms, industries, trade and business outside the RC. As a result, at least in the initial stage of resettlement the 'community feeling' is not found in the RC.

Thus the transitory phase of displacement and resettlement is very crucial from the point of view of involuntarily resettled community. Because, the community as a whole faces the problem of drastic socio-cultural transformation. The transition from the original habitat to the rehabilitation colony is fundamentally a socio-cultural and economic process. Hence, while rehabilitating the displaced community at new place of locality due care for social, cultural, economic, religious, political, bio-psychological and environmental resettlement is a must.

The rehabilitation colonies should have the wide scope for Socio-cultural interactions and interrelations. This brings the different families resettled in the same RC together in to a meaningful contact and communications. It helps them to develop a 'web of social relationships' at the new place of relocation, which in turn, helps them to develop the 'sense of belongingness' or 'community feeling'.

CHAPTER VII

RESETTLEMENT AND LIVELIHOOD SYSTEMS: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

Introduction

In the displacement, the poverty and impoverishment are the primary matters of discussion (Cernea 1997). Hence, in this chapter, an attempt has been made to understand the resettlers' livelihood systems before and after the displacement. It probes the multiple economic activities of SBP affected families in detail. Thus, it primarily deals with how the economic activities of resettled families are inter-linked with the socio-cultural and ecological life patterns of the village community before and after the displacement. It also enquires into the degree of change and continuity that occur in the livelihood systems in the process of involuntary resettlement. Accordingly, certain important sources of livelihood i.e. land, occupations, livestock, household industries and common property resources are discussed.

LIVELIHOOD SYSTEMS: ADAPTATION, CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

The Marxian theory of superstructure argues that the economic structure determines the cultural patterns of a society. Charles Darwin also propounded that "economic activity is linked with the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest" (quoted in Biswal 2000: 218). Thus, the economy or money plays a significant role in the social life of the people. Its significance in the study of displacement and involuntary resettlement is vital. Because as Cernea (1997) points out, poverty and impoverishment are the heart of the matter in the displacement. Therefore, the detailed study of multiple economic variables of displacement is necessary. Pearce (1999: 57) also has emphasized the role of money in the displaced people's life. He said: "the one-rupee loss may be far more important in social terms than one rupee

gain; even where the gains and losses accrue to the people with the same income or wealth". He further stated that the concerned government and the R and R authorities must have to recognize that a one-rupee loss for displaced has a higher social value than the one-rupee gain to project beneficiaries.

This indicates that as a result of development project, the displaced should not be only in the losers' category. It is difficult for them to overcome from this socio-economic 'trauma', 'pain' or 'loss'. This is due to the loss of their socio-economic basis of life and livelihood network to the development activity. Unless the government provides sufficient base or opportunity to regain livelihood sources, it is difficult for them to overcome from economic 'losses. The displaced make a way for development, in turn, face only loss, where as non-displaced get benefit from the project. In other words, it is the right of the displaced people to enjoy the fruits of development. If this happens, then the civil society can justify the process of development-induced displacement on the humanitarian grounds, otherwise it is difficult to justify the entire process of involuntary resettlement. Particularly, it is more difficult to the democratic country (civilized society) like India, whose main goal is the welfare of the downtrodden people belonging to rural, tribal, and vulnerable groups. When the planners of the country fail to achieve this, the entire well planned development project tends to be less successful. Thus, at first stage, what is required is to maintain well balance between the 'losses' and 'gains'. At later stage, it is essential to provide them more 'gains' than the 'losses' or 'pains'. So that they should feel happy and proud about the project and nation. Thus, the people displaced from their hearths and sources of livelihood due to infrastructure development must be the prime beneficiaries of it.

After the displacement, the economic structure and functions of the resettled families under the SBP have undergone visible changes, particularly during the initial stage of their resettlement.

The term 'rural economy' is generally used in the broader sense. It includes number of economic activities related to rural economic network. Therefore, for the purpose of scientific study, the rural economic network, its structure and functions in the Sea Bird Project area are divided into the following categories:

1. Agriculture and Horticulture
2. Livestock
3. Wage earning
4. Fishing
5. Conventional Services.
6. Forest and Household Industries.
7. Trades and Business.
8. Occupational Shifts and Social Mobility.
9. Use of Compensation.

1. Agriculture and Horticulture

The most important aspect of the cropping patterns of the project-affected villages is the predominance of food grains, particularly paddy. The other crops grown in this area include groundnut, pulses, sugarcane etc.

Paddy

The farmers in the entire project affected villages cultivated paddy (Bhatta in Kannada). The paddy lands were divided into gazni and houda. Gazni lands were yielding one crop in a year. Honda lands were the fertile rice plots, which yielded either two crops of rice or one of rice and another of pulses in a year. The cultivator

followed two kinds of techniques for the paddy cultivation: 1) broad casting technique 2) transplanting technique. Among these two, transplanting technique was much more popular in the zone as this method gave higher yield. However, compared to broadcasting method, this was slightly costlier. The transplanting of the seedlings costs the extra labour charges. Under this method, cultivators grew seedlings on one part of the land. These seedlings were removed after four to five weeks and transplanted in a well-developed field. The agrarian community followed the ritual of performing pooja at the time of transplanting the seedlings. The Halavakki-Vakkaliga farmers used to have their customary dance called 'suggi kunita' (harvest dance) at the time of harvesting the crop.

Groundnut

Groundnut was cultivated as a second crop in the paddy field in the affected villages. It was grown under residual moisture condition. The average yield was about four to five quintals per acre. Usually, the cultivators having land with sandy loam soil used to grow groundnut in their respective fields. This crop was more profitable than paddy as it was used for extraction of oil for cooking. The dried leaves and stems were used as fodder for cattles. This crop had double benefits. The farmer got income and also fodder for the livestock.

Pulses

Some farmers in project-affected villages grew pulses in their fields. Pulses were grown as second crop after the paddy. Because, soon after harvesting of paddy the sufficient moisture was available in the soil, which is suitable for cultivation of pulses like-black gram (Kari Hurali), green gram (Hasiru Kala) etc. After cleaning the paddy fields one or two courses of ploughing was done and then good quality gram seeds were broadcasted. This crop was harvested within three months. Usually,

the farmers having irrigation facility cultivated this crop. The pulses not only gave extra income but also helped to improve the fertility of the soil.

Sugarcane

Sugarcane is a commercial crop but was not much popular among the cultivators of project-affected villages. Because the land quality was not much suitable for growing sugarcane. Some agriculturists used to cultivate sugarcane in small quantity either to sell it for chewing purpose or for making sugarcane juice at juice centers in city.

The field observation reveals that the horticulture has made considerable impact on the economy of the project-affected family. During fieldwork the respondents spoke about the cultivation of fruit bearing trees in original villages. Generally, they used to cultivate coconut, areca nut, cashew nut and other fruit bearing trees like mango, jackfruit, chikko, papaya, banana etc. Every house in the affected village, whether it belonged to agricultural or non-agricultural family, was having a kitchen garden where fruit bearing trees and vegetables were grown.

Coconut

The sandy soil in affected villages was much suitable for cultivation of coconut. Coconut trees are usually propagated from nuts, which are not plucked but are allowed to ripen and fall from the tree. These nuts are sown in a moist, ploughed ground with their tops above the surface. The coconut trees begin to bear fruit after five to ten years based on the nature of the soil and continue to yield fruits till they are about sixty years old.

Areca Nut

Areca nut is also called as betel nut (Adike in Kannada), which is a widely used article of consumption and for performing pooja by the Hindus. The chewing of

betel along with betel leaves and a little lime is a habit prevailing among all castes and classes of people. Though this is a profitable commercial crop, it was not popular in project-affected villages. A very few cultivators in certain parts of Belekari, Bhavikeri, Kodar and Arga villages cultivated areca nut. About 400 to 500 plants are planted in an acre. The areca tree begins to bear fruit about ten years after its plantation. The crop is usually plucked when fully ripe between November and March. The nuts are dried in the shade for 30 to 40 days and then the outer layer of nut is removed.

Cashew Nut

In the project-affected villages, growing cashew nut was common among agriculturists and encroachers of forestland. The cashew nut seeds collected from healthy trees bearing regular and heavy nuts of medium size were used for sowing. The cashew nut tree begins to bear fruit in the third year and it attains the full bearing stage by the 8th or 10th year. The trees give good yield for nearly 20 to 25 years after which they begin to decline. The average yield from a fruit-bearing tree is about four to five kg per year. The cashew nut trees also provide cashew apple, which is sweet when it is fully ripe. Its juice is rich in vitamin 'C' and sugar. Therefore, it is used for making of alcohol. Some families resettled in the Todur RC reported that they used to prepare alcohol from cashew apple in the original village. They used to sell alcohol to fishing community and labour class within and outside the village.

The other kinds of fruit bearing trees are mango, jackfruit, chikko, papaya and banana. A very few farmers grow these kinds of trees by using proper plantation technique. Many displaced families reported that these kinds of fruit bearing trees grew naturally around their dwelling place. They did not require separate agricultural field to grow.

After the resettlement to the new place under sea bird rehabilitation plan the situation has changed. Whatever agricultural land, crops and trees were available before displacement are not available in rehabilitation colony. Because the resettlers received cash compensation in lieu of land and assets lost due to the project. Different families lost different some amount of land to the sea bird project. The table 7.1 provides this information.

Table 7.1
Occupation-wise Amount of Land Lost by the Resettlers

	Family Occupation	No. Loss	1 Acre	2 Acres	3 Acres	4 Acres	Total
1	Agriculturists	0	21	9	29	8	67
2	Landless Labourers	36	0	0	0	0	36
3	Fishermen	80	3	0	2	0	85
4	Others	12	3	1	2	1	19
	Total	128	27	10	33	9	207

Table 7.1 shows that prior to the displacement 79 resettled families directly depended upon the cultivation. The land and soil was their major source of economic activity and livelihood. The landless labour families (36) and other families (12) involved in allied occupations were also dependent on agriculture. The significant change brought up in all the landholding families is that after the displacement is that they all became landless families. It means a cent percent change occurred in landholding pattern due to SBP.

This kind of drastic change took place because SBP offered only cash based package and thus, almost all the landowners simply resettled in rehabilitation colony on small piece of homestead site without agricultural land. This shows how the cash compensation for the land turns the farmers into landless labour category.

In the village community, land plays significant role because the rural habitants and their economy is fully based upon land cultivation. Therefore, for the

agrarian based community land is not only the major source of livelihood but also it is a social source, which determines the social status of the family in the agrarian social structure. Because of this reason, generally, the landholders enjoyed comparatively higher social position in the rural community. The sharecroppers, landless agricultural labours and village artisans were respecting them. However, after the forced displacement and cash compensation in lieu of land lost, they have been reduced to the status of landless labours. The SBP authorities allotted almost equal size of homestead site to all agriculturists. Some of them got 50 X 60 sq.ft. sites and some others got 60 X 90sq.ft. sites.

During the field investigation, the resettlers told that some rich farmers, who rejected rehabilitation colony and resettled themselves outside colony, were able to buy half or one acre land. They were not able to buy as much land as they lost to the project. Because, the compensation received by them for their land was very low. The real market price of land was much higher than what they received from the government. Hence, they not only lost land but also their social confidence, social status, social role, social security and livelihood systems.

Land Ownership

Exhibiting the significance of land in the lives of rural poor, Sam Thangraj says, "Land in India is more than a resource base. It has a symbolic, rather than a market value. More than houses, land is the people's valuable property. Not only does it enable them to grow food for subsistence and cash crops with which to obtain money to buy essentials, it is often considered to be the sacred land as the property of the ancestors. Often key parts of the local religious beliefs and customs are closely associated with land" (quoted in Verma 2004a: 29).

Land is much more valuable in the SBP affected villages of the west coast. This is mainly because of scarcity of land. Hence, the landholding is one important instrument to raise family's socio-economic status in the village society. The table 7.2 exhibits the land ownership and cultivation before the displacement.

Table 7.2
RC-wise Distribution of Land Ownership and Cultivation Families

Sr. No.	Rehabilitation Colony	No Land		Own Cultivation		Tenants		Both		Total	
		No.	Per.*	No.	Per.*	No.	Per.*	No.	Per.*	No.	Per.*
1	Chittakula	80	93%	5	6%	1	1%	0	0%	86	100%
2	Todur	26	30%	52	59%	2	2%	8	9%	88	100%
3	Belekeri	22	67%	9	27%	0	0%	2	6%	33	100%
Total		128	62%	66	32%	3	1%	10	5%	207	100%

Note: No. = Frequency, *Per. = Percentage.

The study indicates that there were 62 percent landless families before the displacement. The data in the table shows that the landowning families' relationship with land, as a cultivator is also different. Among them, 32 percent families were directly involved in the cultivation of land on their own, only 1 percent landowners depended on tenant cultivator and about 5 percent land owned families partly cultivated their land by themselves and partly depended upon the tenant cultivator. This shows that the process of land acquisition not only affects those who own land but also affects the tenants and sharecroppers.

