

SECTION - I

INTRODUCTION

Backdrop: Since independence in 1947, India has been undertaking development projects to improve the quality of life of its people through 'planned development' under the successive Five-Year Plans. Such projects include dams, power, mining, industrial and allied infrastructures, transport network, urban development, commercial forestry and other projects. Some of these projects have brought adverse effects in the form of displacement of people from their original place of habitation due to large-scale land acquisition. Development-induced displacement in the country has brought severe economic, social and environmental problems to the displaced people. Magnitude of people displaced and severity of the problems due to multipurpose dam projects is too high as compared to other projects in the country. They also lead to submergence of high quality of land, destruction of the watershed, disturb the delicate ecological balance and distort the surrounding environment, loss of wildlife and precious irreplaceable flora, etc. and most notorious problems of flooding, water-logging and salinity. The experience of post-Independence period from projects across the country suggests that the long drawn out process of displacement has caused widespread traumatic psychological and socio-cultural consequences. These include the dismantling of traditional production systems, desecration of ancestral sacred zones, graves and places of worship, scattering of kinship groups, disruptions of family system and informal social network (Kothari, 1995). Michael M. Cernea (1997) has developed the 'risk and reconstruction model', which has already been tested to be applicable to the development-induced displacement situation in the country. The model is built around a core concept: *the risks of impoverishment*. The eight-impoverishment risks are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation.

Magnitude of Displacement: In the absence of any serious attempt to measure the magnitude of displacement due to development projects since the introduction of planned development in India in the early 1950s, nothing substantial can be said about it. Vijaya Paranjpye (1988) puts the number of people those displaced due to dams alone at 21.6 million. According to another estimate, the country's development programmes have caused the displacement of approximately 20 million people over roughly four decades, but that as many as 75 percent of these people have not been rehabilitated (Fernandes, 1991). Their incomes and livelihoods have not been restored. That means, the vast

majority of development-induced displaced people in the country have been impoverished. According to Smitu Kothari (1995), thus, since independence of the country, development projects of the Five-Year Plans have displaced 0.5 million persons each year primarily as a direct consequences of administrative land acquisition which does not include displacement by non-Plan projects, changes in land-use, acquisition for urban growth, and loss of livelihood caused by environmental degradation and pollution.

In the absence of any serious attempt at national or state level to look into the displacement issue from gender perspective, there is no data disaggregated along gender lines.

Impact on tribals: A large part of our natural resources lie in the hilly areas as well as the major rivers originate from the mountains; most of the development projects have been executed in those areas. These areas are the place of habitation of the tribals - the most disadvantaged sections of the society. Thus, a significant number among the displaced people are the tribals, and other economically marginalized rural people, who have depended upon the natural resource base for their livelihood. The Twenty-ninth Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Tribes (1990) says that even though tribal people are roughly 7.5 per cent of the population, over 40 per cent, of those displaced till 1990 belonged to these communities. A report of the Official Working Group on Development and Welfare of Scheduled Tribes during the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1990-1995) on the rehabilitation of tribal people, based on a comprehensive study of 110 projects, has concluded that of the 1.694 million people displaced by these projects, almost 50 per cent (814,000) were tribal people (Government of India, 1993).

The most important serious consequence of development-induced displacement for the tribal people has been the dispossession of land, both agricultural and homestead, along with the loss of their traditional occupation. The tribals are deprived of compensation and rehabilitation benefits as per the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (as amended in 1984) because they do not possess any legal documents to prove their ownership right on their land they occupy and earn their livelihood even if for centuries together.

Multiple displacements: A number of studies across the country have documented multiple displacements of people – successive displacement of the same families from one place to another following execution of development projects in those areas. The displaced people of Rihand dam, Hirakud dam and Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) are some of the examples in the country. In the early 1960s, the displaced people of Rihand dam had to face displacement from their new place of habitation for the second time in 1970s because of the coal mining projects, and again for the third or fourth time in mid-1980s due to the setting up of a number of industries. In each time of their displacement, they were progressively pauperised (Lokayan and Environmental Defence Fund, 1987 quoted in Thukral, 1989). Similarly, the displaced people of Hirakud dam, who were resettled in the mid-1950s in the upper catchments areas of the reservoir, faced displacement for the second time in

1980s due to the Ib Thermal power project came up there, and again in 1980-1990s due to the Ib valley coal mining projects. The displaced people of HAL, who were relocated in the early 1970s, were evicted for the second time in 1980s due to the execution of Upper Kolab dam project. They apprehended further displacement due to the establishment of Naval armament depot and agricultural farm coming up in the area (Pandey, 1998a).

Compensation: The tenancy (private) land owners whose lands are being acquired by the development projects are entitled to cash compensation at market prices as per the legal instruments such as Land Acquisition Act, 1984 and Coal Mining Bearing Act, 1957.

The meagre and inadequate compensation paid for the land and property under acquisition and also rehabilitation assistance, hardly rebuild the previous standards of living of the displaced people in the absence of a viable means of alternative livelihood. In addition, the niggardly compensation worked out on the basis of so-called market prices of tangible assets, is hardly commensurate with the total loss the displaced community faces all of a sudden without having developed any self-management institutions to face such a crisis.

Disparities and arbitrariness in valuing their land and other immovable assets for calculating compensation and long delay in payment of compensation and rehabilitation assistance have impoverished them. Corrupt practices by officials involved in the payment of cash compensation and rehabilitation assistance make their situation worse. They are also instances of scandals in payment of compensation especially to tribal people by siphoning away major chunk of the amount and many instances of exploitation by land owners, money lenders, bank officials and lawyers (Centre for Science and Environment, 1985; Thukral, 1989; Reddy, 1993 and Pandey, 1998a). Misutilisation of compensation amount by the displaced persons mostly on domestic and living expenses, clearing debt, performance of social functions, etc. makes them destitute in the long run (Muthayya and Mathur, 1975; Vyas, 1980; Joshi, 1982; Reddy, 1993 and Pandey, 1998a).

Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy: After Independence when India initiated development projects in different parts of the country, no specific policy was ever formulated either by the Central or the State governments to address the issue of displacement of people that took place. In the past resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced people had been based on ad hoc plans, resolutions and orders, passed for specific states or even projects when the need arose. Different State governments and ministries of central government followed different policies on resettlement and rehabilitation in the absence of a national Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) policy. So far, States such as Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka have resettlement legislation. Most State governments rely not only on law or universal policies, but instead on ad hoc administrative instructions, in conformity with the bureaucratic preference for what is described as 'case-by-case approach'. In Orissa, the R & R policy differs among mining, industrial, thermal power and water resources development projects.

Impact on women: A review of existing literature on development-induced displacement reveals that there is a lot of evidence available on the socio-economic impact of displacement and resettlement on the communities, and some information is available on some vulnerable sections of the populations such as the tribals, there is very little empirical data available on the issue of development-induced displacement from gender perspective. It may be noted here that gender dimension of the displacement issue is missing in most of these literature. The burden of displacement may affect women differently (may affect women negatively) because of the fact that there exist gender disparities in the country. There are intra-household inequalities between male and female in terms of literacy, health, nutrition, access to and control over resources and income, ownership of assets etc. Only recently the links between gender and development-induced displacement are slowly being made in bit and pieces (e.g. Pandey, 1998a, 1998b; Parasuraman, 1993; Thukral, 1996; Ray, 1998; Agnihotri, 1998, etc).

The present paper has made an attempt to document the impact of development-induced displacement on women, reviews the legal instruments available for the rehabilitation of the displaced women, documents women's participation in protest and resistance movements against displacement, and suggests policy recommendations and implementation strategies to address the displacement issue from gender perspective.

SECTION - II

THE POLICY PERSPECTIVE FOR REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED WOMEN

The Policy Regime: International Context

For understanding the issues of displacement, development and resettlement and rehabilitation in India holistically, there is a need of reference to the policies and programmes of multilateral and bilateral agencies, particularly the World Bank, ADB, DFID and UNDP from gender perspective. It is needless to note here that the World Bank has been the single largest international donor for development initiatives in India. The Bank's policy on R&R continues to remain gender blind.

According to Reider Kvam, from the World Bank, in the past the Bank's R & R policies have failed to adequately address resettlement and gender concerns, but efforts are being made by the Bank to learn from the past by introducing social planning and assessments. He made reference to the Bank's support in the Singrauli region since the 1970s. He remarked the unequal development in the Singrauli region because of disparities between affluent workers of large corporations and poor and displaced people living in the surrounding areas. Due to inadequate social planning, high social tension ensued, women were very negatively impacted and the risk of displacement increased. Reider argued that this could have been avoided had comprehensive social assessments of projects been undertaken before implementation (Asif, Mehta. and Mander, 2002).

Presenting an overview of the revisions to the World Bank's R&R policy, Dana Clark, lamented that in the context of involuntary resettlement there exists a lacunae between the Bank's policies and practices. This is mainly because of the pervasive tension between the Bank and its borrowing countries over implementation of not just the R&R policy but also most of the environmental and social safeguard policies. The Bank always shifts the blame on the borrowing country's government, when it is challenged on failed resettlement. Discussing the gender implications of the Bank's policy, Dana said that the Bank does not have much to say about gender. The word "gender" does not appear anywhere in the policy. In the policy revision process, the World Bank took no proactive steps to address issues of gender or to try to improve the status or rights of women in the context of displacement. In fact the net affect of the policy revisions is to reduce rather than increase attention to women in the context of displacement (Asif, Mehta. and Mander, 2002).

ADB's R&R policy of 1998 has recognised gender issues in resettlement. The Bank feels that the needs and problems of women affected by relocation are likely to be different from those of men, particularly in terms of social support, services, employment, and means of subsistence for survival.