Thus, on one side, the cash based compensation dismantled the economic organization and activities and on the other side, it disintegrated the long existing network of social relationships between the land owning families and the tenant families. In the original habitat the landowners knew very well about the needs and problems of sharecroppers and the landless agricultural labourers. They were living in

the villages for several generations. They were functionally dependent upon each other. These functional necessities not only provided them economic and livelihood security but also provided the socio-cultural and psychological status and security within the village ecology. The small peasants, sharecroppers, landless labourers, conventional caste people were giving respect to the landowners. As a result, they enjoyed certain social privileges within a village. The social stratification, which existed in the original villages, had some economic relevance. Myrdal (1968) has rightly points out that “low average income inequality and stratification are causally interrelated”. He further states that the economic inequality is typically the outcome of social inequality and the reverse is also true. This shows that the economic and socio-cultural systems of human habitats are symbiotically related with each other. It is difficult to draw a line between these two. The assimilative relationship between these two systems always sustains the people in their respective ecology and environment. If an alteration takes place in one, it affects another and breaks up its assimilation. As a result, the socio-cultural and economic life patterns of people are disturbed. The agricultural system that prevailed in the original village enabled the different categories of people to satisfy their variety of needs. The functional requirements bound them together. As a result, they were symbiotically related with each other. The economic network, which evolved and developed within the village community basically, sustained each other’s economic necessities. However, it determined not only the economic life of the village community but also determined the socio-cultural ecology and the interactions among the villagers. Thus, after the displacement village the communities are broken, the families and occupational groups symbiotically related with each other for the purpose of livelihood system are scattered. The occupation based division and resettlement in different rehabilitation

colonies and the system of distribution of cash in lieu of land lost followed by the SBP rehabilitation policy are responsible for drastic change in the village socio-economic system.

To sum up, the field observation and data suggest that prior to the displacement; land and agrarian network played a significant role in socio-cultural and economic life of the SBP affected rural people. The process of land acquisition not only decreased the number of landowners and cultivators but also decreased the land based socio economic stratas. After the displacement, land based stratification did not remain because all land owners turned into landless labour category. This shows how displacement with simple cash compensation in lieu of land converts 'haves' into 'have-nots'. This kind of conversion marginalized the resettlers in several ways. The nature and extent of socio-economic problems like poverty, unemployment and low standard of living, intake of low calories etc has changed. Thus, the loss of agricultural land and socio-economic network are the major factors in the marginalization of the displaced people. On the one hand, this entire process of land acquisition reduced the opportunity to work in the agrarian structure and on the other side; there is no any opportunity for employment at the new place of resettlement. Of course, here and there, a few resettlers have managed to get temporary/permanent jobs in the SBP. However, their percentage is very low. Hence the study observed that in the new relocation there is absence of occupational interdependence among the resettled families. For the purpose of securing livelihood opportunities, the families are developing relationships with agencies outside the RCs. It means that the economic avenues required satisfying basic human needs are controlled by agencies outside the RCs. Therefore; there is no economic give and take among the resettled families, which has invariably affected the socio-cultural life

patterns of the relocates. This has been highlighted in the previous chapter. Probably, after passing of time, the resettlers may develop the economic relationships with each other, which may help them to develop new culture at new ecology and environment.

Thus, the phenomenon of displacement has not only disturbed the village economy but has also altered the socio-cultural network that existed in the villagers. It has modified the basic social institutions like family, caste, kin, marriage, religion, leadership etc. It alters the basis of social status, roles, norms, values and social control. The informal socio-economic network, the barter system of economy converts into the market economy. As a result, the resettled families find it extremely difficult to adapt and adjust with such a drastic socio-economic and cultural changes.

Cropping Pattern

Before the displacement all the cultivators were mainly devoted to the production of food crops and horticulture. They mainly grew the regionally popular food grains like paddy, pulses, vegetables, coconut and others (sugarcane, watermelon etc.). The cropping pattern before the displacement is given in the table 7.3.

Table 7.3
Cropping Pattern

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Rice Frequency	Pulses Frequency	Vegetables Frequency	Coconut Frequency	Other Crops Frequency
1	Agriculturists	59	11	15	35	28
2	Landless Labourers	0	0	0	0	0
3	Fishermen	4	1	1	4	1
4	Others	6	4	0	7	1
	Total	69	16	16	46	30

The field data suggests that before the displacement majority of the cultivators grew paddy in their respective fields. The second important crop grown was the

coconut. Then came other crops like sugarcane, watermelon, ragi etc. Equal number of cultivating families used to grow pulses and vegetables in their fields.

After the displacement, all the farmers got only compensation money in lieu of loss of land. At the place of resettlement, there is no agricultural land and hence, there is no field-based activity. They lost self-sufficiency of food grains for consumption. They all depended upon the market economy.

Before the displacement, a bulk of the farmers who produced food grains in their respective fields were self-sufficient in terms of consumption. In addition, there were some farmers who produced excess food grains, which they sold in the local market. The data in table 7.4 gives information about the consumption and sale of food grains.

Table 7.4
Consumption and Sale of Food Grains before Displacement

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	No Land		Sufficient for Consumption		Consumption and Sale		Total	
		No.	Per.*	No.	Per.*	No.	Per.*	No.	Per.*
1	Agriculturists	0	0%	35	52%	32	48%	67	100%
2	Landless Labourers	36	100%	0	0%	0	0%	36	100%
3	Fishermen	80	94%	3	4%	2	2%	85	100%
4	Others	12	63%	6	32%	1	5%	19	100%
Total		123	62%	44	21%	35	17%	207	100%

Note: No. = Frequency, *Per. = Percentage.

Sukri Gouda aged 50; from Bhahvikeri village resettled in the Belekeri rehabilitation colony has aptly brought out the impact of loss of land cultivation on farming community. During group discussion she said, "We used to cultivate watermelon in our fields. Every season we used to give one-watermelon each to our intimate family friends and neighbours. We also used to sell them in Ankola market

and earn some income. This entire socio-economic activity has stopped after displacement". This shows that the agricultural production pattern of land ownership determines socio-cultural activities in the rural habitats. After the displacement every resettled family, irrespective of their previous background have come to depend on the market to purchase eatable and other things. It means that in place of agrarian based barter economy market economy has assumed significance after the displacement. However, the families dependent upon the agrarian and barter economy were found to be unable to adjust with the market economy. This is more difficult because after the displacement families rehabilitated in the RCs are unable to gain the agricultural network and production. The skills and techniques learnt from earlier generation are rendered useless at the new place of resettlement. Until they acquire new skills required to take up new occupations and start earning, it is difficult for them to adjust with new market economy. Jamdar (1998: 41) has attempted to analyse, how the process of land acquisition and displacement of rural habitats leads to the impoverishment of certain sections of people. He writes: "If management of economy is left entirely to the market, it would only serve the purpose of those who command some entitlements in the market.... Persons who own no lands, no houses, who have no other assets, individuals who have no special human capital in terms of skills, education, beauty or physical powers or links with social capital in terms of affiliation to social organization and institutions, cannot expect a reasonable livelihood from the market nor can they influence it in any way". Market is largely a mechanism of the propertied class or in Marxian terminology a sphere of the haves not of the have-nots. On the contrary, in the context of resettlement and rehabilitation, one has to deal with a large number of individuals and families who have been displaced from their usual and traditional habitat but generally fall in the category of 'have-nots'.

After the displacement from coastal villages some 'haves' may become the 'have-nots'. The category of 'have-nots' is not new to the displaced community as it existed before the displacement. But the families belonging to this category have developed certain skills and techniques to sustain their life and livelihood in a given ecology and environment. The caste, kin, neighbourhood, inter family intimate relations, and other informal relations developed by them within a village or with neighbouring villagers are also sustained. The phenomenon of displacement brings the rapid change in the fundamental basis of life sustaining skills, techniques, ecology and environment. This makes them difficult to adapt and adjust with new ecology and environment of rehabilitation colonies.

Hence, when a democratic government like India acquires lands, homes, and other sources of livelihood from the rural inhabitants for the purpose of nation and national good, it is the state's responsibility to provide proper resettlement and rehabilitation for both 'haves' and particularly 'have-nots'. In Indian context, this responsibility is totally transferred to the state domain, mainly because it is a welfare state. The resettlement and rehabilitation is a welfare activity, which, the state should ensure. In the context of displacement and rehabilitation, the independent 'nation-state' like India, whose main aim is the welfare the people, must follow the John Raskin's idea of 'Unto the Last' or Mahatma Gandhi's principle of 'Sarvodaya'. Because due to the SBP coastal inhabitants lost their safe and secured life and livelihood systems. As result, 'haves' joined the 'have-nots' category and 'have-nots' were further marginalized after the displacement. Of course, there are some exceptional families, which have improved living standards after the displacement. Usually, those who have ability and skill to adapt and adjust quickly with the new situation and ecology are relatively better after the resettlement. Here, the human

resource and managerial skill of displaced people played important role in the resettlement and rehabilitation. However, all the displaced people did not possess these qualities. In spite of this, they were safe and secured in the original habitats. The villages are naturally evolved in the particular ecology and environment. The inhabitants living in the fixed geographical area develop 'we-feeling'. This 'we-feeling' helps them sustain each other in several ways. The village at a micro level works like 'micro welfare-state'. But due to SBP these micro welfare states are broken into number of small units. These small units are not self-sufficient and are unable to sustain themselves at new uncertain ecology and environment. Therefore, for their sustainable development they look towards 'macro welfare state' ('nation-state').

Table 7.5
Loss of Fruit Bearing Coconut Trees by PDFs

Sr. No	Family Occupation	No Loss	Up to 5 Trees	6-10 Trees	11-15 Trees	16 and Above Trees	Total Trees Lost	Total
1	Agriculturists	1 1%	11 16%	24 37%	14 21%	17 25%	1041 (15.53)	67 100%
2	Landless Labourers	9 25%	15 42%	11 31%	1 2%	0 0%	162 (4.5)	36 100%
3	Fishermen	23 27%	40 47%	12 15%	8 9%	2 2%	404 (4.75)	85 100%
4	Others	6 32%	7 37%	5 26%	0 0%	1 5%	87 (4.57)	19 100%
Total		39 19%	73 36%	52 25%	23 11%	20 9%	1694 (8.18)	207 100%

Note: Figures in the parenthesis indicates the average trees lost by family.

Table 7.5 indicates that 19 percent of the resettled families did not lose any coconut tree. The lowest among them are the agricultural family (1) and highest are fishermen families (23). Among the losers 36 percent families lost up to five trees,

25 percent families lost six to ten trees, 11 percent families lost 11 to 15 trees, whereas 16 and above trees were lost by 9 percent families.

In all, 1041 trees of the agriculturalists were lost. Thus, on an average 15.33 trees per family were lost. The fishermen lost totally 404 trees with an average of 4.75 per family, landless labour families lost 162 trees; average per family is 4.5 and others lost 87 coconut trees with an average of 4.5 per family. Totally, the resettlers with an average loss of 8.18 per family lost in all 1694 trees. One small family of three to four members survives with four to five trees. Because coconut tree not only provides coconut but also gives variety of raw material to run household industries like broom making, rope making, making roof for cattle sheds etc.

During the fieldwork several respondents told that after the displacement, they were buying coconuts from the market. In the original place of habitat, they did not buy coconuts from the market. They were getting coconuts either from own trees or from neighbours or intimately related families. The barter system prevailed in their original village, which facilitated exchange of goods against goods. After the resettlement, they have recognized the significance of barter system, coconut trees, neighbours and intimately related families.

Some female members highlighted the significance of coconut trees in their socio-cultural life prior to the displacement. During the group discussion of female folk Noori Gouda aged 58 of the Kodar village resettled in Todur rehabilitation colony expressed her feelings in the following words: "In the original village whenever people like you visited our homes, we used to offer them tender coconut to drink. That was the natural cold drink available in our village. In some shops locally made soft drinks and soda bottles were available. However, the small shopkeepers

did not have refrigerators. Here we have neither coconut trees and nor money to buy coconuts or soft drinks. Now we can offer you only water, nothing more than that”.

The horticultural trees and crops not only help to generate the family income but more significantly it provides opportunity to develop socio-cultural contacts. It helps to develop emotional attachment with people within a village and outside the village. Therefore, the loss of trees is not a simple economic loss but it is loss of families’ nutritious food, means of socio-cultural interactions and emotional attachments to the trees around the dwelling places.

Table 7.6
Loss of Fruit Bearing Horticultural Trees

Sr. No.	Kinds of Trees	Agriculturists	Landless Labourers	Fishermen	Others	Total
1	Papaya Tree	32	11	2	4	49
		66%	22%	4%	8%	100%
2	Chikku Trees	19	29	8	6	64
		30%	47%	13%	10%	100%
3	Banana Trees	98	12	79	16	205
		48%	6%	38%	8%	100%
4	Mango Trees	265	33	58	27	383
		69%	9%	15%	7%	100%
5	Jack Fruit Trees	90	16	40	9	155
		58%	10%	26%	6%	100%
6	Betel Nut Trees	141	2	12	2	157
		90%	1%	8%	1%	100%
7	Other Trees	374	52	99	22	547
		68%	10%	18%	4%	100%

In summary, the data in table 7.6 suggests that the horticulture played a significant role during the pre-displacement period. Because, irrespective of the occupational background each and every category of household reported that they lost variety of horticulture trees. They grew such kind of trees around their dwelling places without much stress and strain. The trees around their residential place not only

provided variety of fruits and raw materials but also their shadow made houses cool and pleasant.

Such kinds of fruit bearing trees and flower bushes around the dwelling places helped inhabitants in several ways. They provided them a variety of rich quality eatable fruits, helped to earn subsidiary income by making pickles particularly lime and mango. They also had the socio-cultural and religious significance in the village life. Whenever the members of a family went to the temple of gram dev or other deities they used to carry flowers, coconut, betel nut, bananas and other fruits to offer and perform pooja. This indirectly sustained the families belonging to the priest class. Thus, the horticultural trees helped them to maintain the religious traditions, norms and customs, faiths and beliefs, ways of performing pooja etc.

Throughout the year the Hindus celebrate different religious festivals and sacramental ceremonies. No such sacramental ceremony is performed without fruits, flowers, coconuts, betel nuts, fruits, mango leaves, banana leaves etc. Particularly, during Ganesh Chaturthi, Laxmi pooja during Deepawali, Durga pooja during Dasara (State festival), Tulasi pooja, Satyanaryan pooja, Srikrishnashatami, Gruhapravesha (Vastushanti), Shivalinga pooja etc the products of these orchids gain religious significance.

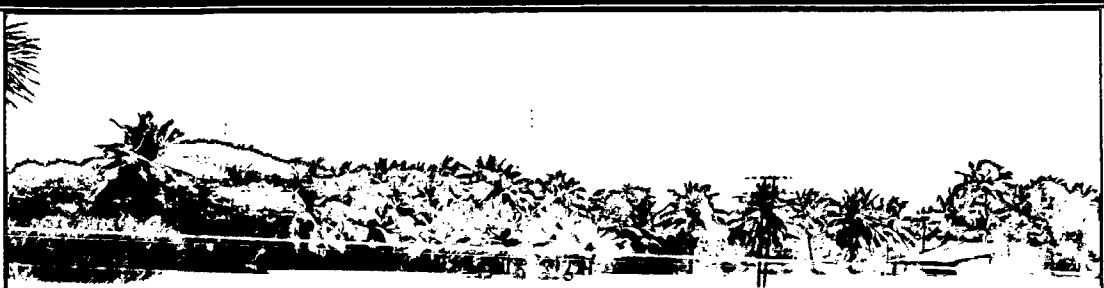
The city people depend upon local market for the fruits and flowers required to perform different religious ceremonies. But the rural people, particularly remote coastal villagers, fulfill these needs within the village itself. Every family was having one or the other kind of flower or fruit bearing tree around their dwelling place. Some families grew several varieties of such trees. Hence, they mutually helped each other during religious performances.

2. Livestock

In India, almost 75 percent of the farming communities are involved in livestock rearing, especially those living in the more ecologically and economically fragile areas of the country (Ghotge and Ramdas 2002). In India livestock plays a multi-faceted role in providing drought power for the farm, manure for crops, and energy for cooking and food for household consumption as well as the market (Narayanan 1997).

Before displacement villagers were involved in livestock activities, the activity of maintaining and grazing cattles provided supplementary income to families. The villagers' life is closely associated with cattles and hence, many of them were associated with cattle grazing along with main household occupation. Resettlers reported that they had a cattle shed either on one side or in front of their dwelling place. They usually kept cows, buffaloes and pair of bullocks. Cow and buffaloes milk and milk products like curd; curd milk, butter and ghee were used for the consumption and for sale locally.

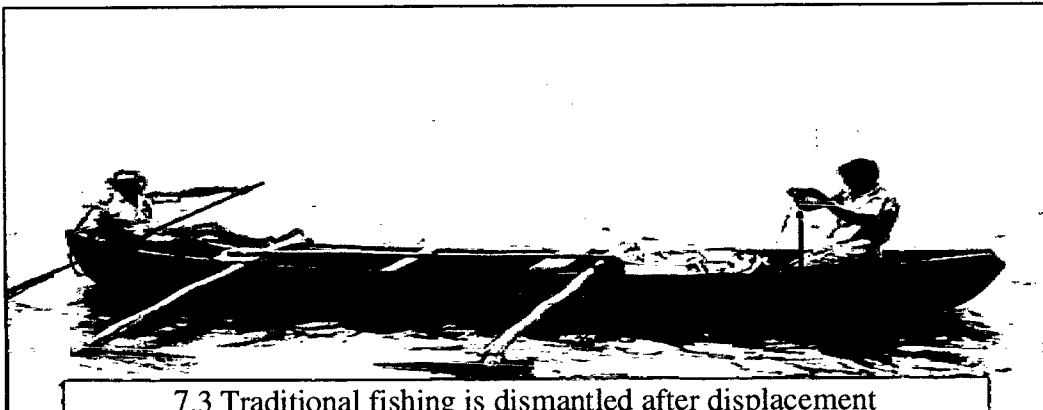
The maintenance of livestock was easy before the displacement because in the original villages common property resources were available particularly water tanks and grazing fields. When cattles returned from grazing fields in the evening, the elderly male and female members of the family took care of them. Children also helped in several ways. The children took cattle for grazing fields before going and after coming from schools. After displacement, there is discontinuity in livestock activity and income. The table 7.7 asserts the information about the livestock before and after the displacement.



7.1 Horticultural trees, rice fields of Original villages show sustainability of agricultural network



7.2 a and b Procuring raw material is major problem in the RC to run household industries



7.3 Traditional fishing is dismantled after displacement



7.4 Sea fishing is not individual effort!



7.5 Loss of Forest: Difficulty in procuring fuel wood

Table 7.7
Livestock Before and After Displacement

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Before Displacement			After Displacement		
		No. of Cows	No. of Buffaloes	No. of Bullocks	No. of Cows	No. of Buffaloes	No. of Bullocks
1	Agriculturists	61	32	40	22	4	11
2	Landless Labourers	26	23	4	4	0	0
3	Fishermen	6	2	1	1	0	0
4	Others	4	3	0	0	0	0
	Total	97	60	45	27	4	11

The data on livestock indicates that after the displacement, there is a significant decline in the number of all types of cattle. Cows have declined from 97 before the displacement to 27 after the displacement, buffaloes from 60 to 4 and bullocks from 45 before the displacement to 11 after the displacement. Again, among the resettlers, landless labourers and fishermen families did not have single buffalo and bullock after the displacement. Further, the families belonging to others category also did not possess any kind of livestock after the displacement.

After the displacement and resettlement in planned rehabilitation colony, the rearing of livestock is discontinued to a large extent. Because the resettlers are confronted with several problems and difficulties regarding feeding and maintenance of livestock. The rehabilitation policy did not make provision for the agricultural and grazing fields. Hence, in rehabilitation colonies one finds systematically planned roads and buildings like an urban area but not agricultural and grazing fields like rural area. The table 7.8 brings out the problems and difficulties associated with livestock rearing.

Table 7.8

Reasons for Decrease in Livestock after Displacement

Sr. No.	Reasons given by Family	Agriculturists	Landless Labourers	Fishermen	Others	Total
		Frequency	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency
1	Sold due to economic problem	19	7	2	1	29
2	No grazing land and problem of water	48	20	1	7	76
3	Life style in the RC is like an urban community	42	17	1	3	63
4	Animals are not staying in the RC	15	7	1	0	23

Irrespective of their occupational background, most of the resettlers told that the non-availability of grazing land in the RC is major problem to maintain the livestock. While establishing the RCs, the planners have not shown any concern for the rehabilitation of livestock activity of displaced. They just marked lay outs for human resettlement. They have neglected the significance of animals in the life of rural people, which not only provides them rich nutritious food and supplementary income but also helps to cultivate agraricultural land. After the displacement the earning level of the families has come down. As a result, they face the economic problem, which force them to sell their livestock. Hence, the economic crisis of family is also responsible for decrease in livestock after the displacement. The

physical settlement of RC is not like agrarian based village community but more like towns and cities. For the survival of livestock agriculture and grazing land is essential, which is not available in the RCs. Some resettlers reported that animals are not staying in the RC. This is again indirectly because of the shortage of fodder and grazing fields in the RC. There are some instances where the animals left for grazing went to the original villages to graze. They found it very difficult to trace and bring back such animals. Due to such problem also they sold their income generating animals for meagre amount.

Poultry

Poultry played a dual role in the life of coastal villagers. In one way, it provided supplementary income to family and another way; it provided rich food to the members of the family. Generally, the people of project-affected villages are non-vegetarians in nature. Hence, the consumption of eggs and chicken is common among them. After the involuntary resettlement in rehabilitation colony, they have disposed off their chickens for the maintenance of the family. This has led to not only decrease in average number of chickens per family but also decrease in family's supplementary income. The table 7.9 exhibits the poultry population before and after the displacement.

Table 7.9a
Poultry Before and After Displacement

Sr. No	Family Occupation	Before Displacement					Total
		No Chicken	1-5 Chickens	6-10 Chickens	11-15 Chickens	16-20 Chickens	Sample Families
1	Agriculturists	11 16%	4 6%	35 52%	13 19%	4 6%	67 100%
2	Landless Labourers	5 14%	5 14%	20 55%	5 14%	1 3%	36 100%
3	Fishermen	66 78%	8 9%	10 12%	1 1%	0 0%	85 100%
4	Others	10 53%	1 5%	4 21%	4 21%	0 0%	19 100%
	Total	93 45%	18 9%	68 33%	23 11%	5 2%	207 100%

Table 7.9b
Poultry Before and After Displacement

Sr. No	Family Occupation	After Displacement					Total
		No Chicken	1-5 Chickens	6-10 Chickens	11-15 Chickens	16-20 Chickens	Sample Families
1	Agriculturists	44 66%	17 25%	6 9%	0 0%	0 0%	67 100%
2	Landless Labourers	22 60%	13 37%	1 3%	0 0%	0 0%	36 100%
3	Fishermen	84 99%	1 1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	85 100%
4	Others	17 90%	1 5%	1 5%	0 0%	0 0%	19 100%
	Total	167 81%	32 15%	8 4%	0 0%	0 0%	207 100%

There is a significant reduction in the possession of poultry after the displacement. Table 7.9 a and b suggests that the number of families having no

Chickens has increased from 45 percent before the displacement to 81 percent after the displacement. Even the percentage of those who had chickens up to five has increased from 9 percent before to 15 percent after the displacement, and those families who had six to ten chickens has decreased from 33 percent before to 4 percent after the displacement. The families, which had eleven to fifteen chickens and sixteen to twenty chickens before the displacement did not possess more than ten chickens after the displacement. This has invariably affected their consumption of eggs, chicken and supplementary livestock income.

Livestock Income

Live stock income is supplementary income, which the villagers get. It is very difficult to calculate exact income of livestock. Because, villagers get direct cash income by selling livestock or livestock products. They also get indirect economic benefit by using its products for consumption, fuel and also by using animals for cultivation of land. However, the resettlers only highlighted income in the form of cash. The table 7.10 depicts the livestock income before and after displacement.

Table 7.10
Livestock Income Before and After Displacement

Sr. No	Family Occupation	Before Displacement				After Displacement				Total
		0	I	II	III	0	I	II	III	
1	Agriculturists	8	32	25	2	58	9	0	0	67
		12%	48%	37%	3%	87%	13%	0%	0%	100%
2	Landless Labourers	6	20	10	0	34	2	0	0	36
		13%	58%	29%	0%	94%	6%	0%	0%	100%
3	Fishermen	80	4	1	0	85	0	0	0	85
		94%	5%	1%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
4	Others	10	6	3	0	19	0	0	0	19
		52%	32%	16%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Total		105	62	38	2	196	11	0	0	207
		51%	30%	18%	1%	95%	5%	0%	0%	100%

Note: 0 = No Income; I = Up to Rs. 500; II = Rs. 501 – 750; III = Rs. 751 – 1000.

It is worth noting that the percentage of families having no livestock income has increased from 51 percent before displacement to 95 percent after displacement. There is also decrease in the percentage of families whose livestock income was up to Rs. 500 before displacement from 30 percent to 5 percent after displacement. The families, which had the livestock income of Rs. 501-750 and of Rs. 751-1000 before displacement, lost this income as they have discontinued livestock rearing after displacement.

3. Wage Earning

Displacement is believed to be the consequence of the path to development that has been pursued in our country. This can also be seen because of the struggle for the natural resources such a land, forest, water, minerals and other forest products. Whatever may be the reason, the displacement brings untold misery to the displaced person and his family. Patanaik (1991) opines in his work that the public purpose for which the land is acquired is of paramount importance to the government and therefore, the individual interests of the uprooted families do not enter into the calculation of the state policy. The existing policy has no socio-psychological orientation and does not take cognizance of the unequal impact the displacement causes on different the groups of displaced people. The occupation of family is the main source of earning as well as livelihood of the family, as we know that in the rural community different families are involved in the different occupations. Thus, these different occupational groups suffer invariably due to the phenomenon of displacement. The problems of agriculturists may differ from the wage earners, sharecroppers, and conventional service groups. The problems of fishermen are more peculiar than rest of the occupational groups. The problems of wage earners are comparatively more critical than the rest of the groups, not only because they belong

to have-nots group but also in the resettlement package they get very less compensation and rehabilitation grants. Hence, with meager amount of compensation they try to reestablish their family life at the new place without having any regular employment guarantee.

The landless have been the silent sufferers. They have been dependent on the landed class for their livelihood or have had a traditional occupation that complemented the old agrarian society (Dhagamwar, De, Verma 2003: 67). The Indian researchers have identified the high increase in the number of landless labours after the displacement. On the basis of the study of India's Rengali project, Ota (1996) reports that the percentage of landless families is more than doubled after relocation. i.e. it increased from 4.6 percent to 10.9 percent. Similarly, Reddy (1998) documents that in the coal mining displacements around Singrauli, the proportion of landless people skyrocketed from 20 percent before the displacement to 72 percent afterward.

In some projects the R and R planners have shown due concern to this vulnerable section of village community. Though they did not lose any land to the development project, they were resettled with land rehabilitation package. Thus project planners feel that the displacement is a real opportunity to develop the vulnerable sections of society. This kind of rehabilitation package is analysed by some empirical studies conducted by researchers. They are: In case of Tehri dam project, the oustees have been promised a maximum of two acres of land, regardless of amount of land lost. The landless and encroachers displaced due to construction of Sardar Sarovar project in Gujarat are entitled to a minimum of five acres of land of their choice. All major sons (18 years of age and above) are also entitled to the allotment of five acres of agricultural land. The landless in Maharashtra are entitled to

receive one acre of land, provided they move with the rest of the oustees to the same centre. In Madhya Pradesh, there is no provision for land to landless oustees (Thukral and Singh 1995: 99-116).

The land, being a natural component, is limited. Hence, the contemporary Indian society is facing the acute shortage of land. This is a major issue, particularly, in case of development-induced displacement and land based resettlement. To avoid this critical issue the planners prefer to go for cash compensation for the land lost by the people. The wage earning class, which is directly or indirectly dependent upon agricultural land for its survival, is the worst sufferer. Like other studies on involuntary resettlement, the present study also deals with the problems of landless labourers after the displacement.