Under unit of entitlement, the ADB Bank' policy recognizes that the households headed by women are to be recognized and compensated equally with households headed by men. Widowed women or divorcees living within male-headed households and having no legal rights to land may be considered as separate units for relocation purposes (ADB, 1998).

In recognising the women may have lacking property rights on land, the R&R policy of the Bank suggests "The absence of a formal legal title to land by some affected groups should not be a bar to compensation; particular attention should be paid to households headed by women and other vulnerable groups, such as indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities, and appropriate assistance provided to help them improve their status" (ibid.).

The Bank's policy has further recognized that "Cash for land acquisition has never been a satisfactory mode of compensation if it is not paid at replacement values. There is also the risk that affected persons (APs) might spend their cash quickly and become impoverished, or that women and children's subsistence needs might not be met if cash compensation is paid to the head of the household. In many cases, land-based resettlement programs work better than non-land options. Where there is insufficient replacement land of reasonable quality, income generating and retraining schemes may be suitable alternatives. The aim is to establish multiple options to enable APs to select the best option to restore their lost incomes" (ibid.).

While developing resettlement plan, the ADB's policy further suggests to "Specify how project will impact on the poor, indigenous people, ethnic minorities, and other vulnerable groups, including women, and any special measures needed to restore fully, or enhance, their economic and social base"(ibid.).

Besides, ADB has also prepared a gender checklist for resettlement, which needs to be used by the donor countries along with its R&R policy of 1998 (ADB, 2003).

The Policy Regime: National Context

National policies with specific reference to gender issues: The Indian Constitution guarantees justice, liberty and equality to all citizens of the country that means both women and men are equal as per the Constitution. The Preamble of the Constitution also speaks of equality of status of opportunity for all citizens. Also all the laws in the country emanate from the Constitutions, which should also treat equally to women at par with their male counterparts. Article 14 in the Constitution prescribes social, economic, and political justice, as well as equality before law, for both sexes. It also prohibits discrimination

on the basis of sex. Article 15 (3) authorises the State to make special provisions for the welfare and development of women. Rights guaranteed under articles 14, 15 and 16 are fundamental rights and if they are violated by the State, a citizen can move the High Court or even the Supreme Court. There have, however, been relatively few cases in which women have asserted their rights to equality by moving the courts (Government of India, 1988).

India has ratified various international agreements concerning human rights. However, there is much discrimination against women in the country. There is wide gap between the Constitutional mandates and the reality situation. Women have greater poverty, lower literacy and education, less rights, social and economic marginalisation, exposure to violence and abuse, etc. *However, gender and displacement does not seem to be mentioned anywhere in any of the national policy documents* (Ray, 1998).

National Policies on Gender and Displacement

Compensation: In India, the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (as amended in 1984) is the only legal instrument available in the country to address the issue of development-induced displacement. Compensation and rehabilitation benefit for the project affected/displaced people in the project is determined on the basis of ownership to land as per the said Act. A serious weakness of the Act is that it only offers cash compensation for the land being acquired in the project. The resettlement and rehabilitation of affected/displaced people does not fall within the scope of the Act.

The Act recognises only the individuals, not collective or community rights and hereditary usufruct rights. Again the Act recognises only the legal records of rights. Thus, those who have encroached upon government land for generations but do not have any records of rights, or traditionally depended on the common property resources, or have survived by rendering services to the village community as a whole, are not entitled to get any compensation according to the present legislation.

Enakshi Ganguly Thukral (1996) has pointed out that the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 is gender-biased and merely reinforces the existing situation of women's lack of ownership of land and property. She further remarks that the notice of acquisition served on a woman in the absence of any male person in the family is not legal. All R&R policies in the country go by the 'ownership' of land or property, when working out compensation, and reflect similar gender bias.

Lyla Mehta and Bina Srinivasan (1999) have noted that in the context of rehabilitation, one of the most glaring instances of gender disparity has been the issue of compensation. According to them as men are treated as heads of households, compensation, either cash or land, is invariably awarded to men. Women are not considered to be farmers or house owners. Single women, widowed women are particularly vulnerable in this situation. Similarly, R&R policy often gives land to major sons, but major daughters are excluded from such provisions.

Since the land documents are in the name of the male members of the family and women rarely having ownership of lands being acquired by the project, this has serious implications for giving of compensation to women and for an equal right to R&R benefits. Development-induced displacement has a particularly adverse impact on women as they have no control over the cash compensation that is paid to the man of the family (Thangraj, 1996 quoted in Ekka and Asif, 2000). The women even forfeit their traditional and customary rights over forestland together with male folk that the Government takes as encroached by the tribals.

Resettlement and Rehabilitation: There is no national legislation or policy on R&R so far for the development-induced displaced people in the country. However, National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) and Coal India Limited (CIL), both as Public Sector Undertakings of Central Government, have their own R&R policies prepared in 1993 and 1994 respectively for the rehabilitation of displaced people due to the execution of their projects. *Both of the policies can be argued to be gender bias because none of them consider women as separate units for R&R benefits except the policy of CIL saying to make special attempt to ensure women get adequate access to income generating opportunities offered under the policy. The CIL policy provides rehabilitation benefits based on ownership of land, women rarely having ownership of land will not benefit from such provision of income generating opportunities.*

The *Modified Draft National Policy for Resettlement and Rehabilitation of Persons Affected by Reservoir Project, 1994*; the third draft policy being formulated by the Ministry of Water Resources Development (MWRD) makes a passive reference to women in extending R&R benefits. Nikhil Verma (1997) has critiqued the policy suggesting for a planned mechanism effectively addressing the problems faced by women at the time of displacement.

In the absence of central law or even central policy that governs R&R or lays down guidelines; R&R of the displaced people in the past have been based on ad hoc plans, resolutions and orders, adopted for specific States or even projects as and when the need arose. Thus, R&R in the past has been ad hoc and piecemeal. Thus, different State governments have formulated different R&R policies. Even in most of the States there is no uniform policy on R&R even for different kinds of development projects. Maharashtra and Karnataka have legislations on R&R for the displaced people for all kinds of projects. Madhya Pradesh has legislation on resettlement and rehabilitation for the displaced people due to irrigation projects only and the law may be applicable to other projects at the discretion of the Government. Orissa has R&R policy for the water resource development projects. Gujarat have passed several Government Orders for the R&R of the displaced people of Sardar Sarovar Project but the State is yet to come out with a comprehensive R&R policy for the displaced people of various development projects. Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan have passed several Government Orders, for R&R of the displaced people due to development projects, most of them are funded by the World Bank

(Thangraj, 1996 quoted in Fernandes and Paranjpe, 1997). Other states have either in Government Orders or policy forms for R&R of the displaced people due to different kinds of development projects.

Except the R&R policies of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Orissa to some extent giving some R&R benefits to the displaced women as discussed below, none of the other state policies have gender perspective in R&R for the displaced women.

The National Perspective Plan for Women (1988), the National Policy on Women and the 10th Five- Year Plan (2002-2007) have no mention of the R&R of the displaced women underscoring the fact that the national government is yet to realize the displacement issue from gender perspective.

The recently formulated Draft National Policy Packages and Guidelines for Resettlement and Rehabilitation in the country, which is still under preparation, is a case of good practice on two counts. The country has, in this instance, sought several consultations with NGOs in drafting the policy. Secondly, the policy, as a result of these consultations, has been far more gender inclusive than any other policy to date. For instance, the policy provides for compensation to be paid jointly to men and women. Land also, is to be given in the name of both husband and wife in a household. It also makes it obligatory for planning and implementation authorities to involve and consult male and female representatives of the affected communities. The draft policy also provides for special programmes designed for the health and educational needs of women (Mehta and Srinivasan, 1999).

However, the draft policy does have an overall thrust that seems to consider men as heads of households and displays the usual gender biases. This only goes to show that even while a beginning has been made it will be a long time before gender is fully integrated in policy (ibid.).

State Policies on Gender and Displacement: R&R policy of the Government of Orissa for the displaced people in the water resource development sector has some gender components. The Department of Irrigation of the State through Resolution No. 25101 dated 14th July 1992 accorded divorcees with dependent child/ children and divorcees without children but had no sources of livelihood to be treated as a separate family for R&R benefits. For the purpose of treating the women as divorcee, the claimant should make an affidavit and file her claim along with a copy of such affidavit. After the receipt of the claim, the Officer-in-Charge of rehabilitation should enquire into the matter and take a decision depending on the merit of the case (Government of Orissa, 1993).

Rita Ray (1998) argues that the clause of proving herself as divorcee to get R&R benefits is a real problem for the women from lower social strata in whose case no formal divorce is sought. In their case normally the male just deserts his wife, often to later remarry without a formal divorce. The requirement of affidavit to prove as divorcee may have difficulty for the illiterate women to get so. Further the woman is at the mercy of the Officer-in-Charge of rehabilitation. Thus, she argues the resolution is gender discriminatory for the divorcee.

In addition to R&R benefits to the divorcees, the Orissa Resettlement and Rehabilitation of Projects Affected Persons Policy, 1994 considered 'widows having no sources of livelihood' and 'the unmarried women above 30 years' as separate units for R&R benefits. The policy also mandates issuance of ownership titles for homestead and agricultural land jointly in the names of the project-affected person and his/her spouse.

The policy can be argued as gender-biased not considering unmarried girls above 18 years as separate units to get R&R benefits whereas unmarried sons above 18 years avail so. The parents having daughters above 18 years gets R&R benefits for the head of family under one package only whereas the family having sons above 18 years all get R&R benefits in separate packages including the head of family. Although Government emphasize gender equality on all other aspects but it is gender-biased on extending R&R benefits to the girls above 18 years age as is applicable to their male counterparts (Rout, 1999).