In case of SBP, all displaced landless households had either direct or indirect stake in the agriculture and fishing occupation. In the original villages the fertile land and rich marine area were available, which provided them sufficient work and wages. However, after the displacement and resettlement in the government colonies, the landless remained unemployed. Because, the RCs have no agricultural fields and the natural resources like forest, sea, grazing land etc.

Thus, the land acquisition by SBP took away the source of wages from landless households. Historically, the landless labourers and sharecroppers belong to disadvantaged groups of the village community. The process of land acquisition further marginalised this disadvantaged section in two ways:

- 1) All the landless labourer families lost assured employment as agricultural and fishing labourer, and even as sharecroppers.

2) Since they did not lose any agricultural land, they were not treated as farmers/cultivators. Thus, they were allotted only small piece of homestead site measuring 30 X 40 sq.ft. in rehabilitation colony by the government.

4. Fishing

Before the displacement along with agriculture and horticulture, fishing was another major occupation, which facilitated source of livelihood for people. Traditionally, the caste groups like Harikrantas, Kharvis and Moger were engaged in fishing. However, some other castes and communities were also involved in fishing occupation before the displacement. The fishing was one of the main occupations, which sustained the people of this coastal area. For fishermen, fishing was the main and only source of livelihood present in many original villages. However, after the displacement many changes in the activities of fishing like processing, selling etc have taken place.

Table 7.11
Fishing Before and After Displacement

Sr. No	Family Occupation	Before Displacement			After Displacement		
		Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1	Agriculturists	7	60	67	0	67	67
2	Landless Labourers	3	33	36	0	36	36
3	Fishermen	85	0	85	39	46	85
4	Others	0	19	19	0	19	19
Total		95	112	207	39	168	207

The data in the table 7.11 indicates the significant change in the fishing activity of resettled families. Before the displacement, 7 agricultural, 3 landless labour and 85 fishermen families were directly involved in fishing activities. After the land acquisition and involuntary resettlement, all agricultural and landless labour families lost this occupation. Out of 85 fishermen families, only 39 have pursued

fishing in the rehabilitation colony. Thus, it can be concluded that the displacement deprived the agriculturists and landless labour families from the fishing activity. Only 39 fishermen families have continued their hereditary occupation. This has not only reduced the income-generating source but also the socio-cultural and economic relationships between fishermen, agricultural and landless labour families. Thus, the field data proves the hypothesis the involuntary resettlement leads to the loss of hereditary occupation, as a result marginalized groups are further marginalized after the displacement.

Method of Fishing

Before the displacement the habitats of the fishermen were near the sea, which facilitated fishing. Therefore, almost each fishermen family was actively involved in fishing both individually and collectively. Most of them were involved in the traditional fishing and few were engaged in mechanized fishing. The resettlement and rehabilitation authorities have established the RC's for fishermen near the sea. But the marine areas at the new place are not suitable for traditional fishing. Hence, there is a change in fishing techniques after displacement.

Table 7.12
Fishing Method Before and After Displacement

Sr. No	Family Occupation	Before Displacement				After Displacement				Total
		Nil	Traditional	Machanised	Both	Nil	Traditional	Machanised	Both	
1	Agriculturists	58	7	0	2	67	0	0	0	67
2	Landless Labourers	33	3	0	0	36	0	0	0	36
3	Fishermen	0	70	4	11	46	28	10	1	85
4	Others	19	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	19
	Total	110	80	4	13	168	28	10	1	207

As shown in Table 7.12 the number of families, which did not involve in any fishing activity, has increased from 110 families before to 168 families after the displacement. As is evident from the data, a large number of fishermen families have left their traditional occupation of fishing after the displacement. There is also a decrease in the number of fishermen families involved in traditional fishing. There is a significant increase in machanised fishing after the displacement. This is mainly because the sea area at the new place of resettlement is suitable only for mechanised fishing. It was also observed that irrespective of any kind of fishing, this occupation had become non remunerative after the displacement. The quality as well as quantity of fish is very low at the new place. The fishermen were facing several problems and difficulties regarding fishing. They are summarized in table 7.13.

Table 7.13
Problems Related to Fishing After Displacement

Sr. No	Problems reported by Fishing family	Agriculturists	Landless Labourers	Fishermen	Others	Total
1	Distance of sea from place of resettlement is more	7	3	75	0	85
2	Traditional method of Fishing not suitable	0	0	64	0	64
3	Fishing groups dismantled after displacement	0	0	56	0	56
4	Family lost fishing boat	0	0	4	0	4

Based on the above data, it may be stated that the displacement has brought misery to the fish catching communities. The families resettled in the agricultural RCs reported that the long distance between the seacoast and the RC is a major reason for discontinuing their fishing occupation. In the original habitats, the fishermen had built their dwelling places right on the beach, which facilitated them to carry their hereditary occupation without any obstacle. However, the new place of resettlement is

half a kilometer away from the seacoast, which poses many difficulties to carry on fishing activities. A sharp flow of Kali river water at the new marine area and rocks in the sea are the main obstacles for the traditional fishing. Around 64 fishermen families reported this difficulty during the field investigation. The 56 fishermen families reported very interesting problem to carry out the fishing occupation after displacement. They said that the R and R authorities have failed to create village wise resettlement, and the lottery system adopted for selection of sites has resulted in the diffusion of fishing communities. After the displacement, they have scattered over several rehabilitation colonies. Sea fishing is not an individual activity. It is an organized group activity. In the original villages, the groups of fishermen were going for fishing with big boat and rampon net. This collective and community oriented occupation was lost on account of the disintegration of community. Many fishermen have sold their boats due to the long distance between their rehabilitation colonies and the sea.

In summary, we can say that the human beings are not only get influenced by the ecology and environment, which surrounds them, but, in turn, they also influence them with their tools, techniques, skills and experiences. This results in what is known as symbiotic relationship between community and environment. This kind of symbiotic relationship was part and parcel of human habitats at original coastal areas. Prior to displacement people were living in fully secured coastal zone. Living together for generations mutually helped them to learn the skills, techniques and fishing experiences. The knowledge regarding the good fishing spots and time/duration of fishing, difficulties, use of fishing boats and nets etc was transferred from one generation to another. They also know the regenerating span of fish. This symbiotic relationship among the fishing community and between fishermen and sea was existed in the original habitat, which has experienced transformation after the resettlement in the rehabilitation colonies.

5. Conventional Services

As far caste and occupational background is concerned, all the sea bird project affected villages are heterogeneous in nature. In these villages the fishermen, cultivators, landless labourers, artisans, service caste men etc existed. The service men, particularly carpenters and blacksmiths provided new agricultural articles, mended old ones and rendered other services to the farmers, sharecroppers, landless labourers and fishermen. All these different occupational groups were involved in different functions and rendered different services to each other. Hence, there was a continuous functional dependence of one caste group on another. This interdependence is dismantled after displacement, as sea bird R and R policy has resulted in the segregation of these caste/occupational groups in different RCs. This policy has created separate rehabilitation colonies for fishermen and agricultural people.

In original villages the carpenters and blacksmiths were meeting the needs of the cultivating families, sharecroppers, landless labourers and even fishermen. Along with this, they also cultivated their land as subsidiary occupation. They were making and mending the agricultural implements and fishing boats. They also met the household needs of the villagers such as making and repairing of doors, windows and wooden furniture etc. By generations they were staying in a particular village locality. They acquired the skills and techniques of making essential articles from earlier generation, which helped to fulfill the needs of agrarian and fishing community. This in turn, helped them to develop the symbiotic relationship with them. For the purpose of raw material, most of them were depended upon the local forest. They not only got the customary rights over the forest but also established the symbiotic relationship with it. At the new place of resettlement there is no forest, agricultural land and

cultivation, fishermen and fishing. As a result their network of symbiotic relationships with other occupational groups and forest is disturbed. This alteration in equilibrium makes them marginalized economically, socially, culturally and environmentally.

After resettlement in rehabilitation colony, the occupational interdependence between service caste groups and other villagers is dismantled. This can be attributed to the factors like: *one*, the entire original village is not resettled in one place, *second*, the agricultural land and fishing area is not available in the RCs. leading to the absence of cultivators, sharecroppers and fishermen in new place of resettlement.

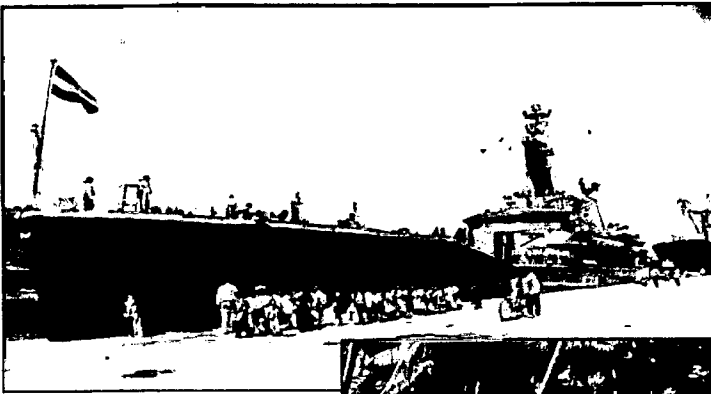
6. Forest and Household Industries

The forest is a common property resource, which provides livelihood opportunities to local inhabitants. Though the forest legally belongs to state domain, the locals hold customary rights over it. As a result, they developed emotional attachment with the forest as like farmer develops with his land. For farmer, his land is not simply a piece of geographical area but it is more than that. That is why he worships his land on the occasion of 'Bhoomi Pooja' (Land Worshipping). Like land, forest also provides the life and livelihood security to the people dependent on it. As a result, they develop the emotional attachment with forest. Hence, before displacement the forest played a significant role in the life of the local inhabitants. Forest helps them to meet the basic needs pertaining to day today life and livelihood activities i.e. fuel wood to use and to sell, fodder and green manures to maintains the livestock, honey and mushrooms to consume nutritious food and to earn money, bamboo and timber to run household industries. Thus, the displacement has altered the resettlers relationship with forest as well as forest based household industries and income. Other Indian researchers have also observed this kind of change brought by the process of involuntary resettlement.

In comparison to the situation in their former villages, the resettled people lose many common property assets. Among these are the river (a source of water for human and animal consumption), the forest (a source of food, fodder, fire wood and building materials), common grazing lands, common cremation grounds, and wastelands (Mahapatra and Mahapatra 2000: 435). Thukral (1992:9) went one step further by saying that “this is not to say that the natural resources are available only in areas where the poor live. Most significantly, these are also the areas where the powerless live”.

The Sea Bird Project affected people (PAP's) before the displacement were living close to the rich common property resources, particularly ever green forest areas, rich fish catching marine zone, grazing lands, forest land and wasteland. In the forest, there were varieties of trees, big and small like banyan, pimpal, neem, cashew nut, jackfruit, coconut, mango, jambal and other kinds of fruit bearing trees and flower bushes. Many of these trees were not planted by the villagers but were naturally grown in the forest zone. All these plants and trees provided variety of food and raw materials to run household industries in the pre-displacement stage. Because of availability of abundant natural resources, many families were engaged in the household industries and earned a subsidiary income for home. All these trees and plants are no more seen in the resettled colonies. Hence, several families lost their household occupations like making of brooms, leaf plates, ropes, baskets, wooden furniture, mats, pickle, cashew nut oil, cashew fruit drinks etc.

Thus, the displacement has not only taken away the natural resources from the involuntary resettlers but also their emotional attachment to CPR and the sources of livelihood, which sustain them for generations.



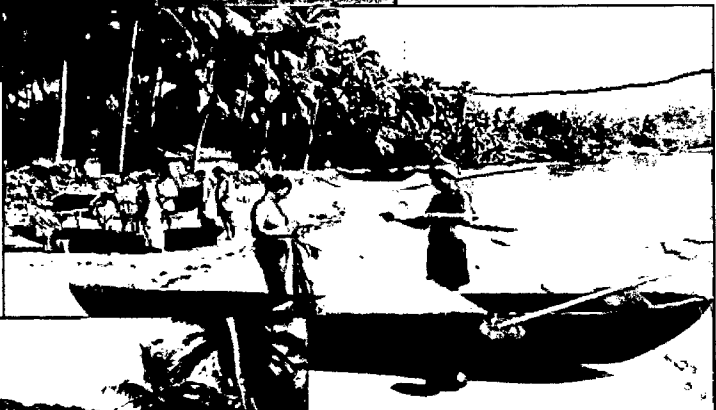
7.6 National security to maintain 'nation-state' identity

7.7 Displaced left behind ancestral abodes for 'National Security'



7.8 The symbiotic relationship between farmer, fishermen and natural livelihood systems before displacement.

7.9 Original Habitat: Physical proximity between habitats & sea.



7.10 Naturally evolved original habitats, ecology and environment.

7. Trade and Business

The trade and business were not well developed in the original villages. Most of the needs of the villagers were met in the village itself. The consumer goods required by the people were brought from the village shops. In each village there were few shops, which fulfilled the consumer needs of local habitats. The small hotels, pan-bidi stalls, tailoring, bicycle repairs, saloon and kirana shops were found in original villages. There were some households involved in the commercial activities like sale of coconuts, areca nuts, cashew nut, and other agricultural products as well as fish in to the city market. The village commercial activity runs not on the basis of business rules but more particularly on the basis of social rules and social relationships. The farmers buy consumer goods from shopkeeper either on credit or on returnable basis. They pay money after getting income from the land or return the borrowed goods after harvest. This shows that there was cooperation, trust and social confidence between buyer and seller in village communities. But, the forced displacement has disturbed this long established cooperation, mutual trust and confidence.

After the displacement, some resettled households have opened small shops in the RCs. Most of them sell daily consumable goods like sugar, tea powder, salt, soap and other daily necessities. The table 7.14 gives a clear picture about trade and business families in the RCs.

Table 7.14
Trade and Business Households After Displacement

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Kirana Shop	Pan-Bidi Shop	Mitai Selling	Fish Selling	Total
1	Agriculturists	5	0	1	0	6
2	Landless Labourers	0	1	0	0	1
3	Fishermen	1	0	0	0	1
4	Others	0	0	0	1	1
	Total	6	1	1	1	9

The loss of land and source of livelihood has brought economic misery to the resettlers. The loss of original occupation often leads to the change of occupation and deviation from the original functions as well as the way of living. The primary data indicates that majority of the families engaged in the business after the displacement are new entrants.

The nine families involved in business have invested an amount ranging from Rs. 10,000 to above Rs. 25,000. The table 7.15 gives clear idea about money invested and source of investment.

Table 7.15
Amount and Source of Investment in Business

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Amount of Investment in Rs.			Source of Investment		
		Up to Rs. 10,000	Rs. 11000-25000	Above Rs. 26,000	Bank Loan	Private Loan	Compensation Amount
1	Agriculturists	3	1	2	3	0	3
2	Landless Labourers	1	0	0	0	0	1
3	Fishermen	1	0	0	0	1	0
4	Others	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Total	6	1	2	3	1	7

The field investigation reveals that no businessman is happy about his business transactions. Everybody had one or the other problem related to running of business in the rehabilitation colony. The most common problem was the business on

credit and non-recovery of money. Some businesspersons highlighted the absence of barter transactions in the rehabilitation colony, which was common in the original villages. They were mostly having their own business prior to the displacement.

8. Occupational Shifts and Social Mobility

Occupational rehabilitation has always played a significant role in the displacement and the involuntary resettlement. Because, on one side it provides source of livelihood to resettlers and it helps to maintain class and gives room for class mobility on the other side. The occupational mobility is always regarded as one significant factor in changing socio-economic status within a group at a particular locality.

The private land acquired by the SBP has led to an occupational shift. It has been analysed in terms of change in proportion of agriculturists, landless labourers, fishermen and others. The analysis of the traditional occupation of the sea bird resettlers shows a significant change. It is indicated that there has been a downward occupational mobility after the resettlement in rehabilitation colonies. Satyanarayana (2005: 581) has lighted this point: "the occupational mobility can be visualized in terms of vertical pattern, i.e. in upward and downward directions". This shows that the manifestation of upward mobility in the agrarian occupation could mean that the previous landless labour families could acquire piece of land. The mobility matrix could work in the opposite direction too, that is, the land owning families are pushed into the landless category.

Even a survey glance through the occupational trend in rural India shows some downward occupational shift/mobility. The data compiled by SinghRoy (2005: 533) on occupational shift at all India level mentioned in the table 7.16 helps here to a comparative analysis of our field data.

Table 7.16

Percentage of Distribution of Rural Main Workers as Cultivators, Agricultural Labourers and Others.

Year	Cultivators	Agricultural Labourers	Others/ Household Industries
1981	51.10	29.8	19.0
1991	48.47	31.8	19.31
2001	40.1	33.2	26.7

Source: Census of India, 1981, 1991 and 2001 quoted in SinghRoy Debal K. 2005.

The Eastern Anthropologists.

The data shows that at all India level there has been a sharp decline in the category of cultivators, a marginal increase in agricultural labourers and a sharp increase in household industries and other category of workers. This means in the last three decades the occupational decline encompasses the normal changes in rural India. Our research study also finds out such kind of decline in the family occupations of the SBP affected villages. However, this decline is not a part of normal changes in the society rather it is the result of sudden displacement. As a result, the rate of decline in the occupational level is higher compared to the national rate of decline. One can understand such a drastic change in the occupational decline from table 7.17.

Table 7.17

RC-wise Distribution of Family Occupation Before and After Displacement

Sr. No.	Major Occupation of Family	Before Displacement				After Displacement			
		Chittakula	Todur	Belekeri	Total	Chittakula	Todur	Belekeri	Total
1	Agriculturists	0	58	9	67	0	0	0	0
		0%	66%	27%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Landless Labourers	0	15	21	36	40	76	30	146
		0%	17%	64%	17%	47%	86%	91%	78%
3	Fishermen	80	5	0	85	39	0	0	39
		93%	6%	0%	41%	45%	0%	0%	12%
4	Others	6	10	3	19	7	12	3	22
		7%	11%	9%	9%	8%	14%	9%	10%
Total		86	88	33	207	86	88	33	207
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The phenomenon of SBP displacement brings a drastic shift in the occupational groups. The RC wise variation in the decline of the family occupation from higher level to lower level is clearly visible from the data presented in the table. For e.g. In Todur RC, the percentage of families involved in agriculture as main the occupation declined from 66 before the displacement to zero after the resettlement. It is also applicable to the Belekeri RC. After the resettlement the landless labour families increased from zero percent in Chittakula RC, 17 percent in Belekeri RC and 64, percent in Belekeri RC before the displacement to 47 percent, 86 percent and 91 percent in the rehabilitation colonies of Chittakula, Todur and Belekeri RCs respectively. As far as fishing as main occupation of the family is concerned, the percentage declined from 93 percent and 6 percent before the displacement to 45 percent and zero percent after the displacement in the Chittakula and Todur RCs respectively. In these two RCs there is slight increase in the other occupational groups after the displacement.

However, when we observe the RCs in general we get the clear picture of occupational shift after the displacement. After the displacement, cultivation as a predominant occupation has totally vanished from the RC. This directly affects the landowners and indirectly the sharecroppers, landless labourers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other families indirectly related to the agrarian network. Almost all the agricultural families have become landless labourers after the displacement. As a result, the families involved in the landless labour occupation have increased from 17 percent to 78 percent after the displacement. Some fishermen families have also joined this category. This kind of occupational shift definitely indicates the downward occupational mobility. The phenomenon of displacement has not affected much the other occupational groups like carpenters, blacksmiths, priests, etc. Here, only two percent increase is found after the displacement. This is mainly because some families got permanent job in the SBP.

The occupational shift alone may not give comprehensive and correct understanding of the class mobility among the resettlers. Hence, to understand the class mobility, our study has made an attempt to find out the concomitant relationships between occupational shift and the change in the income level of families belonging to different occupational groups. This helps to analyse the co-relationship between occupational downward trend and the class mobility at two different stages i.e. before and after the displacement.

Sociologically, the occupations are social roles and occupational groups and groupings are the status categories (Somayaji 2001: 6). Social mobility has been studied with reference to occupational mobility...the mobility as a product of occupational transformation and employment processes in a specific historical and social milieu. It is a movement between social classes. And operationalising class in

terms of occupation, what is actually measured, is the movement between broad groupings of occupations. Thus, the occupational mobility leads to changes in class position (Payne 1987: IX, Sharma 1968 quoted in Ibid 2001: 10-11).

This shows that in a given village community along with caste based stratifications the occupation based hierarchical ladder also exists. The higher order occupational groups comparatively enjoyed superior social status (class) to that of lower ordered occupational groups. For e.g. in the orthodox village community the land owning cultivating family enjoys superior status (social class) to that of the sharecroppers, landless agricultural labourers, encroachers etc. However, it will be incorrect to argue that all land owned families belong to upper social class families or all landless families to the lower social class families simply because of difference in landholding patterns. The general trend is that in rural habitats the land owning families belong to upper social class. Again, the quality and quantity of land held by the family and income decides the social class of the individual family or group of families in the given social milieu. Though the income of the family is not the sole factor to determine the social class of the family, it is one significant factor that decides the social class of the family in a particular ecology.

The present study on involuntary resettlement assumes that the process of evacuation by the SBP has dismantled the occupational network of inhabitants. On one side, this kind of economic transformation directly affects the network of relationships between different occupational groups; on the other side, it indirectly affects the institution of family, caste, kin, religion and village community. After displacement, families, castes, kin, and village are divided into the small segments. The primary data supports the above observation. There is a concomitant variation between the occupational shift and socio-cultural mobility among the involuntary

resettled community. To understand this relationship the study collected data on the family income of different occupational groups, which is given in the table 7.18.

Family Income

The total family income of the SBP displaced families is grouped into three broad categories:

1. Low-income group below Rs 25,000 p.a.
2. Middle-income group with income between Rs. 25,001 to Rs, 50,000. p.a.
3. High-income group with income above Rs. 50,001. p.a.

The income of the family is dependent upon family occupation and other sources of income. All the available occupations of the SBP displaced families are grouped into four broad divisions for the purpose of comparison. They are:

1. Agriculturists
2. Landless labourers
3. Fishermen
4. Others.

The above stated three income groups and four occupational groups are subjected to cross-classification to obtain a comprehensive picture of the condition of the resettled families before and after the displacement.

Table 7.18

Family Occupation and Income Before and After Displacement

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Income Before Displacement				Income After Displacement			
		I	II	III	Total	I	II	III	Total
1	Agriculturists	15	36	16	67	65	2	0	67
		22%	54%	24%	100%	97%	3%	0%	100%
2	Landless Labourers	23	12	1	36	34	2	0	36
		64%	33%	3%	100%	94%	6%	0%	100%
3	Fishermen	29	49	7	85	67	17	1	85
		34%	58%	8%	100%	79%	20%	1%	100%
4	Others	7	11	1	19	13	4	2	19
		37%	58%	5%	100%	68%	21%	11%	100%
Total		74	108	25	207	179	25	3	207
		36%	52%	12%	100%	86%	12%	2%	100%

Note: I= Income below Rs. 25,000 p.a., II= Income between Rs. 25,001 to Rs. 50,000 p.a., III= Income above Rs. 50,001 p.a.

The data reveals the changes that have taken place across occupations with respect to the family income. The overall indication is that the family income has declined after the displacement. There are certain distinguishable changes in the family income of agriculturists and landless labourers in respect to the high-income category. Before the displacement 24 percent agriculturists, and 3 percent landless labourers families held high income, where as after the displacement neither agriculturist nor landless labourers hold high income. Thus, the 100 percent downward change is brought in these two categories after the displacement.

The number of families earning low income has significantly increased from 36 percent before displacement to 86 percent after displacement and families belonging to middle income group have decreased from 52 percent before displacement to 12 percent after the displacement. Further, the number of families belonging to high-income group has decreased from 12 percent before the displacement to 2 percent after the displacement.

The data reveals the economic conditions of the displaced people before and after the displacement. The shift of occupational groups from higher order to lower order leads to a downward class mobility in the economic spear, which, in turn, causes some socio-cultural transformations as each social unit is interrelated with each other unit causing chain reactions. Hence, due to loss of agricultural land, sea and other common property resources the coastal villagers are reduced to 'hand to mouth' living. They are marginalized after the displacement. They had no place to live and carry out sustainable work. They resettled in the rehabilitation colonies on small piece of homestead land, where there is no any source of earning livelihood. The only alternative is the adoption of new technology, skill and occupation other than agriculture, livestock; CPR based household industries and fishing. This shows that the phenomenon of displacement not only altered the socio-cultural and livelihood systems but also the communities' basic symbiotic relationship with occupations, occupational skills, techniques, and class combinations within a given ecology and environment.

Use of Compensation

The 'Land-for-land' package and 'job-for-land' package are the most popular basis for compensation packages but as land becomes scarcer, and permanent jobs are less easy to obtain, they are more difficult to implement. As a result, till recently the compensation package for those displaced under circumstances used to be calculated predominantly in cash terms (Marsden 1998: 30).

The empirical studies conducted on the involuntary resettlement by the Indian social scientists have found out the co-relationship between the simple cash compensation and impoverishment of displaced families. Not only the low valuation and meagre amount of compensation caused the impoverishment but also the lack of

knowledge about how to access the financial capital leads to impoverishment. They spent the entire compensation amount for non-productive purposes, particularly for the construction of good quality house, purchase of gold and silver, two wheeler, refrigerator, television set, radio and tape recorder, phone, LPG, and social obligations. Thus, the lack of financial knowledge and experience, ignorance about the future life resettlement and consequent mismanagement of money leads to the utilization of entire amount of compensation and rehabilitation grants for unproductive purposes.

The present empirical data also gives more or less same kind of picture. The displaced families lost their dwellings due to SBP. In return, they received the compensation to build a new house on the site allotted in RCs. Accordingly; soon after the displacement they invested the amount of compensation for the construction of house and to meet daily basic needs. The spending of money on food and dwelling is quite essential because the food, shelter and clothes are the basic necessities of human beings. Out of 207 sample families, 96 percent families reported that they spent the amount of compensation for the construction of new houses. The rest 4 percent families have not built their own houses in the RC. They are staying either in the small huts built on the site allotted or staying in some relatives' vacant house in the RC.

Soon after the resettlement in the respective RC's, the resettlers were facing the problems of livelihood. They had no avenues to earn daily bread. As a result, they used the compensation amount for the purpose of daily consumption and maintenance of family. Many families have used compensation amount also for the purpose of social obligations like marriage, dowry, religious rituals, and *gruhpravesh* (entry in to newly built house) ceremony etc.

Table 7.19
Purpose for Utilization of Compensation

Sr. No.	Family Occupation	Construction of House	Daily Consumption	Social Obligations	Total Sample Families
1	Agriculturists	67	35	5	67
2	Landless Labourers	34	13	12	36
3	Fishermen	82	34	10	85
4	Others	15	6	1	19
	Total	198	88	28	207

The empirical data about the purpose of the use of compensation amount reveals that a large number of families used it for the purpose of the construction of house. However, it is interesting to know how many of them were able to construct the new houses within the compensation amount received for the loss of their earlier houses. The data in the table 7.20 clearly exhibits that majority of the resettled families have failed to build their houses within a compensation amount they got for the old houses. Some of them used their hard earned money (savings), some others took informal and formal loans, and bulk of them used the rehabilitation grants for the construction of house.