Anita Agnihotri (1998) has observed that the gender dimensions of displacement have not been closely studied in the state of Orissa. The problem does not lie in defining the entitlements of a woman head of the households' entitlements in terms of material and money. The complex role a woman perform as a food collector, collector of fuel, and water, as a number of children and partner in agricultural activities gets a more than disproportionate blow vis-à-vis men in the process of displacement. She has to be placed back in her original place if not at a position of advantage - after relocation.

In the State, the major industrial projects (Rourkela Steel Plant, and National Aluminium Company Limited), thermal power projects (Talcher Super Thermal Power Project under NTPC and Ib Thermal Power Station, a State PSU) and coal mining projects (under Mahanadi Coalfields Limited, a subsidiary of Coal India Limited) have adopted their own R&R policies differing from each other, however, it is glaring to mention here that none of the R&R policies has gender perspective to address gender dimension of displacement.

In case of Sardar Sarovar Project, the Maharashtra government considers 'major unmarried daughters' as project-affected persons for R&R benefits. The Gujarat government has included all women widowed after 1980 as separate family to benefit from the rehabilitation package in the Sardar Sarovar Project; however, the women widowed prior to 1980 will continue to be 'dependents' of the head of the family. The Gujarat government, however, categorically leaves out major unmarried daughters. In case of Sardar Sarovar Project, Madhya Pradesh government does not mention women at all. Thus, the R&R legislation of Madhya Pradesh is gender-bias (Thukral, 1996).

According to Mridula Singh (1992), R&R policy of Uttar Pradesh with regard to Tehri Project is that women are not recognised as a separate entity unit. A widow, unmarried adult daughter and a deserted woman will be considered as dependents. The State policy is even more gender biased. If a

couple holds property separately, they will be considered one unit and will receive one package. In this situation, a woman will have to forego her right to the package as it will be given to the head of the family: the man.

A deserted woman has not even been referred to in any of the state policies. Only through the court can she file for claim in the monetary compensation received by her husband. She will not be entitled to a separate package. A deserted woman with three children, who was to be displaced by the Tehri Project, did move the court under the Amendment Act 1984, for claims in the compensation money received by her husband. There must be other deserted women in both these project-affected areas that have gone unnoticed (Singh, 1992).

SECTION - III

PROTEST AND RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS: WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

The development projects have raised questions of equity, fairness, justice, and equality before law, in the matter of distribution of benefits and burdens. Today the project affected people are no longer in a mood to suffer displacement along with its concomitant attributes like occupational degeneration, social disorientation, pauperisation, loss in dignity and often getting cheated of the compensation amount, which serve to make the experience a trauma. This has given rise to protest movements, marked by growing militancy. An interesting feature of the growing protest movement has been the creation of a national awareness of the problem. Also protest movements of the displaced have played a major role in displacement becoming a key issue in the debate on development. The press, the activist groups, the NGOs, the social workers and the judiciary have combined together to not only educate masses about the problem but also to build up a national consciousness (Government of India, 1996; Kothari, 1996; and Goyal, 1996).

In spite of such protest movements, pressure from civil society, multilateral donor agencies like the World Bank, Asian Development, etc; the States continue to displace people in the name of development and the central government is yet to come out with a national policy on R&R. Furthermore, the judiciary for its part has been at best inconsistent and only occasionally sensitive to the issue of displacement.

As a result of protest movements, construction of many projects has been delayed, leading to huge escalation of costs and raising the question of economically viability. Protest movements have forced the respective governments to reconsider the problems of displacement and take necessary measures for resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced people in the country.

The success of the mobilisation against the Silent Valley project, resulting in the decision to shelve the project in 1983, led to a new phase in the history of resistance to big dams in India. In this project, environmental consequences rather than displacement were the central focus. However, alliances between environmentalists, scientists and tribal rights activists succeeded in securing the withdrawal of not only the Silent Valley, but also the Bhopalpatnam, Inchampalli and Bodhghat projects proposed over the Godavari and Indrawati rivers. Other notable early struggles against big dams were local movements opposed to the Suvarnarekha, Koel Karo and Srisailam projects (CSE, 1999 quoted in Hemadri, et al 1999).

In what was seen as a major victory for the anti-dam activists, the World Bank withdrew from the Narmada project in 1993 and the construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam was stopped shortly afterwards. However, an October 2000 ruling by the Supreme Court of India authorizes renewed construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam. The ruling stipulated that those displaced by the dam would be compensated.

The most celebrated protest movement against big dams so far in the country has centered on the mega Sardar Sarovar Project. A number of protest groups gathered under the charismatic leadership of activist Medha Patkar and in 1988, local resistance organisations federated into a common platform known as the Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save the Narmada Movement). Resistance strategies borrowed from Gandhian satyagraha included non-cooperation and civil disobedience, refusal to cooperate with project authorities, blocking of all project-related work, and refusal to leave their villages. The movement derived strength and credibility also from extensive studies on social and environmental impacts of big dams (ibid.).

Besides, the struggle against Narmda dam projects, protest movements, for instance, have led to the withdrawal of the Rathong Chu project in Sikkim in 1997 and the Bedthi project in 1998. Determined protests have led to review of the rehabilitation package for Tehri, and the stalling of work on the Koel Karo project. Construction work in Bisalpur and Mansi-Wakal projects continues amidst organised protests (ibid.).

In Orissa, strong protest and resistance movement against National Test Range, Baliapal and BALCO Project, could make the Government to rethink about and finally to drop the idea of executing the projects (Reddy, 1993). Similarly protest movements by the affected people in case of Rengali multipurpose dam project could compel the Government of Orissa to come up with R&R policy for the displaced people due to irrigation projects in the State in 1977 (Pandey, 1998a). The Narmada experience of strong protest and resistance movement against the project inducing displacement and the demand for adequate measures for R&R has clearly shown that in the long run, the R&R policy prescription as well as the nature of development projects executed in India is bound to change (Parasuraman, 1993).

Women have taken lead roles in the major struggles against development projects like the struggle against Sardar Sarovar project, the struggle against Maheshwar dam, in Tehri etc. Even in major struggles against projects like Baliapal, Netarhat and Enron thermal power projects, women took lead roles. Women have a worldview quite different from men. Men are apt to be attracted by short-term benefits like getting cash for their land, but women generally have a long-term perspective. (Hemadri, et al, 1999).

In the workshop on "Engendering Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policies and Programmes in India" organized by the Institute of Development Studies and Action Aid, India in New Delhi during

Septemebr 12-13, 2002, Vimal Bhai pointed out that the people's resistance against controversial Tehri dam project started in 1978 and continues even today. The project will displace 80,000 people from more than 125 villages. According to him, women and children have been at the forefront of the struggle and have often stopped work at the dam site. The State has been very ruthless with the demonstrators and has crushed protest with a heavy hand. However, it has failed in breaking people's resolve. Gender is a major concern in Tehri since most of the displaced are women and children. Men migrate to the plains in search of livelihood leaving the women and children behind (Asif and Mander, 2002).

In Orissa, participation of women in resistance movements against development-induced displacement is remarkable in case of the Ib Valley Coal Mining Project. The women of Kadalimunda village being displaced by the project took a leading role in a non-violent struggle against the authority, the Mahanadi Coalfields Limited (MCL), a subsidiary of Coal India Limited and succeeded in winning better rehabilitation benefits. The women with the support of the men stopped mining operations for three to four days (Pandey, 1998a).

Ramkunwar, a displaced woman of Khedi village in the Dhar district of Madhya Pradesh, whose village submerged in the Narmada dam project, continue their struggle against the project along with many other girls and women of their village even after displacement for satisfactory rehabilitation. She along with other young women of her village fought valiantly against police repression. They were forced to leave their land with a police contingent of 500 men and only 3 women who physically assaulted many women. They derive inspiration for their struggle from the examples set by the struggling women in other displacement situations (Asif and Mander, 2002).

Amita Baviskar in the workshop organised by IDS and Action Aid, examined the involuntary nature of displacement, particularly in the urban context taking the case study of Delhi where people have been displaced, not just once but several times, propelled by bourgeoisie environmentalism. The desire for clean air and green Delhi has resulted in the closure of thousands of polluting units and slum relocation, as she estimates nearly 3-4 million people have been displaced in Delhi alone and in totalitarian silence. In urban displacement it is extremely difficult to identify the displacer and hence there has been no struggle. The slum dwellers are considered to be illegal people hence they do not have a right to question their own displacement. Tribal people in forests or those displaced from rural areas invite public sympathy but dispossessed urban migrants get stigmatised (Asif, Mehta. and Mander, 2002).

Documenting the women's participation in the protest movements against the projects like Utkal Alumina International Limited, BALCO in Gandhamardan, National Missiles Test Range at Baliapal, Chilika Aquatic Farm Limited at Chilika, TISCO Plant at Gopalpur etc in Orissa; and Koel Karo Hydel

Power Project, Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project and Netrahat Field Firing Range in Jharkhand; Institute for Socio-Economic Development (ISED) found that women participated in great numbers in such protest movements. Women invariably played into the hands of the leadership who, in almost all cases, were women. Almost all the movements had some kind of political affiliation and generally women were hardly given opportunity to react to change of stand by political parties. The upper caste people did not want their women to join the movement apprehending loss of prestige in the society. Although women participated in large numbers in the protest movements yet they were hardly given due recognition. The women protesters are put up in the front to protect the men from police atrocities. They were rarely considered to participate in the decision-making. The movements are generally male dominated (Satpapathy, et al, 2002).

Chitroopa Palit from the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) highlighting the main issues around gender, displacement and resettlement and rehabilitation in the Narmada Dams in the workshop organized by IDS and Action Aid, she discussed some of her experiences of displacement specific to women and elaborated on women's role in struggles against displacement. According to her in recent years more than ever before women are actively engaged in struggles resisting displacement. Although mobilizing the women is often more difficult, she argued that only by creating gendered spaces within people's struggles will it be possible to strengthen such movements and facilitate the shift from issue-based struggles to those that address emancipatory gender politics. She urged that women's liberation groups should establish contact with those women who are participating in struggles against displacement. She maintained that gender bias in resettlement is often manifested through non-recognition of women's ownership of land. According to her, in the Sardar Sarovar project, women with land titles (*patta*) were not given land for land. Finally, she held that privatization and globalisation not just militate against people's sovereignty but also promote a development model that increases displacement. Hence, they have to be questioned. She suggested to struggle and evolve methods and strategies by which civil society can stand up against such a model of development exacerbated today by the processes of privatisation and globalisation (Asif, Mehta. and Mander, 2002).

Cases on Women's participation in protest movements and resistance:

Case I: Struggle for Drinking Water

On May 15, 1997 the activists of Balugaon Khamar Mahila Unnayan Sangha in association with some villagers stopped mining activity in the Lingaraj mines under Talcher coal mining area of MCL in order to force the mining authorities to ensure regular and adequate supply of drinking water. The women were compelled to go for a direct action because of the extreme hardship they faced due to open cast mining, which dried up their ponds and wells. Despite tall promises of regular supply of water by the mining authorities, the villagers were hardly ever provided water. Though anger was mounting, the villagers were too scared to challenge the mining authority. However, the Mahila

Sangha members, after a series of discussions on the issues affecting their lives due to mining, took the initiative to mobilize fellow villagers to paralyse the mining activities. They stopped the movement of dumpers in the mines, transportation of coal and other activities. They stopped the movement of dumpers in the mines, transportation of coal and other activities. In fact, for three hours the entire activity in the mine remained paralysed as a result of which the mining authorities incurred a heavy loss.

Sensing the enormity of the loss, the mining authorities rushed to the spot to pacify the agitators. Manika Behera and Bulari Nayak, the conveners of the Mahila Sangha, argued with the mining officers. They forcefully presented their case and blamed the mining authority for non-fulfilment of their promises for proper rehabilitation, compensation and employment of the affected people. They made it clear that unless the village was provided adequate water the mining activity will not be allowed. The authorities had no option but to accept their genuine demand, and promised regular supply of water without any delay.

Currently, the Sangha members are mobilizing villagers for another agitation for better roads.

Source: Pandey (1998b).

Case 2: Police Atrocity on Women Protesters

In the morning of December 3, 1997 the women of Lachhmanpur Mahila Sangha accompanied, by a few male members of Lachhmanpur village stopped the movement of dumpers in the north quarry of Bharatpur mine under Talcher coal mining areas of MCL and prevented the mining activities inside the mines. The mining workers and their officers were stopped from entering the mines, which caused complete stoppage of mining activities. After sometime the senior officials of Bharatpur mines arrived at the scene and asked the agitators, to allow mining work to continue. But the women of the Sangha presented them a long list of genuine demands for the alleviation of the hardship that the villagers were facing. The demands were: employment of the project affected persons, regular supply of adequate water, and limited number of blasting till the villagers were resettled properly at a different site. It needs to be mentioned that Lachhmanpur village consisting of 58 families is being encircled from all sides by the Bharatpur mines and currently the digging operations have reached within almost 20 meters of the village. Irregular and untimely blasting, destruction of road communication, acute shortage of water coupled with loss of all sources of earning, have created a great deal of threat to the survival and safety of their children. The people have been living in extreme hardship for the past two years.

The immediate provocation for the agitation was damage to their houses caused by high power blasting in the mines two days earlier. The intensity of blasting was so severe that Suresh Garnaik's

four rooms and Amin Garnaik's two rooms were completely damaged. In addition, the structure of the houses of Chaitanaya Garnaik, Tikana Behera, Rabi Behera and Bindo Garnaik collapsed. Along with this, dust blew constantly from the mines. The cumulative effect of the blasting created imminent threat to their lives.

Women being the worst sufferers have become very vocal in raising their issues through their own organisation, which was formed a year earlier. On the day of the event, the women made a collective decision to register their protest against the misdeeds of the mining authority in order to gain some concession to mitigate some of their problems.

However, the mining authority has different ideas altogether. Instead of being convinced of their genuine demands, they took offence and lodged an FIR against the protesters in the colliery police station. The officer-in-charge of the police station with a contingent of male constables and just one female constable came to the spot and arrested nine women and six men. They were all arrested under IPC Section 143/341/506/149 for a period of 15 days. At this, the villagers panicked, and some of them who did not participate in the agitation pleaded for their release. However, the police did not consider their request. It was only at night that the women were released after their bail application was accepted. In the process, the entire small amount of savings of the Sangha was spent.

At the time of their arrest, the male constables assaulted most of the women. Some of the women were brutally beaten. But, despite the police atrocity, the women continue to hold their spirits up to oppose mining if their demands are not fulfilled. Their strength is their Sangha.

Source: Pandey (1998b).

SECTION - IV

IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT ON WOMEN IN INDIA

Gender relationships and power structures are all too often detrimental to women. Extensive research has documented gender inequalities in access to, and control of, economic and natural resources. In Asia for example, women may have use rights over land and forests, but are rarely allowed to own and/or inherit the land they use. Given the gender-blindness of the planning process development projects typically build on the imbalance in existing gender relations. For affected communities development projects have widened gender disparities either by imposing a disproportionate share of social costs on women or through an inequitable allocation of the benefits generated.

In spite of the fact that many countries and funding agencies have adopted specific gender policies in recent years aimed at mainstreaming gender issues in their development interventions, actual project planning and implementation continue to overlook gender aspects. An assessment by the Operations Evaluation Department of the World Bank of a number of projects funded by the Bank noted that gender aspect of resettlement were largely oblivious. Similarly, after the Asian Development Bank approved a gender policy in 1998, a review of its dam projects observed that the impacts on gender at the project preparation and implementation stages were often not considered. It may be here noted that the World Bank and the Asian Bank are two major donors for a large number of development projects in India. Where planning is insensitive to gender, project impacts can at best be neutral, and at worst aggravate existing gender disparities to the extent of radically affecting the pre-project gender balance.

Growing evidence shows that, while development projects may create vulnerability through impoverishment, they disproportionately affect groups that are vulnerable to begin with, particularly indigenous groups and women. Human rights of vulnerable groups are protected generically in the International Bill of Human Rights. The ILO Convention 169 spells out protections for indigenous groups. For women, as Sarah Aird notes in a study of dam-related displacement but whose observations could apply more generally:

'some governments still recognize only male heads of household as legitimate landowners, denying women compensation for submerged lands and exacerbating pre-existing gender inequalities. In tribal

communities where women enjoy user rights over land but not ownership rights, governments do not provide these women with any compensation. In addition to suffering greater negative effects due to dams, women also generally do not enjoy the same benefits men do, such as enhanced employment opportunities (Aird, 2001)'.

As a multi-year study of development-induced displacement by the World Commission on Dams concluded, "impoverishment and disempowerment have been the rule rather than the exception with respect to resettled people around the world" (Leopoldo J. Bartolomé, et. al., 2000) The impact has been felt most heavily by marginalized and vulnerable populations:

'Evidence suggests that for a vast majority of the indigenous/tribal peoples displaced by big projects, the experience has been extremely negative in cultural, economic, and health terms. The outcomes have included assetlessness, unemployment, debt-bondage, hunger, and cultural disintegration. For both indigenous and non-indigenous communities, studies show that displacement has disproportionately impacted on women and children (ibid.)'.

The travails of displaced women basically stem from the already existing gender inequalities within the Indian society and family. The laws, policies and government procedures also discriminate against women. It is a consequence of the unequal social and political set-up that men get preference over women in the matter of land, security, physical space, food intake, jobs, etc. within home, society and in the government. These inequalities accentuate in the event of a crisis situation like displacement resettlement (Hemadri, et al, 1999).

Examining the involuntary nature of displacement from the urban slums of Delhi, Amita Baviskar has found that displacement for women has brought emotional stress. Men migrate and women are left behind to look after the home and children. Control of women's sexuality becomes a serious issue. When women migrate, they work as domestic workers, daily wage earners, etc. Their additional income is extremely important for the family since it is often used to finance their children's education and health. They suffer great hardships in urban slums with regard to sanitation and privacy (Asif, Mehta and Mander, 2002).

As mentioned in the previous section, there is wide gender disparity in several respects in India. Thus, displacement may affect women differently. In a broad sense, displacement brings loss of access to common property resources, loss of access to livelihood, loss of access to services, lack of sanitation, breakdown of family life during transition period, additional burden of workloads and responsibilities, deteriorating health status, breakdown of community networks, problem of marriage of daughters, rise in alcoholism and increase in domestic violence, deterioration of social status of tribal women, sense of insecurity, breakdown of lifestyle etc. Here is an account of the major impacts of development-induced displacement on women in the country.

Loss of access to common property resources: Access to land, forest, river, sea, fisheries, cattle, grazing land and other common property resources, which support subsistence livelihoods and provide greater security against risk of poverty to women. In addition, women have the responsibility of collecting fuel, wood, fodder, and minor forest produce and water for their family. As women have no rights on these resources, thus, their loss of access to these resources is seldom focussed upon when displacement takes place. Whenever, these resources are often not replaced during resettlement with women often bearing a disproportionate share of the resulting costs.

Parasuraman (1993) study of the impact of displacement on the social and economic condition of women by six development projects such as Bolani Iron Ore mines, Durgapur Steel Plant, Jawaharlal Nehru Port, Maharashtra II Irrigation, Upper Krishna Irrigation and Sardar Sarovar dam found that any loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood – land, forest, sea, river, pasture, cattle, and salt pan land – marginalizes women in the labour force. It is only when land and other sources are replaced that women at least partially regain their economic status.