Some families reported that they did not receive any compensation for the old houses lost to the project. This kind of response is mainly due to three reasons: *One*, some displaced families were denied the compensation on the ground of low valuation of houses. As a result, the amount is kept in the government treasury. *Two*, the poor illiterate rural people have not understood the entire R and R package given to them. They were unable to segregate the compensation amount received for house, land, trees, and other immovable assets lost, transportation and rehabilitation grants. *Three*, during the socio-economic survey the revenue department staff, by mistake, has not included some houses. Thus, some families whose houses were left out from the survey records did not get house compensation for their old house.

Table No. 7.20

Occupation-wise Distribution of the Amount of Compensation Received for Old House and the Amount Spent for the Construction of New House.

Family Occupation	Amount of Compensation Received for Old House						Amount of Money Spent for Construction of New House						
	ANR*	I	II	III	IV	Total	NR**	A	B	C	D	E	Total
Agriculturists	0 0%	52 78%	11 16%	4 6%	0 0%	67 100%	1 1%	13 18%	47 73%	5 7%	1 1%	0 0%	67 100%
Landless labourers	1 3%	33 91%	1 3%	1 3%	0 0%	36 100%	0 0%	16 44%	18 50%	1 3%	1 3%	0 0%	36 100%
Fishermen	1 1%	59 70%	19 22%	4 5%	2 2%	85 100%	1 1%	8 9%	33 39%	15 18%	9 11%	19 22%	85 100%
Others	2 11%	13 68%	3 16%	0 0%	1 5%	19 100%	1 5%	6 34%	7 36%	2 10%	2 10%	1 5%	19 100%
Total	4 2%	157 77%	34 16%	9 4%	3 1%	207 100%	3 1%	43 21%	105 51%	23 11%	13 6%	20 10%	207 100%

Note: I = Above Rs. 25,000 Up to Rs. 50,000, II = Rs. 50,001 to Rs. 75,000, III = Rs. 75,001 to Rs. 1,00,000, IV = Rs. 1,00,001 to Rs. 1,25,000.

A = Above Rs. 50,000 Up to Rs. 1,00,000, B = Rs. 1,00,001 to Rs. 2,00,000,

C = Rs. 2,00,001 to Rs. 3,00,000, D = Rs. 3,00,001 to Rs. 4,00,000, E = Rs. 4,00,001 to Rs. 5,00,000. *ANR = Amount Not Received, **NR = Not Responded.

The families belonging to the first (I) category are more in number. Only three displaced families belong to the fourth (IV) category that received compensation amount of Rs. 1,00,000 to 1,25,000 for their old houses. Out of these three families, two belong to fishermen and one belongs to the others category. No family belonging to agricultural and landless labour category received the compensation amount for old houses more than one lakh rupees. However, some 73 percent agricultural families and 50 percent landless families spent up to rupees two lakhs for the construction of new houses at the RC. The 22 percent fishermen and 5 percent families belonging to others category spent money between four lakhs to five lakhs.

Irrespective of the occupational background, the overall trend shows that all resettled families spent more amounts for the construction of new houses than they received for old houses lost to the SBP. There are many reasons for this disparity between amount received for old houses and the amount spent on new houses. Some of them are: 1. Under valuation of old houses on the basis of depreciation value system. 2. Increase in cost of construction. Hence, it was difficult to build even a small size moderate house within rupees one lakh. 3. The displaced received the big amount (including the compensation for old house) of compensation and rehabilitation grants. In excitement, they failed to understand that the total amount received from the government is meant for resettlement and rehabilitation of present as well as future life. As a result, many of them spent it for the unproductive purposes like construction of comparatively good quality houses after the displacement. The primary data collected on the type and size of houses before and after the displacement is presented in the table 7.21a and 7.21b. The data shown in these tables highlights the significant change brought up both in the type and the size of houses after the displacement. As is evidence from the data a in the tables a large number of families have big size and good quality houses after the displacement.

Like other parts of India the displaced people of SBP also used their compensation money for purchasing the household luxurious goods.

Table No. 7.22

Account of Household Luxurious Goods Before and After the Displacement

Before/After Displacement	Luxurious Good	Agricultuists	Landless Labourers	Fishermen	Others	Total
Before Displacement	T.V.	16 24%	4 11%	13 15%	9 47%	42 20%
	Radio	11 16%	7 20%	33 38%	8 42%	59 29%
	Tape Recorder	12 18%	5 14%	21 24%	6 32%	44 21%
	Refrigerator	2 3%	0 0%	1 1%	1 5%	4 2%
	Two Wheeler	0 0%	0 0%	1 2%	3 5%	4 3%
	Phone	4 6%	0 0%	2 2%	1 5%	7 3%
	LPG	5 7%	0 0%	6 7%	4 21%	15 7%
	Other	43 64%	17 49%	60 70%	15 79%	135 65%
After Displacement	T.V.	16 24%	4 11%	21 24%	6 32%	47 23%
	Radio	14 21%	0 0%	2 2%	3 16%	19 9%
	Tape Recorder	13 19%	4 11%	17 20%	1 5%	35 17%
	Refrigerator	6 9%	0 0%	5 6%	4 21%	15 7%
	Two Wheeler	3 4%	0 0%	1 1%	1 5%	5 2%
	Phone	6 7%	0 0%	6 7%	4 21%	16 8%
	LPG	3 4%	0 0%	3 3%	2 11%	8 4%
	Other	23 34%	18 51%	15 17%	4 21%	59 29%

Note: Percentage is calculated on the basis of total sample families belong to each occupational category.

The data compiled in the table 7.22 gives detailed information about the luxurious goods owned by the families before and after the displacement. The household goods mentioned in the table may not be luxurious goods for the families living in the city but those are luxurious for the isolated costal villagers. Hence, the compensation and rehabilitation grants received by the displaced people prompted them to purchase such things. The tendency to purchase such household goods seems to be more among the people after the displacement. Many of them had a desire to purchase such things before the displacement but could not afford to purchase the luxurious goods. This desire was fulfilled when they received the sizable amount of compensation money in their hands.

Though the livelihood systems are directly related to the economic spear of the community or community economy, it has sociological significance. Hence, it is the prime responsibility of sociological study of involuntary resettlement to maintain proper balance between the socio-economic factors of the displacement. The loss of private property like agricultural land, houses, trees, well and other immovable income generating assets is not the only cause of impoverishment of the displaced people. The loss of common properties like sea, forest, water bodies, sources of occupations, occupational network, occupational skills and techniques as well as inter-functional dependency also contribute significantly to the marginalisation and impoverishment of the people after the displacement. As a result, the total socio-cultural, economic, ecological and environmental settings of original habitat undergo a transformation. The agriculturists, landless labourers, fishermen, artisans, conventional caste based service families, trade and businessmen etc. became the victims of forced displacement.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As a part of planned development, several multi-purpose (small, medium and mega) projects were planned and executed. These planned development projects were certainly progressive steps resulting in India's self-reliance in various fields. The objective of these developmental projects was certainly the benefit of the common citizens of India. However, the planned infrastructure growth has adversely affected several groups of habitats within the country. Hence, the development-induced displacement and rehabilitation become major controversial issues in this country.

Broadly, the people are displaced from their hearths and habitats for three major reasons: *first*, they are displaced due to political causes like war, revolution, partition of nation; *second*, they are displaced due to natural disasters like floods, earthquakes, draughts and cyclones, *third*, the people are displaced due to planned development projects like construction of dams, highways, airports, defence projects etc.

After the end of British rule in India, the main national goal was to achieve a rapid development by using countries human and natural resources. As a result our planners introduced community level and society level infrastructure development projects. The programmes pertaining to health, education, agriculture, roads, railways, airports, dams, power projects, industries, nuclear plants etc., helped India, as independent nation to develop her overall standard in the global world.

However, as we all know, the 'national freedom' or 'nation-state' identity always plays a vital role in the international community. Hence, our nation has two important goals. One, the development of country's infrastructure in order to improve the standard of life of its citizens and the nation itself. Two, the development of

national defense projects not only to protect its citizens or to maintain the national identity in the global world but also it is essential part to enjoy the fruits of development by its citizens in real sense.

Therefore, the planners of the country have launched many projects to develop its national defence force. To achieve this national goal, one of the attempts was to establish modern integrated naval base called Sea Bird Project, at Karwar in Karnataka state. The establishment of SBP was a step forward at the national and international level. At a micro level, this development activity invariably displaced several groups of people from their original coastal habitats. Therefore, independent welfare state of India had to develop a definite plan and policy for resettlement and rehabilitation of uprooted population.

One cannot deny the need for the comprehensive sociological study of development-induced displacement and rehabilitation, because, this kind of scientific study definitely provides a critical outlook of rehabilitation policies for the planners and the policy makers. In addition, such studies are significant to the R and R authorities responsible for the implementation of the plans at grassroots level. This empirical research study is also very relevant for the social scientists in general and sociologists in particular. Because, it helps to understand the transitory stage of resettlement and the changing socio-cultural and economic structure of the uprooted communities.

As noted earlier, throughout this study an attempt has been made to explain development-induced displacement and rehabilitation with special reference to the Sea Bird Project, Karwar. The study has also attempted to explore how this national defense project caused displacement and as a consequence, what kinds of change and continuity among the resettlers have occurred in the process of adaptation and

adjustment with the new environment. The study has tried to answer certain micro theoretical and practical research questions like what are the impacts of the displacement and rehabilitation on different interest groups with different social, cultural and economic background? What are the attitudes of different interest groups towards the displacement and the rehabilitation? How are the vulnerable groups such as landless, peasants, women and children and elders affected by the displacement and what is the nature of their social suffering? What kind of rehabilitation policy would not marginalize vulnerable groups? What are the implications of cash compensation on different kinds of groups? What are the drastic changes brought up in social units like village, caste, family, neighbourhood and leadership? Thus, the study has sought to answer the above questions.

In the larger interest the coastal habitats of Uttar Kannada district were evacuated from their ancestral land, property and habitats and involuntarily resettled in the planned rehabilitation colonies. However, different sections of people within displaced group had faced different kinds of problems during the time of evacuation and even after the displacement. As a result, they suffered socially, culturally, economically, physically and politically as well. This study has resulted in certain findings pertaining to these aspects of displacement and rehabilitation.

1. Findings Pertaining to Village Physical Settings

The physical settlement of village has always played a significant role in socio-cultural and economic network of inhabitants. Prior to the displacement, the physical settings of Sea Bird Project affected villages were peculiar in their characteristics. All the affected villages were evolved and developed for centuries on the Arabian coast. They were dispersed kind of villages. The houses in these habitats were built in narrow and irregular lanes and streets giving rise to dissimilar types of

houses. The dwellings generally had single entrance. There was a small open space around the house for kitchen gardening and a small thatched shed for sheltering the cattle.

On the contrary, the physical settlements of planned rehabilitation colonies are very different from the original habitats. First, the new places of resettlement are not villages but have become the rehabilitation colonies. The term 'colony' gives the impression of town or city life. But the RCs are not towns and cities. The urban activities like industry, trade and business, market etc are absent. The salient features of village communities like agricultural land, livestock activity, fishing, household industries etc are not found in the RCs. All the RCs are human made, pre planned and suddenly formed soon after the displacement. Hence, they look like artificial settlements and not natural settlements. Another significant difference is that almost all the new rehabilitation colonies are formed away from the seacoast. This means that the inhabitants' attachment, adjustment and assimilation with the sea and seacoast are dismantled after the displacement. Since, the rehabilitation colonies are pre planned in nature, the houses are built by the resettlers on the wide and the straight streets. The lanes within colonies are straight and regular ones.

The residential pattern in the Belekeri and Chittakula RCs is relatively compact type, whereas Todur RC is spread out as allotted sites have remained vacant. Though the residential pattern is compact in nature, the physical proximity between the houses of same caste and kin groups are missing after the resettlement. Thus, the old residential pattern of caste and kin groups' proximity is discontinued after the resettlement. The families with different socio-economic background belonging to different project affected villages are resettled together in the Chittakula and Todur RCs whereas in Belekeri RC all resettled families belong to single village called

Bhavikeri. At the new place of resettlement, the families lack the feeling of belongingness. Like in the original habitats, the idea of 'we feeling' is not developed among the resettlers. This is clear from the fact that, whenever they spoke about their original village, they used to say 'Namma Uru' (our village) and when they spoke about new place of resettlement, they used to say 'Ee, Nirashritar Colony' (this displaced peoples' colony). A strong sense of collective identity is not developed in the RC. This indicates that even after the displacement their attachment to the original village is not broken. On the contrary, even after passing of three years in the rehabilitation colony, they are not totally adapted and adjusted with the new place of resettlement. Perhaps it may take some more time for them to establish socio-economic relations and to create a feeling about calling my village and thereby establishing 'we feeling' among all the resettlers of the RC. This is a slow process and naturally the time certainly will require.

The planned efforts of R and R authorities towards the formation of well-planned rehabilitation colonies have failed. The roots of this failure can be found in the wrongly planned residential pattern of the rehabilitation colonies. The desire of the displaced people to live together along with all the families belonging to their own caste, kin and villager is totally unmet. This kind of unplanned physical settlement has culminated in socio-cultural and economic suffering of resettlers at least in the initial phase of resettlement.

There is also a significant and positive change in the pattern of layout and quality of houses in the rehabilitation colonies. In the original villages, there were more number of kachcha and semi-pacca houses and very few families owned pacca houses. However, after the displacement more number of resettlers have built semi-pacca and pacca houses in the rehabilitation colonies. The kachcha houses are almost

absent in the new place of resettlement. As the resettlers were free to build their own house according to their choice, they invested not only the amount of compensation received for the old houses to construct new houses but also a large portion of other compensation and rehabilitation grants received from the government. This is due to two reasons; firstly, the compensation received for old house was inadequate to construct new house due to increased cost of construction; secondly, it is human nature that when money is jiggling in his pocket, he would like construct a more modern, spacious, and comfortable dwelling. The poor and illiterate villagers did not realise that the amount of compensation and rehabilitation grants they received from the government is meant for their rehabilitation. In the excitement of having large some money as compensation, they forgot the future and simply invested the entire amount in the construction of a new house at the rehabilitation colony. Thus, the resettlers built good houses in terms of their size and quality. This is a positive aspect of the SBP R and R planning. Earlier researches on involuntary resettlement have highlighted the risk of homelessness as a part of displacement studies.