In Kohadia villages of Korba, an industrial area in Madhya Pradesh, the women found that with no forests in the vicinity, they had to depend on the market for fuel. But since most of the people were unemployed or under-employed, this proved to be a major strain (Thukral, 1996). Similarly, in Kohadia, since the river was full of fly ash, the women had to depend on private wells owned by better-off members of the colony. With no grazing land, cattle had to be got rid of. Kohadia was not the only village in the area to face the problem (ibid). Also the resettled oustees of the Sardar Sarovar Project had lost access to the forest and river. They were also finding the maintenance of cattle and goats problematic due to lack of grazing lands. They too, like the oustees of Kohadia, had been forced to sell their cattle. However, in the Korba and Singrauli regions, firewood remained as a major problem (ibid).

Deprived of land, forest, and non-wood forest products as a consequence of displacement, women are no more equal partners with men even in the tribal society in food gathering, hunting and cultivation (Chauhan, 1990 quoted in Ekka and Asif, 2000). This results into the loss of their freedom in social matters, their independence in economic matters and almost no gain in the political and educational fields of social change. In the matter of collection of non-wood forest products and the use of common property resources (CPRs), loss of access to forests forces them to buy fuel-wood and be dependent on other people's wells and water resources.

The study of impact of displacement on people by Balaji Pandey (1998a) in seven projects in Orissa found that due to declining access to land and other common property resources, their productive activities that they usually carried out at home such as livestock rearing, kitchen gardening, fishery, poultry or petty business etc got disrupted which adversely affected their status in the family.

Balaji Pandey (1998b) in the study on impact of open cast coal mining on women found that the women were facing problems in collecting fuel, fodder, and water for the family; they have lost their earnings from forest and other common property resources and other non-farm activities like handicraft, cottage industry, and livestock rearing.

Prior to their displacement the tribals who were displaced due to Sardar Sarovar Project, they did not have landlessness, hunger or food security in their subsistence but a self-sufficient economy because of their access to riverine resources, forests products and a customary right to land. Thereby women could supplement to their household economy through the sale of livestock, ghee, baskets, bamboo mats, ropes and pottery. Thus, women had greater economic independence and land rights in the egalitarian tribal set-up. However, dislocation has torn the people away from their source of sustenance or life itself (Modi, 2004).

Women after their relocation suffered as they lost out on customary land rights and the supplementary income from the common property resources. Their access to resources in the post-displacement scenario was mediated via their husbands and wider social networks (ibid.).

Case on Loss of Common Property Resources and Loss of Livelihood: Dukhi Naik

Dukhi Naik is a 50-years-old Scheduled Caste landless woman of village Hensmul. She was married at the age of fifteen to Tihili Naik of Purnia village situated between Ananta and Jagannath collieries. Her husband was an agricultural labourer. She used to earn Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 a month by collecting and selling forest produce from the nearby forest. Her husband died of cholera within eight years of her wedding. By that time she had become the mother of a son and a daughter.

After the death of her husband she went back to her old village Hensmul, but started living separately from her parents depending on the forest resources for a living. But for essential needs, she had to work hard. To fetch water for instance, she had to walk a long distance, since the mining authorities had not provided water to her village. Once, while carrying water, she fell and broke her leg, as a result of which she was bedridden for two months without any medical care. But despite great odds, she sends her son to school, and from her meager earnings she could also arrange to get her daughter married. The son studied upto Class VI but could not continue because of financial constraints. Dukhi's financial problems started with the rapid clearing of the forest by the authorities for mining operations. This affected her source of livelihood, and a stage came when her earnings came to an end.

As she was landless, and therefore did not lose any land to the mining authorities, Dukhi could not claim any compensation or rehabilitation assistance from them. Her son, who is now 21 years old, rarely works for a living, since firstly, there is not much work available in the area, and secondly, he is not inclined towards taking initiatives on his own to find gainful employment. As a result, today,

Dukhi's only support is her married daughter, who provides her with financial assistance, which she is accepting out of sheer necessity, but at the cost of her self-esteem and pride.

Apart from depriving her of her source of livelihood and affecting her mentally, the developments around her in the wake of the mining operations have also ruined her physically. She is suffering from a respiratory disease (which could have been caused by the pollution in the environment), as well as swelling in her legs. There is very little possibility of her receiving any proper medical treatment, given her own meagre financial resources as well as the dearth of medical facilities in her area.

Source: Pandey (1998b).

Lack of sanitation facilities: Sanitation is a major problem specific to displaced women. A study on the impact of displacement in Orissa reveals that NALCO has provided housing without toilet facilities to the displaced persons. Thus, they were forced to use a plot that the neighbouring village had set aside for pasture. Quarrels were frequent and they were mainly between women (Fernandes and Raj, 1992). Similarly, the women in Singrauli, who had earlier gone to the forests, without alternative sanitation facilities provided to them, now had nowhere to go. The women of Kohadia said sanitation was a major problem – an embarrassing experience everyday. There were no toilet, no forest and no fields – since they did not receive agricultural land in exchange for land lost. Not only did this make their lives physically uncomfortable. It also made them more vulnerable to physical and sexual harassment (Thukral, 1996). Similarly, the study of impact of displacement on people by Balaji Pandey (1998a) in seven projects in Orissa such as Rengali Irrigation Project, Upper Kolab dam project, Talcher coal mining projects, Ib valley coal mining projects, NALCO, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, and Ib Thermal Power Station found that the resettlement colonies had very little housing land, which resulted in overcrowding, loss of privacy and proper sanitation; thereby women were worse affected during call of nature.

Loss of livelihoods and marginalisation of women: It has been seen whenever there is unemployment arising out of displacement, i.e. jobs are scarce, and women are the first ones to lose. This is not only because they lack the skill, but more because they have to make way for the men. Jobs are scarce in a displacement situation, because most projects have very limited number of jobs to offer to the affected people. Till 1986, many rehabilitation schemes followed the T. N. Singh formula of one job for every displaced family. In such cases it was always the most eligible male member who was selected for the coveted job. Fernandes and Raj (1992) have found that there was a strong gender bias as jobs were offered mainly to the men and not to the women in NALCO. Similarly, displacement has resulted the exclusion of an increasing number of women from active participation in the productive process.

Given the situation of landlessness, much reduced land assets, joblessness of the men, and impoverishment, it becomes imperative that women work. The traditional occupations, such as agriculture, fishing, basket-making etc. become unfeasible, either because of unavailability of raw material once the forest or the water source is taken away, or due to the dispersion of the clientele as a consequence of the breakdown of the community network. As a result, the women find that they have to settle for unskilled wage labour which is most often irregular and underpaid. In the Korba area as the men were not interested for daily wage labour, the women were seeking unskilled daily wage labour, sometimes as hazardous as emptying cylinders of explosives, for recycling. Other sought employment as domestic help or construction workers. The displaced women of the Sardar Sarovar Project too were forced to seek wage labour, following their resettlement (Thukral, 1996).

The attitude of the rest of the displaced people towards their own women is not always positive concerning jobs. Many consider women not intelligent enough for good jobs. Some others think that women are interested in getting good jobs. Women cannot compete in the formal sector, as there is high illiteracy among them. They lack training and professional education. Others who are biased say that women are not capable of doing a good job and others maintain that women's place is at home and not outside in the offices etc. (Ekka and Asif, 2000).

The study by Balaji Pandey (1998a) has found that women have been further marginalized as a consequence of their displacement. Most of the women said that at no stage were they told about the R&R benefits by the project authorities, nor were they consulted by their men folk about the decisions such as purchase of land and purchase or construction of houses. Due to declining access to land and other common property resources, their productive activities that they usually carried out at home such as livestock rearing, kitchen gardening, fishery, poultry or petty business etc got disrupted which adversely affected their status in the family.

According to Walter Fernandes (1996) the marginalization of women is greater after displacement because the land and forests they lose were the sources of their nutrition and work outside their house, as well as the relatively high status they enjoyed. Deprivation of women due to displacement is compounded with the absence of productive employment in the resettlement area. Women are, therefore, forced to remain at home and only look after the household, without any productive work outside.

Parasuraman (1993) in his study on impact of displacement on women in six projects has found that firstly, due to the loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood and the inability of the household to replace these sources, women get pushed into work in the most exploitative sectors. They end up working as construction, mining and stone workers, domestic services, and agricultural labourers in markets flooded with dispossessed men and women. Secondly, industries, irrigation and power projects have failed to assist women with skill training and facilitate entry into self-employment activities. All projects examined in the study, except Sardar Sarovar, made no attempt at enabling

women to gain access to non-farm employment opportunities. Often, however, women and children seem to have paid very heavy price for displacement in a large proportion of households affected by Upper Krishna Project, Bolani Iron Ore mines and Jawaharlal Nehru Port women not only suffered in terms of poor health and malnutrition, they also lost the capacity to provide a secure future for their children. By engaging in seasonal migration in the absence of other alternatives they have denied access to their children to school, health, child welfare, preschool and other welfare services. Thirdly, women found work as agricultural labourers in projects only when men moved out to take employment in non-agricultural sector. Women from the partially affected villages of Durgapur Steel Plant and completely affected villages of Upper Krishna Irrigation fit into this category. Earnings of men from non-agricultural activities, and women's earnings from agriculture enhanced the income level of most households that were landless or engaged in cultivation as sharecroppers prior to land loss. Fourthly, when the land loss was compensated with land, women regained their status as workers on own land. In the case of Maharashtra II Irrigation and Sardar Sarovar Project the labour force participation rate after resettlement of women remained as high or increased after resettlement. Fifthly, displacement from the original land and loss of diversified sources of livelihood in Sardar Sarovar Project and Bolani meant that women joined men in taking up wage labour in and outside the village. The proportion of women engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural wage labour increased steadily after resettlement.

Renu Modi (2004) found that the tribal oustees especially the displaced women of the Sardar Sarovar Project were pushed to the labour market after being dislodged from their ancestral lands and self-sufficient life style. A number of inadequacies in the implementation of the R&R policies and lack of benefit sharing have left the women worse off than before. She observed that prosperity in the command area due to profits from the cash crops need not necessarily leading to an improvement in living standards, food security, or gender equity. Access to irrigation has brought a change in cropping patterns. As a result the agriculturists have switched to water-intensive crops like sugarcane, rice, and soybean. Due to a reduced supply of food crops their prices have increased. This led to a fall in the calorie intake among the relocates as their diet was devoid of milk, fish, eggs and coarse grains that they had access to earlier. To include increased costs and additional expenses on fuel, seeds and fertiliser family budget were readjusted and expenses on food were reduced. Women and female children were the first victims of the budget revision.

The World Bank has advanced loans of more than four billion dollars to the National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) in the Singrauli region, where as many as 300,000 people have been displaced in the last 40 years. Clark quotes one displaced woman saying the following:

It's a horrible situation, if a person is displaced. I know it very well. You are wandering here and there and have nothing to survive on, neither money nor anything else. In the NTPC area next door, the women have access to water. Here we have to struggle...they are sleeping in soft beds and we are dying.

They are riding in vehicles, and we who have given away all our lands have to walk and trudge. Today we are suffering from so many illnesses, body aches and fever...I have to go around the resettlement colony to seek sustenance from my neighbors; I have to beg. If we don't get any support, how will we live? The stomach wants food (Clark, 2001).

Vasudha Dhagamwar's paper presented in the workshop organised by IDS and Action Aid explored gender issues in an industrial context. Using data from a larger study on the impact of industrial development in Korba, Madhya Pradesh, she discussed issues of information among displaced women, their knowledge about displacement and rehabilitation, their roles in decision-making, employment opportunities offered and specific problems faced. The invisibility of gender in displacement and resettlement and rehabilitation emerged as a key conclusion and a serious concern. Women are subsumed within the family and are ignored for rehabilitation purposes. Since women were not landholders, they were not invited to meetings on land acquisition. Neither do the male members of the family tell them what transpired at such meetings. Vasudha's data found that the number of women engaged as cultivators and agricultural labour had declined after displacement. On the other hand, there was a rise in off land employment like contract labour and domestic help. Surprisingly, before and after displacement the working population of women remained constant. The increased distance between the woman's natal home and her marriage home due to displacement takes away the emotional support available to married women" (Asif, Mehta and Mander, 2002).

Cases on Loss of Livelihood:

Case 1: Champa Sahoo, Fate of Artisans and Traditional Workers

Champa Sahoo, a 57-year-old woman, living in Jambubahali village in Angul district of Orissa, became the displacement victim in the mid-1980s due to Talcher coal mining projects managed by the MCL. She was brought up in a better off family where she led her unmarried life comfortably. She got married at the age of 14 years to a person in Jambubahali village who owned two acres of agricultural land. The income from land and earning of Rs 4,000 from artisan work of making and selling earthen pots was enough for leading a modest life style for them before the mining project came up in their area.

Champa supported her husband in the field, in making pots and developed a small kitchen garden, which was producing enough to meet the family's vegetable requirements. She had a daughter and five sons. However, none of the children were sent to school, as the family needed them as working hands in the field and for domestic chores.

Champa's happy family received a big shock one day in 1985 when the District Collector announced the government's decision to open coal mines in the locality. The message was loud and clear; Champa knew that she had to lose the two-acre land that her family owned. While mining

started in her village, a pittance of Rs. 45,000 was paid to her husband as compensation for the land that was acquired from him. The entire amount was spent on marrying off her daughter and two sons.

The MCL authorities employed her eldest son, as a part of the rehabilitation assistance. Instead of supporting the family, he parted ways as soon as he got the job. The other sons also set up separate establishments and left.

Such a monumental crisis ruined Champa totally. She had no resources to support her ailing husband who was, by then, suffering from cancer. Despite his ill health, he continued to make earthen pots. Meanwhile, his physical condition deteriorated further in the absence of any medical care. He died recently leaving Champa alone.

Champa is now a totally changed person. She makes earthen lamps and earns a meagre income by selling them. Her youngest son— an unemployed graduate, not yet married— lives with her. He earns a little through private tuitions.

Source: Pandey (2000).

Case 2. Bani Sethi: Fate of Artisans and Traditional Workers

Bani, born in a landless washer man community, apart from earning from her traditional occupation, used to have a regular income as a wage labourer, which was sufficient for a modest living style in her village. She was the third among her four sisters, and was married off at the early age of fourteen into a family in Brahamanbahal, which was similar to her own family at the economic and social levels.

Bani's husband's family depended largely on the forest resources, which were available in abundance surrounding the village. After Bani's arrival the family started to make some savings. Bani also started kitchen gardening.

Being the only washer man family in the village, Bani's family not only commanded attention, but also were always in demand during social ceremonies. In course of time Bani became mother of two daughters and a son. Though she had no formal education, Bani was determined to send her children to schools, in which she was supported by her husband who had earlier dropped out from school after the 9th standard due to family pressures. Bani is proud of her elder daughter who is studying in the 8th standard and the second daughter in the 5th standard. The youngest son is yet to go to school.

Bani recalls vividly the confusion in her village at the time when some officials came to announce that the government would take away their entire agricultural land and even clear the forest, for coal

mining. Being landless, Bani had no fear of losing land. But she knew well that if any family's land was taken away, it would have adverse effect on the entire village. She was sure that in the wake of forceful acquisition of any land or destruction of forest, the villagers would resist.

But the whole village remained a helpless witness when the mining operations started. The noise of machines and blasting shattered Bani's small world and her peace of mind. Her movements became restricted. Her husband lost his access to the forest. His family lost its work in the village.

Bani's other great loss was the pond she used for washing clothes, since it started drying. Not only that, a layer of coal dust started settling on the pond polluting its water. She could not but continue to use its water for washing the clothes of her clients. But the latter started complaining that she was not cleaning them properly. She started losing her clientele.

Since Bani's home was built on encroached government land, she was not eligible to receive any compensation, nor was her family entitled to employment as rehabilitation assistance. She has virtually nothing to bank upon. Her husband now travels far looking in search of work. As a last resort, Bani spent her meager savings and sold her jewellery (which was preserved for her daughter's wedding) to bribe officials for a job for her husband. Unfortunately, however, it came to nothing.

Today, although Bani is just twenty-nine years old, she wears a haggard look, which indicates her state of mind. She has nothing to look forward to.

Source: Pandey (1998a).

Case 3: Nuadei Padli: Change of Livelihood (from Agriculture to wage labour)

Nuadei Padli shifted from Badaludung submerged village to Kochiabeda in 1980. At the time of her arrival she was 37 years old. She came with her husband and two sons, to the new site. Her family was promised three acres of irrigated land for agriculture purposes under R&R assistance.

Once the family shifted to the new site, there was no sign of irrigation. Since the project authorities failed to provide irrigation, they decided to give three more acres of land to her family under the R&R provision. Eventually, one more acre of land and Rs. 2,000 in cash in lieu of the remaining two acres was given.

Despite having received four acres of land, Nuadei's family could not cultivate even a small portion of it because of two reasons: firstly, the land was degraded forest land with stones, stumps and bushes which needed substantial investment for reclamation which was beyond the reach of her family and secondly, there was total absence of irrigation facility.

In her original village, Nuadei's family had 1.5 acres of patta land and 0.30 acre of encroached land. The land was very productive and in addition, her family had a small kitchen garden. From

forest produce she added Rs. 1,500 to the family income also. Her husband supplemented the family earnings through other work as well. All these avenues of earning were enough to fulfill the basic necessities of the family.

In the new site, in absence of any means of earning, Nuadei and her husband became agriculture labourers. Unfortunately, in the first year of their stay in the colony, her husband met with an accident- and ever since he has been bedridden. Nuadei became the sole earning person as a wage labourer in addition to looking after her husband and raising her sons.

Her struggle for maintaining the family despite great odds has protected her husband from many ailments and her two sons are now grown up and married. Unfortunately, both of them have deserted her. Nuadei, now at the age of 52 years, looks much older but continues to take full care of her incapacitated husband.

Source: Pandey (2000).

Decline in social status: Balaji Pandey (1998b) found that loss of access to common property resources and loss of livelihoods due to loss of access to such resources and other avenues of income resulted decline in the status of women in the family and society. Consequently, the authority and right in decision-making that the women enjoyed within the family due to their position as income-earners get weakened. Rita Ray (1998) found out important fallout for women of the resettlement work in the Talcher Super Thermal Power Project that it hits all sections of women, irrespective of their socio-economic status. Women of both large and small agricultural farmer families have little to do at their domestic front after the land acquisition for the project. They did not have enough paddies to process and distribute. They could not celebrate most of their religious functions since the rituals were all related to agriculture. They could not keep the larger community ties through the horizontal exchange of foodstuff, most of which is rice based. This was true for all age groups. In short, their contribution to the family economy, whether they worked as agricultural labourers, or managers of paddy inside the house, was not replaced with anything else.

Subordination status of tribal women: It has been observed that most tribal communities are patriarchal but compared to the mainstream society they allow greater freedom to women. Bride price instead of dowry is one indication of the fact that women's labour is respected and sought after. Widow remarriage is allowed and women do not have as many social taboos (for example on smoking) as found in non-tribal societies. After displacement many of these things change. As the process of Sankritization accelerates, tribal communities adopt customs and traditions of the dominant society and dowry tends to replace bride price, taboos are imposed on women, which do not exist in their own culture. In urban slums, like the ones studied in Delhi, women's status was most adversely affected. More than 90% of the tribal people in those slums had migrated during last fifteen years due to displacement by development projects and drought caused by deforestation. While migration to an

urban slum changed every ones life, it was the women who suffered most in terms of deterioration of their social status (Fernandes, 1995 quoted by Patabardhan, 1999).