The R and R authorities have allotted the land for houses to each resettled family. The sites allotted to the resettlers varied in size ranging from minimum of 1.2 guntas to maximum of 5.4 guntas. Therefore, almost every resettled family is having an open space around their houses. However, unlike the old habitats, there is absence of kitchen garden, separate compound walls, cattle sheds and wells around the house. Only a few rich families have constructed compound walls and dug wells of their own.

In the RCs, there is absence of income generating horticulture trees like, coconut, jackfruit, mango, banana, drumstick, cashew nut, betel nut etc. Before the displacement, such kind of trees played a significant role in the socio-cultural and

economic life of the inhabitants. They were not only a source of income to the family but were instrumental in establishing and strengthening the social relationships. Whenever a family got the fruits from their trees, some amounts of fruits were shared with their own caste and kin groups, neighbours and intimate family friends. When family members visited relatives' house, they carried some fruits along with them. Thus, in the original village, the trees around the dwelling place helped them to develop mutual interaction, mutual exchange, mutual help and co-operation among the families. This kind of socio-cultural and economic network has been broken after the displacement.

The civic facilities in the RCs like internal roads, electricity, streetlights, toilets, market complex, community building, temple building, school building, health centre, bus stop shed, tap water connection, training centre, police outpost building, balawadi etc are comparatively better in the RCs. In the original villages these civic facilities did not exist. However, some of the civic facilities in the RCs, particularly market complex, training centres, community buildings etc have remained unused. The bus stop shed in the Belekeri RC is of no use since there is no bus service to the RC. The internal roads in all the RCs are far better than the original villages. The school buildings, health centre, tap water, streetlights etc are also of comparatively better quality. Before the displacement, all these villages came under the jurisdiction of Panchats. Due to shortage of development funds, it was difficult for the Panchayats to provide good quality civic facilities to the villagers. As a result, the villagers suffered. After the displacement, however, the government allotted funds to develop the RC with all civic facilities. As a result, the resettlers got comparatively better facilities. The only worry of resettlers is how many days it will remain, who will

maintain this? Whether government will further funds for maintainace in the future. Such questions they often ask.

All the SBP resettlers belong to the coastal village communities. For them, the CPR based livelihood resources are more significant than civic facilities. In other words more than the physical infrastructure the environmental resources determined their life and livelihood patterns as in the original habitats. The findings pertaining to the CPR based activities help us to understand the difference between the quality and quantity of CPR before and after the displacement and how this difference determines the life and livelihood activities of the relocated communities. These are discussed below.

2. Common Property Resources

In the original habitats the inhabitants' life was very close to nature. The villagers in their day-today life activities were associated with the natural elements like plants, trees, fruits, flowers, birds and animals, mountains, forests, sea and water resources. Hence, irrespective of caste and class differences, almost all the villagers were dependent upon CPRs. Their occupational and economic functions were very much linked to CPRs. Therefore, prior to displacement CPRs were main source of employment and livelihood. However, the R and R authorities have not shown much concern for the ecological and environmental rehabilitation of the project displaced people. At the new place of resettlement, some elements of CPR like sea, grazing land, natural water resources etc. are totally absent while some others are insufficient (for e.g. mountains, forest, trees, birds and animals.). This shows that the forced displacement disrupts the symbiotic relationship between community and environment.

The present study finds that due to absence of CPRs at rehabilitation colonies, the vulnerable groups among the displaced such as women, widow (er), elderly persons, children, physically weak etc. suffer more. This is because, before displacement this section of displaced population was functionally interrelated with CPRs. They were involved in different household industries, which were directly dependent upon CPRs for raw materials. For example making of ropes, brooms, mats, leaf plates, baskets, animal grazing etc. required locally available raw material. Thus, after the resettlement the absence of CPRs has rendered them jobless leading to the loss of main source of income. As a result, their economic and social position is degraded within the family. The result of this is the increase in dependency ratio within the family and decrease in the income of the family.

In the original villages, the younger generation belonging to the families involved in CPR based household industries had learnt the required skills and techniques from their older generations. Prior to the displacement the ancestral knowledge and skill pertaining to household industries and occupations was automatically transferred from one generation to another generation without any formal training. However, after displacement the absence of CPR based occupations has compelled the younger generation to seek new and special kind of trainings in ITI, computer, bar binding, photography etc. from the formal educational institutions.

The SBP R and R planners have neither compensated for the loss of CPR nor have they provided the CPR based resettlement to the displaced people. This factor has affected all those displaced from rich CPR based coastal villages of Karwar region. In their respective villages, more than the private property, the CPR played a vital role in the livelihood patterns. The people had developed a symbiotic relationship with the CPR. This equilibrium is lost after the displacement, which was

indirectly brought a transformation in the socio-economic and cultural interactions between the CPR based families.

3. Findings Pertaining to Socio-Cultural Fabric

The families were displaced from the safe original habitats and involuntarily resettled in the planned rehabilitation colonies due to the construction of the SBP. The families belonging to partly as well as fully affected villages were resettled together in the rehabilitation colonies. Such kind of drastic modifications in the original habitat has led to the socio-cultural transformation. There is a change and continuity in the entire social fabric of the affected villages. The elements of change and continuity are clearly discernible in the structure and functional system of major social units particularly in village, caste, family, neighbourhood, leadership, religion, education etc.

The findings pertaining to the socio-cultural fabric of rehabilitation colonies shows that the families involuntarily resettled in the planned rehabilitation colonies originally belonged to different villages. This kind of new social transformation is found in Todur and Chittakula RC. The heterogeneity in the original villages was comparatively simple. It was largely based on the religion, caste, occupation and income background. However, the RCs are more heterogeneous than the original villages. The resettlers not only belonged to different castes, occupations, income and educational background but also belonged to different villages. The families resettled in these two RCs belonged to four different villages affected by the SBP. However as in the Belekeri RC, all the resettled families belonged to the partly affected village of Bhavikeri.

The heterogeneity of rehabilitation colony shows that on the one hand, the original village structure has been broken into a number of small segments and on the

other the resettlers are facing the problem of restructuring of the new village. The families belonging to different villages are facing the problem of adaptation and adjustment with a new ecology and new environment, since each original village had its own customs, traditions, norms, cultural values and code of conduct. It had its own village God, Goddess, other deities, temples, community places, the CPRs and the village fairs, which they celebrated at particular time and in particular ways. Therefore, it is difficult for the families belonging to such heterogeneous background to settle together in the new RC. During the initial stages of resettlement, they faced the problem of lack of co-operation, mutual understanding, mutual help, mutual interaction, and hence, this led to the problem of lack of mutual trust. All these elements have come in the way of community solidarity and integrity.

Thus, the findings pertaining to the social units clearly showed that once the village social structure is broken, it affects both the micro and macro social units of a village. These are interdependent and inter related, particularly in the case of caste, family, neighbourhood, leadership, religion, education etc.

The data pertaining to the family shows that after the displacement, some seventeen joint families are divided into two and three divisions, and six have divided into four divisions and rest five have divided into five divisions. In the original habitats they used to stay under one roof or houses with close physical proximity which provided them socio-cultural, psycho-economic security, support, status and confidence. This is totally destroyed after the displacement.

A very significant change is that in the original habitat, after the disintegration of the joint families, the divided families lived in the same village, more often in a close physical proximity. However, the phenomenon of displacement has not only forced them to divide but also forced them to resettle at the different places. The

study findings reveal that nineteen divided families are resettled outside the RC, seventeen are resettled in the same RC and nine families are resettled at both in the same RC and outside the RC.

The field responses are clear about the causes behind the division of joint families. The more significant among them are: (1) development of the idea of individualism due to payment of individual rehabilitation grant; (2) lottery system of allotment of homestead site; (3) the small size homestead sites at RC being unsuitable for joint family settlement; (4) families got support from their relatives etc. However, according to the researcher's independent observation, the two main reasons responsible for division of joint families in the several small units are: (1) after the displacement joint families have lost their common properties such as land, houses, trees, wells and common occupation which bound them together before the displacement, (2) after the displacement the dispute arose among the members of family regarding sharing of compensation and the rehabilitation grants. This situation has emerged since the seabird rehabilitation policy has not considered family as one whole unit for payment of compensation but individual members were considered as units for compensation. The amount of compensation for loss of family's common assets was received by the awardees (legal title holder(s)), and the rehabilitation grant of rupees seventy thousand each was given to two adult sons. This gave rise to the idea of individualism among the members of joint families. Thus, the joint families are divided into a number of small units.

Like joint families, the caste composition and social heterogeneity has resulted in a disorder after the resettlement at the RC. As far as caste composition is concerned, there were minimum of ten to fifteen castes and sub caste groups inhabiting in the original villages. These caste groups held different socio-cultural

and economic positions within the village ecology. At the same time however they were functionally interdependent. After the displacement the original caste composition and its heterogeneity disturbed. In two rehabilitation colonies, the caste groups are almost homogeneous in nature. Particularly, in the Chittakula RC only the families belonging to fishing castes i.e. Harikranta and Kharvi are resettled. In the Belekeri RC, the families belonging to Hallakki-Vakkaligas and Achari castes are resettled. As far the resettlers caste background is concerned, the Todur RC is comparatively more heterogeneous in nature, where families belonging to eight different caste groups are resettled. The conclusion of the earlier sociological studies finds out that caste factor played a significant role in the horizontal and vertical solidarity within a given village. This may be correct in case of settled village community. However, our study suggests that during transitory stage of reformation of community, more than the caste, the village background of resettled family unit played a significant role the horizontal as well as vertical solidarity within community. This is mainly because irrespective of caste and class differences, the families live in the same ecology and environment for generations. They had not only adapted but had also assimilated with each other. They had developed a symbiotic relationship with one another. This factor is responsible for the development of village-based solidarity, at least in the initial period of the resettlement. This finding is the main theoretical strength of this research study. One can safely observe that this study fulfils the existing gaps in knowledge prevailed in the earlier studies.

The neighbours in the original habitats were living together for several generations. Hence, due to close physical proximity and continuous socio-cultural contact and communication among them, they were having primary relationships, and had developed 'we-feeling'. They had established close network of relationships.

Thus, in the original village they were associated with each other. This kind of intimate social network helped them to sustain life in co-operative way. However, after the resettlement in the RC, all the families are going through the process of adaptation to the new socio-economic and geographical conditions. Since they belong to different villages, the process of neighbourhood adaptation and adjustment will take time.

In the study, seventy-four percent resettled families are having new neighbours after the resettlement and only fourteen percent of resettled families are having their previous neighbours. It is interesting to note that five percent families have reported that their neighbours are unknown to them and seven percent families did not have any neighbours at all as their neighbouring homestead plots are vacant. This kind of neighbourhood disorder has mainly arisen, because the neighbourhood pattern of original villages has not been maintained in the planned rehabilitation of the colony, as the entire village was not rehabilitated in one RC. The norms of SBP rehabilitation policy did not have the provision to allocate plots in a continuous order to the families desiring to live together. The lottery system of selection of sites separated them geographically. As a result, each one of them got their neighbour by chance and not by choice. In the original habitats the neighbourhood system was associated with the socio-cultural and economic factors. The caste, sub-caste, kin, social and economic status of family etc. played a significant role in determining neighbourhood and its relations. For example, all the Hallakki -Vakkaliga families of particular habitat (abodes) were living together in the 'Goudar Keri' (Caste based residential locality within a village). This shows that while selecting the sites for permanent abodes the people give importance to the socio-cultural and economic

background of neighbourhood ecology. But the R and R authorities ignored this aspect at the time of establishment of RCs and allotting the residential site.

In the original villages along with the neighbours, the intimate inter family relations and well-wishers also played a significant role in the socio-cultural and economic life of project affected families. Such intimate inter family relations were belonging to different castes, occupations and sometimes to the nearby villages. The network of intimate relation sustained each other in the rural society. They provided social security and confidence to each other. Moreover, they exchanged inner feelings, emotions and thoughts pertaining to their personal and social life. This kind of long established network of family friendship was broken due to the displacement. The norms of rehabilitation policy scattered them all over. Thus, the trauma of displacement seems to be more stressful to them. The study data pertaining to breakdown of intimate inter family relation reveals that after the resettlement, fifty seven percent families were having new family friends, thirty two percent were having their previous friends and twelve percent families are having no family friends at all. This indicates that after the resettlement the adaptation and adjustment is in process.

Leadership is another significant factor in the village life. The leaders are generally the products of group life. In each SBP affected habitat, there were different traditional leaders who represented their respective castes and occupational groups. They were the main source of hope, information and guidance for the villagers during normal as well crisis period. They provided the leadership to a movement launched against the SBP. But within a short time they realised that the state is much stronger than their organisation and movement. They realised the futility of their struggle against the project. Therefore, the demand for scrapping the

programme receded, and the emphasis of the movement shifted to the demand for adequate compensation and better R and R benefits. The village leaders who participated in this movement were mainly the representatives of agricultural and fishing communities. Hence, their immediate interest was to obtain justice to their own community rather than for the all displaced communities. The bureaucrats and the state identified their interests and satisfied them by providing fishing area to fishermen and agricultural land to agrarian community. After this, the two different group representatives put up their more specific and individual group demands pertaining to the R and R benefits. In this whole process, the strong state became more and more strong and weak leaders and their movement became more and more weak. Thus the leadership has failed to protect the interests of all the resettlers.