Fernandes and Raj (1992) have found that in many cases tribals, whose women traditionally occupied relatively higher status, had internalised the mainstream ideology. As a result, despite there being a custom of women going out to work, men and women both now stated that the women's place was in the house and she should not expect anything else. More than a quarter of the respondents justified women's getting only unskilled jobs, on the grounds that women were not intelligent or not capable of taking initiatives and should therefore be satisfied with their subordinate status.

Breakdown of family: During the transition period between actual displacement and resettlement, women suffer more being homeless. During this period the displaced people continue to have two houses. Experience from the field reveal that it is mostly the women, the aged and the children who are left behind adding to the responsibilities of women at both locations (TISS, 1993 quoted in Ekka and Asif, 2000). In the absence of sensitive handling and a supportive atmosphere, the displaced people of the Sardar Sarovar Project found it difficult to shift to the new site. Many, therefore, continued to maintain two homes – one in the submerging village and the other in the resettlement, resulting in fracturing of families (Thukral, 1996).

Additional workload and responsibilities: Due to reduced family income as a consequence of displacement, women are burden on two counts such as search livelihood to add to the household income as well as the responsibility of household cores. Migration of the men in search of employment, undoubtedly, is another outcome of displacement, which increases the workload and responsibility of the displaced women. Additionally; they have the social pressure of living alone.

Deteriorating health status: Given the high mortality rates among women, it is likely that they will be the worst affected by displacement-induced morbidity. Similarly, the nutritional and health status of the women which is lower than that of the men even under normal circumstances is bound to be proportionately gone down in the event of an overall decrease in the health status caused by displacement. According to a study at Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project (Ekka, 1997) in West Singhbhum district in Jharkhand, there are increased morbidity and mortality of women in the settlement colonies. The study shows that a total of 158 women suffered from various ailments after displacement as against only 76 women who were affected by some sickness or the other before displacement. In some of the resettled villages of the Sardar Sarovar Project the per capita intake of calorie has shown a fairly significant drop. This is due to the low yields and poor employment opportunities in the resettlement area (TISS, 1993 quoted in Thukral, 1996). At some resettlement sites, infant mortality rates seem to have shot up. 30 per cent of the children born in the first six years of resettlement in Parveta died. At least 5 women lost all children in these years (Parasuraman, 1993). Life in resettlement sites is characterised by the lack of health care.

Case on Health Problem: Padua Sahoo

Padua Sahoo at the young age of twenty-six resembles a monument of despair, lost and ruined. It is impossible to believe looking at her that she is so young as her appearance is deceptive and she looks fifty. She was born in a labourer family. Despite financial problems, her parents took care of all her three siblings. She was married at the age of fourteen to Chatura Sahoo in Jambubahali village.

Padua had a dream of owning a small piece of land, which she would nurture and cultivate. Her parents were aware of her fascination for land. As destiny would have it, she was married into a landless family. Her husband was a wage labourer, but his earnings were enough to sustain the family. With her dream of owning land lying shattered, Padua resigned to her fate and started making puffed rice in neighbouring households to earn a little money.

But within the short span of five years her husband died suddenly one day without any ailment. By that time she had become mother of a son and a daughter. Her husband's death compelled her to look for work. But by then, the coal mine had completely destroyed the village economy. There was very little possibility of getting work in nearby villages because most of the agricultural land there had been acquired for mining purposes. Failing to get work in nearby areas, she started walking long distances in search of work, leaving her small children alone.

Sometimes she gets work, sometimes she returns empty-handed. Slowly Padua is getting accustomed to the vagaries of job hunting. But it has become absolutely dangerous to leave the children alone in the house, since the mining operations have begun and the blasting at times causes cracks in the house and stones keep flying.

Padua's earnings are not regular. The mining operations, pollution, inadequate food intake, overwork and constant worries have together eaten into her vitality. She is under constant threat of contracting serious diseases but there is no money to consult a good doctor. Despite her meagre earnings, she is forced to spend two hundred rupees a month approximately on her medicines.

Padua, though scared about the health of her children, has no means to get them medically examined. She is not able to walk a long distance but cannot afford to rest. She has to earn to feed her children and pay for her medicines. She is not very sure how long she would be able to live like this, what would happen to her children if she is bed-ridden, or who would take care of them if she dies. These are her constant worries.

Padua was not clear why her husband died suddenly, because at that time she was too young to comprehend the reason. But now she can probably reason out that her husband's death was, by and large, due to mining, which destroyed the agriculture and polluted the environment. She wonders whether the same would not happen to her.

Source: Pandey, (1998a).

Breakdown in social support network: The displaced women prefer to move as a part of a pre-existing community, neighbouring or kinship group for various reasons. Women are less mobile, the breakdown of village and social units, thus, affects them much more severely (Thukral, 1992 and TISS, 1992 quoted in Parasuraman, 1993). For women in rural and tribal areas, kin relationships still constitutes the prime avenues of access to scarce resources such as information, economic assistance, and other social support. Much of the support provisions flow from close networks, child care, assistance during sickness, access to information, economic assistance and a variety of other support. Resettlement that takes women far away from their natal home might severely affect their welfare, as support in times of crises that might have come from parents and brothers may not be forthcoming due to loss of frequent contact (Parasuraman, 1993) Thus, if the resettlement of the displaced women is not carefully executed, it may lead to breakdown in community networks as well as seriously affect the welfare of the women. Thukral (1996) has pointed out that since their dependence on them is greater, breakdown of these networks creates tremendous insecurity and trauma, which the women experience more than men.

Dhuru in Srinivasan (1996) quotes that disruption of social, kinship networks due to displacement needs some attention.

“Easy access to their natal homes gave most a sense of security at their original villages. At resettlement sites that security has been shattered. The Government says that we have given adivasis the benefits of civilization by resettling them close to roads and bus routes. But this supposed mobility does not mean much when people do have busses at their doorsteps but have no money for the fare. Women do not commute by buses for fear of sexual harassment. No woman can sit in these buses and go to their natal homes 50 kilometers away” (quoted in Patabardhan, 1999).

Case on Loss of Community Networks: Rajani Sethi

Rajani Sethi, aged 40 years, belongs to the washer men community. She came to Nizigarh- A resettled colony in 1982, from Khemla submerged village, with her husband and a son, who was at that time three years old. In her old village, her family had a very small piece of land, which produced paddy and some pulses in a year. Besides this, Rajani and her husband received regular laundry work and earned approximately Rs. 1,200 in a season from collection and sale of minor forest produce. Occasionally, they worked as agricultural labourers in nearby villages.

However, when her family arrived at the new site, they found that the land allotted to them was at a distance of over 5 kms. a degraded forest land not fit for any agricultural activity. The forest cover was out of bounds for them because of the resistance by the host community and forest officials. Even the laundry work her family was hoping to get would not be possible because a large number of washer men families already lived in the colony. Of the six acres, her family could identify

only two acres, of which only 0.50 acre is under cultivation, which yielded only two quintals of paddy in a year. In the absence of any sources of income, which they had hoped for, Rajani and her husband become full time daily wage labourers despite being owners of six acres of land and having the strength of a traditional cast occupation. They have three children- two sons and a daughter. The eldest son studied up to class X and is currently working as a supervisor with a contractor. The second son, aged 16 years, could study only up to Class VII and is now sitting idle at home. The daughter is studying in Class VI. Rajani intends to support her daughter's schooling up to matriculation.

This case study shows that although Rajani is under a lot of stress, both physical and mental, after being uprooted from her original place, she has a strong determination to fight against all odds. Particularly, her intention to educate her daughter up to matriculation level shows her advanced outlook; especially in the context of the caste she belongs to, where female literacy is almost totally absent.

Source: Pandey (2000).

Problem of marriage of daughters: The study by Balaji Pandey (1998a) in seven projects in Orissa has found out that girls have been married off early among the displaced families due to the availability of ready cash, which is paid as dowry, through compensation against their land being acquired by the project. Dowry rates have also gone up, as a result of which some families find it difficult to get their daughters married

Rita Ray (1998) found out the most important fallouts for women of the resettlement work in the Talcher Super Thermal Power Project was the increase in dowry cash and commodities, and the lowering of the age of marriage age for the girls. Girls were given in marriage immediately when the cash compensation was received in the locality. The parents were not sure what would be their economic status later on. The girls of the affected families were sought after by the unaffected people with greed to acquire more dowries. This was even true for the tribals who started adapting to the dowry system, which was not known to them before. All this had long-term consequences for women.

In a study by Anita Agnihotri (1996) found that the unmarried girls of the displaced villages of Languabeda and Sagadipal of the Rengali Irrigation Project in Orissa have revealed that marriage market has suddenly shrunk for them and dowry rates have gone up.

Thukral (1996) found that in the villages along the Narmada the women were worried about the marriage of their daughters. Some were worried that they would never see them once they moved to a new area. Other said that they were finding it hard to get their children married because the other party did not know where they would go. Some even found people reluctant to get into alliance with them.

Rise in alcoholism and increase in violence against women: As a consequences of displacement there are a number of cases of the rise in social disturbances reflected by alcoholism, prostitution, gambling and theft noticed in earlier instances of displacement such as Ukai dam, Hirakud dam, and those affected by the Kutku dam in Bihar. This increase in social problem is bound to have affected directly the lives and status of women by way of violence inflicted on them (Thukral, 1996). For example, at resettlement sites for the Sardar Sarovar Project, increased alcoholism markedly increased domestic violence. As men face powerlessness, women (and children) become scapegoats (Mehta and Srinivasan, 1999). Similarly in several cases displacement, resulting anxiety, idleness and insecurity has caused increase in drinking, wife-beating and domestic violence (Fernandes, 1998 quoted by Patabardhan, 1999)), again adversely affecting women. The study by Balaji Pandey (1998b) on impact of open cast coal mining on women also noted that the break up of families, weakening of kinship ties, and loss of the security and insurance as a fallout of displacement, the availability of cash received in compensation has led to increase in alcohol intake by men folk resulting in violence against women. Walter Fernandes (1996) found that because of the trauma of displacement, drinking has increased considerably among men, so have wife beating and quarrels in the family. In many cases women too have taken drinking and family in order to cope with leisure and loneliness during the day.