After the displacement some of the fishing community leaders resettled in the respective RCs. They continued their movement to exert pressure on the R and R authorities to meet their demands. Along with this, their common occupation and comparatively higher educational level facilitated them to organise well. Hence, they got comparatively more R and R provisions in their RCs. In contrast, almost all the leaders belonging to agricultural community are resettled outside the rehabilitation colonies. After the resettlement in the RCs, there is no occupational network among agriculturists. Hence, there is lack of unity and organisation among them. Of course, some young new leaders have emerged in the agricultural colonies but the entire colony however has not accepted them as their leaders. They themselves act like self proclaimed leaders. This empirical observation exhibits that; stronger the oustee's organisation more is the bargaining power for better resettlement and rehabilitation package. Weaker the oustees' organisation lower is the bargaining power for better resettlement and rehabilitation provisions.

Another sociologically significant aspect of this whole debate is the displaced people were deprived of from worshipping village Gods and Goddesses. In each SBP affected village, there were number of places of worship, village deities and Gods. The villagers used to celebrate various kinds of religious and local festivals as a part of their socio-cultural life. The important among them was the 'Dodda Habba' (Big Festival). This festival was celebrated to mark the beginning of agriculture season. The 'Deva Habba' (God Festival) was celebrated during harvest. The Halakki-Vakkaligas and some other caste groups celebrate 'Bandi Habba' (Cart Festival) for one whole week. After the resettlement in the RCs, these popular local festivals have come to be almost discontinued. This is because the reason for which these festivals were celebrated is not found at the new place of settlement such as the beginning of the agricultural year, harvesting the agricultural production or worshipping the sea etc. After the displacement, neither agricultural land is available nor cultivation and harvesting or fishing.

In the original habitats villagers were celebrating the fairs collectively as part of the village socio-cultural activity, irrespective of caste and occupational differences. Such jatras provided opportunities for the people to meet their relatives, caste and kin groups, neighbouring villagers and close family friends. The Jatras also created a good market for small traders to sell their goods and articles. Such jatras are not now found in the RCs. Each RC has one common God and temple, but not all the resettlers of the RC treat it yet as a common God of the village. This is because the participation of resettlers in the entire process of construction of temple and installation of Idol was almost absent. The R and R authorities themselves have decided the place of temple, its architecture as well as Gods and Idol. Hence, their entire effort was mechanical and artificial in nature. The authorities have failed to

give due importance and concern for the resettlers' religious feelings, beliefs, faiths and ideas.

Thus, the empirical sociological knowledge generated by this study clearly shows that the R and R planners have failed to provide the socio-cultural and religious rehabilitation provisions to the displaced. They have more concern for the physical and material R and R provisions, with regards to particularly, distribution of compensation and rehabilitation grants, establishment of the RCs with civic facilities etc. Of course, this is also important for human resettlement. However, the socio-cultural and livelihood needs are more important and essential for the human beings but the authorities have neglected it. By the nature human beings are social and rational. They prefer to live in their own groups and communities mostly belonging to the same socio-cultural and economic background. While framing the R and R policies for involuntary resettlement the planners have totally ignored the sociological aspects of human resettlement. As a result, the relocated families are facing more socio-economic risks in the RCs. These risks are more severe during the early phase of the resettlement. Such kind of ecology creates hinderance in developing 'community feeling' among the resettlers. Particularly during the transitory phase of relocation.

4. Findings Pertaining to Livelihood Systems

The findings pertaining to livelihood system reveal that impoverishment is part and parcel of the forced displacement. At the macro level, the displacement leads to the disorganization of livelihood systems of village community and at the micro level, it has dismantles the occupational interdependence and economic activities of project-affected families. Prior to the displacement, the SBP affected families were involved in several occupations and economic activities like agriculture, fishing,

animal husbandry, horticulture, household industries, small-scale trade business, wage labour etc. These economic activities of the families were interdependent and facilitated the development of co-operation and integration among the inhabitants to sustain the livelihood systems. This long established and deep-rooted village economic structure determined the socio-cultural system of village. Hence, due to the displacement the basic economic structure of project-affected villages is disrupted resulting in disorganisation of other socio-cultural systems.

The study clearly reveals that prior to the displacement the agrarian community was involved in the settled agricultural occupation. They mainly cultivated rice, coconut, pulses, groundnut, watermelon etc. Among the displaced families, thirty eight percent were agriculturists and seventeen percent were sharecroppers and landless labours. Thus, about fifty five percent project displaced families were directly dependent upon agriculture. After the resettlement in the planned rehabilitation colonies with meagre amount of cash compensation in lieu of land lost, all of them are thrown out of agrarian network. As a result, at the macro level, this has led to increase in the problem of unemployment, poverty and dependency ratio. However, at micro level it has directly affected the occupation and income of fifty five percent project affected families. It has also contributed to the decrease in the agriculture production. This issue assumes significance in the context that agriculture was the main source of income of the people. Therefore, this empirical study concludes that the system of cash compensation for agricultural land disturbs the entire agricultural dependency pattern.

Further, the study reveals that the land lost by the agriculturists for the project ranged from one acre to four acres. All of them were resettled in rehabilitation colonies without any cultivable land. As a result, they lost not only agricultural

income and occupation but also lost functional network with sharecroppers, landless labourers, service castes etc. In the original villages agricultural land was one important source of family's socio-economic status, which was a determining factor of village social stratification. But after the involuntary resettlement, the land based social stratification is no longer found in the RCs. All the landowners have become landless. Thus, the phenomenon of sea bird displacement has converted 'haves' into 'have-nots'. They are confronted with several problems like poverty, unemployed, low standard of living etc.

The findings pertaining to the horticulture activities and income suggest that before the displacement, horticultural trees like coconut, mango, jackfruit, drumstick, banana, betel nut, cashew nut etc. contributed significantly to the income of the family. The displacement has uprooted this economic base of the people, as all families, irrespective of caste and occupational backgrounds, have lost these horticulture trees. These trees are generally grown around the dwelling place without much special effort and expenditure. Such kind of trees not only provided them additional income but also provided variety of flowers, fruits and also raw materials to run household industries like making of brooms, ropes, mats etc. After the resettlement in the planned rehabilitation colonies, all families have lost these horticulture-based activities.

The findings suggest that among horticulture trees, coconut trees played a very significant role in the economic and social life of the people. The data reveals that eighty percent of resettled families have lost coconut trees ranging between five to forty trees. Altogether, they have lost one thousand six hundred ninety four (1694) coconut trees. Thus, on an average 8.18 coconut trees were lost by each resettled family. For several families this is not just a simple loss of income but also a loss of

main source of livelihood. In the original habitats just eight to ten high yielding coconut trees were enough to maintain a family of four to six members. However, after the displacement the small size of homestead plots along with water shortage has made it impossible to grow either coconut or other horticulture trees around the dwelling places. Some resettled families however are gradually showing interest in planting of horticultural trees around their new dwellings.

The data pertaining to livestock before and after the displacement shows the decline of numbers in all kinds of domestic animals. The population of the cow has declined from ninety nine to twenty seven, buffaloes from sixty to four and bullocks from forty five to eleven. The livestock activity is almost discontinued after displacement due to several factors such as: (1) resettlers have sold animals because of economic problems; (2) absence of grazing land and shortage of water in the RCs; (3) death of animals due to change in climatic conditions and shortage of fodder; (4) overall ecology and environment of the RC is not agrarian based but looks urban. Thus, the percentage of families without livestock income has increased from fifty-one to ninety five after the displacement. There is also a significant decrease in the livestock income of all the three categories (low, medium and high).

The findings regarding the fishing occupation indicate that before the displacement the families other than fishermen community were involved in the fishing occupation. But after the displacement, the SBP rehabilitation policy provisions did not permit them to resettle in the RCs meant for fishermen community. They were deprived of their long learned skill and occupation simply because they belonged to non-fishermen community. Thus, the policy kept them out of sea and fishing occupation.

The data pertaining to fishing occupation also shows that there is not much change in fish catching method before and after displacement. But there is a significant change in the number of fish catching families before and after displacement. Among the total sample families resettled in the RC's, fifty five percent were involved in the fishing occupation in their original villages but after displacement, only nineteen percent are involved in the fishing occupation. However the remaining thirty-five percent families have discontinued their traditional fishing occupation. This can be attributed to the following factors: (1) the geographical distance between the sea and the RC is more; (2) at the new marine area traditional method of fishing is not suitable; (3) after displacement fish catching groups are disorganised; (4) a few of them have lost their boats.

This research study also reveals that the loss of land, CPR and other sources of livelihood have brought misery to the resettled families. Consequently, in search of a new source of livelihood, some of them have started small-scale trade and business like kirana shop, pan-bidi shop or fish selling etc. But none of them is happy about the business transaction, customers and profit. This shows that the absence of proper source of livelihood at the new place of resettlement compelled the evacuees to adapt any means for their survival. As a result, both the 'haves' as well as 'have-nots' are marginalized after the displacement.

The study has also identified the problem of landless labourers. They are the silent sufferers of the SBP. In the original habitats all of them had either direct or indirect stake in agriculture, CPR and fishing occupations. The available fertile land, abundant CPR and rich fish catching marine area provided them sufficient work and wages. After the resettlement in the planned rehabilitation colonies they remained without work and sources of livelihood, as RCs have no source of livelihood or any

other kind of income generating activity. Hence, this section of displaced population is thrown out from assured occupations and sources of livelihood and is pushed into an uncertain open job market.

In the original habitats the service caste families, particularly carpenters and blacksmiths were involved in making and mending of the agricultural implements and small fishing boats. They also made wooden furniture. This occupational group met the needs of the agriculturists, sharecroppers, landless labourers and even fishermen. In return, they were paid either in cash or in kind or both. Along with this hereditary occupation, they also used to cultivate their own land as a subsidiary occupation. After the resettlement in the RC the functional relationship between service caste groups and other groups is broken. This is mainly because of two reasons:

- 1.the entire village is not resettled in one place; and
- 2.due to non-availability of agricultural land and fishing area there is no demand for agricultural implements and fishing boats. Ultimately, they are involved in fulfilling the household needs like making and repairing of doors, windows, household furniture etc. The traditional occupation is commercialised.

The study also finds that in the original villages each family had its own family occupation. Almost all the members of the family, directly or indirectly, were involved in the family occupation. All the members of the family carried out family occupation like agriculture, fishing, household industry, carpentry etc. collectively. These occupations were generally based upon family members' cooperation, mutual help and interdependence. Such kind of functional cooperation and dependency was a uniting factor, which kept the members together under one roof or in the separate houses with close physical and social proximity. However, the establishment of SBP has taken away the family's nature of collective work and has placed them in a new location without providing any kind of opportunity to work together. As a result, after

displacement the social units particularly family, caste and kins are disintegrated. The resettlers' income data gathered through the field study further reveals that due to absence of occupational rehabilitation, irrespective of their caste and occupational background, almost all the resettled families are marginalised. They are facing the problem of sustainable livelihood. The data pertaining to household income clearly shows that the household income is substantially reduced after resettlement. Before displacement, twelve percent families were belonging to the high income and fifty two percent families belonged to the middle income group. But after the displacement, the percentage of such families have reduced to two and twelve respectively. But there is substantial increase in low-income group families from thirty six percent before to eighty six percent after the displacement.

Thus, we can conclude that the forced displacement takes away the inhabitants' sources of livelihood and disturbs the indigenous economic network. This kind of transformation not limited only to the local economic structure but also brings change in socio-cultural systems of the society. The occupational shift from higher order occupational ladder to the lower order occupational ladder leads to economic marginalisation. This, in turn, has caused social mobility after the displacement. Before displacement the families belonging to higher order occupations and income enjoyed comparatively superior social status. The phenomenon of displacement has placed them in lower order socio-economic status in the hierarchical ladder. The socio-cultural system of the coastal habitats was symbiotically related to the village economy, which is now disturbed. The economic condition of family or group of families, which determined the socio-cultural role and status within a given village community is also disturbed. This shows that the Marxian theory of 'economic determinism' (Economic system determines the culture of society) is applicable to the phenomenon of sea bird displacement.

SUGGESTIONS

In the process of displacement and involuntary resettlement the baseline socio-economic and cultural surveys always play a vital role, because the quality of resettlement and rehabilitation is fundamentally based upon the quality of socio-economic surveys. Hence, it is the duty of the concerned authorities to conduct the baseline surveys scientifically both in qualitative as well as quantitative way. This will guide them in the formation of more comprehensive, appropriate, flexible and qualitative resettlement and rehabilitation plan. Such kind of plans will definitely help the involuntarily resettled families to reconstruct the socio-cultural and economic network at the rehabilitation colonies. This study reveals that the R and R authorities have shown due concern to the provisions of physical resettlement, but along with this, they should have also given equal importance to the socio-cultural and ecological resettlement. It is their legal and moral responsibility to maintain a balance in the bureaucratic approach and the social service approach. This kind of balanced approach and efforts are inevitable for the quick adaptation and adjustment of the people to the new ecology and environment. As a result, they can reconstruct and lead, more or less, the same kind of socio-cultural and economic life even after the displacement.

The findings of this study pertaining to implementation of R and R provisions reveals that the livelihood problems of families resettled in the rehabilitation colonies are not being adequately addressed by the R and R authorities. The simple cash payment in the form of compensation to the affected families in lieu of acquisition of land and other immovable assets lost leads to the unplanned and wasteful use of money, which, in turn, leads to the impoverishment of the displaced people. This provision fails to restore the families' livelihood after the resettlement in the RC.

The people belonging to agriculture and fishing communities in the rural coast are very much dependent upon the agricultural land and the common property resources like sea, forest, grazing fields etc. These natural factors play a critical role in the reconstruction of resettlers' livelihood systems. Therefore, the policy of land for land, sea for fishing, and also common property resource based resettlement and rehabilitation plans and programmes need to be pursued consistency by the R and R authorities. While providing such livelihood provisions, it is essential to take due care of the quality, quantity and physical proximity of livelihood sources and dwelling places of the resettlers.

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