Case on Alcoholism and Domestic Violence: Padma Dehuri

Padma Dehury, aged 30 years, belongs to the Scheduled Tribe community. Her father was employed in Dera Colliery. The family had a small piece of agricultural land, and consisted of six children – five daughters and a son among whom Padma was the fourth. None of the children was sent to school. Padma's father arranged her marriage at the age of sixteen in Hensmul village into a landless tribal family. Her husband had dropped out of school after Class IV when his uncles separated and left him to fend for himself. Thus, he became an agricultural labourer at an early age.

After her marriage, Padma joined her husband in his agricultural work. Their collective monthly earning was approximately six hundred rupees. Padma became the mother of a son in the second year of marriage. Her son could not study beyond Class V.

When she was twenty, Padma heard the news of the opening up of coal mining in her area. However, the news did not interest her much as she did not own any land to lose to the mining authorities. However, since her house was constructed on government land, her only worry was how to protect this small piece of asset. Meanwhile, Padma's husband got a regular job with a contractor earning forty rupees a day. Although this provided the family with some regular income, it created a serious problem in the family since the husband became an alcoholic and a spendthrift wasting his entire earning on vices of one sort or another. Padma has now been reduced to a victim of abuse and battering by the husband.

Apart from this domestic crisis, Padma is also facing a serious problem in the environmental pollution around her, the air filled with dust and smoke, and the regular blasting operations by the mining personnel which causes irreparable damage to her thatched house. The mud walls may collapse any day crushing her family underneath them.

The only way in which Padma is keeping her family going is by picking coal from the mines and selling it to the middleman. But this has taken its toll. For the past three years, she has been suffering from periodic fever, but there is no one in the family to care for her and take her to the doctor. Her only solace now is praying to God hoping for a change in her husband's habits, and a return to the good old days of the past.

Pandey (1998b).

Sense of insecurity: Sense of insecurity linked with rehabilitation has to do with the change in topographical and social environment. Villagers of Manibeli who had lived in the Satpura ranges were shifted to Parveta in Gujarat due to the Sardar Sarovar Project. The women in a letter they wrote to the Morse Committee stated,

"We lived in the mountains. Perveta is on the plains and flat so you see everything around. In Manibeli we could defecate when we wanted to; the hills would hide us. This is one of the many freedoms we have left behind. Here we have to wait until dark or rise before dawn" (Morse and Berger, 1992 quoted in Patabardhan, 1999).

Breakdown of lifestyles: All these incidences just illustrate the myriad ways in which displacement leads to a breakdown of lifestyles. Childcare is one of the main responsibilities fulfilled by women. Parasuraman (1999) points out –

"Women not only suffer in terms of health and nutrition, they also lost the capacity to provide a secure future for their children. By resorting to seasonal migration they have unwittingly denied their children access to school, health care, child welfare and other welfare services" (quoted in Patabardhan, 1999).

SECTION - V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

Women are the worst victims of development-induced displacement. The problems of displacement are enormous for them. It is also clear from the foregoing discussions that in the absence of a national policy on R & R, whatsoever policies made applicable for the rehabilitation of the displaced people in the country, those policies have not accorded equal status to the displaced women at par with their male counterparts. Given that the country has pledged to ensure equality to women and promised not to discriminate against them on the basis of sex, it is imperative that all R & R policies, plans and laws imbibe the ideology that emanates from the Constitution and various UN declarations and conventions that India has ratified.

Women have hardly any property rights on the land for which they are not entitled to compensation as per the present legislation. In the resettlement colonies women also lack sanitation facilities. Similarly, there are not equally treated for jobs in the R & R packages.

Although women have participated in large numbers in the protest movements against the development projects inducing displacement, yet they have not been equal beneficiaries in the R&R packages.

Until recently whatsoever rehabilitation of the displaced people is being made, the men officials mostly represent the R&R authorities who may not be able to address the gender issues and concerns in rehabilitation

Recommendations

In the light of the foregoing discussions, here the paper tries to make the following recommendations for addressing the displacement issue from gender perspective.

- **Equal treatment to women in the eligibility for R & R benefits:** In the eligibility for R & R benefits, the women should be treated at par with their male counterparts. The major daughter and major son should receive equal treatment. Similarly, the R & R policy should recognize the households headed by women and they should be treated equally for R & R benefits. Widowed women or

divorcees living with male-headed households and having no legal rights land should be considered as separate units for R & R benefits.

Implementation Strategy: The Ministries or Departments of the Central Government or the State Governments that result displacement of people due to execution of their projects should amend their existing R & R policies for treating the women at par with their male counterparts for R & R benefits. In the absence of any such R & R policy of such Ministries or Departments, they should formulate R & R policy soon giving equal treatment to the women as their male counterparts for R & R benefits. In case of the projects of private parties those induce displacement of people, the respective Ministries or Departments of the Central Government or State Government - under whose purview such project comes - should issue instructions to the private parties for amending the existing R & R policy or formulating a new R & R policy in case of having none for equal treatment to the women for R & R benefits as their male counterparts.

- **House or land in joint names:** There are very few women who have ownership rights at the time of displacement. However, the rehabilitation plans must ensure joint ownership of both spouses at the time of new settlements. As R & R packages, when the displaced people are rehabilitated in the form of land-for-land, it should be prescribed that the land allotted for rehabilitation always be in the joint name of the female and male heads of the family and that the spouse of the male head of family and in her absence, the oldest female member of a family be regarded as the female head of the family. Likewise, house or homestead land in the resettlement colonies must be allotted in joint names.

Implementation Strategy: The Ministries or Departments of the Central Government or the State Governments that result displacement of people due to execution of their projects should amend their existing R & R policies to ensure joint ownership of house or land for both spouses. In the absence of any such R & R policy of such Ministries or Departments, they should formulate R & R policy soon ensuring joint ownership of house or land for both spouses. In case of the projects of private parties those induce displacement of people, the respective Ministries or Departments of the Central Government or State Government - under whose purview such project comes - should issue instructions to the private parties to ensure joint ownership of house or land for both spouses as a part of the R & R benefits.

- **Compensation amount on lost assets or properties in joint names:** Very few women having ownership rights on land being acquired by the development projects, the compensation amount generally goes to the male persons of the family. It has been observed that payment of compensation in cash tends to go against the interests of women, because they are able to exercise less control over decisions regarding the disposal of cash. In order to preserve choice, although land-for-land must remain the norm; we have allowed project-affected families to opt for compensation in

cash rather than in terms of land. But it must also be ensured is that the woman head of the family also gives her consent to cash before the option is accepted. All payments of cash compensation, including the replacement value of houses, must be paid into a bank account in the joint names of the female and male heads of households.

Implementation Strategy: The Ministries or Departments of the Central Government or the State Governments that result displacement of people due to execution of their projects should amend their existing R & R policies to ensure payment of compensation or R & R benefits in the form of cash in the joint names of the female and male heads of households. In the absence of any such R & R policy of such Ministries or Departments, they should formulate R & R policy soon ensuring payment of compensation or R & R benefits in the form of cash in the joint names of the female and male heads of households. In case of the projects of private parties those induce displacement of people, the respective Ministries or Departments of the Central Government or State Government under whose purview such project comes - should issue instructions to the private parties to ensure payment of compensation or R & R benefits in the form of cash in the joint names of the female and male heads of households.

- **Women as equal partner in the rehabilitation planning and implementation:** It has been observed that women have neither been consulted nor their participation ensured in the R & R processes. The R & R aspect should be an integral part of the development inducing displacement in which both women and men should be equal partners. Thus, women's participation in the entire processes of resettlement planning and implementation should be ensured.

Implementation Strategy: The R & R authorities should take initiatives for the involvement of both women and men in the resettlement planning and implementation process. In this regard, they should be involved in the valuation of the lost assets or properties, in the payment of compensation, in the design of the R & R packages, in the resettlement site selection, purchase of land, and developing infrastructure in the resettlement colonies, etc.

The Ministries or Departments of the Central Government or the State Governments that result displacement of people due to execution of their projects should amend their existing R & R policies to ensure participation of women in resettlement planning and implementation. In the absence of any such R & R policy of such Ministries or Departments, they should formulate R & R policy soon ensuring participation of women in resettlement planning and implementation. In case of the projects of private parties those induce displacement of people, the respective Ministries or Departments of the Central Government or State Government - under whose purview such project comes - should issue instructions to the private parties to ensure participation of women in resettlement planning and implementation.

- **Creation of community resources:** In the resettlement colonies there is the need for creation of community resources of fuel and fodder, and facilities for health, nutrition and clean drinking water. These have special importance for women. The R & R authorities should take such things into consideration while resettling the displaced people in the resettlement colonies.

Implementation Strategy: The R & R authorities should take the responsibility of the creation of community resources of fuel and fodder, and facilities for health, nutrition and clean drinking water. After creation of fuel and fodder, those may be handed over to the resettlers for their management. The drinking water facility should be handed over to the Health Department of the State for maintenance. The R & R authorities should provide health and nutrition facilities in the resettlement colonies such as primary health center depending on the size of population, and health check up camps and mobile health services in the initial one or two years depending upon the need. The R & R authorities should tie up with the Health Department of the State for such kind of services. The women and children in the resettlement colonies should be covered under ICDS and the Department of Women and Child Development Department should be instructed in this regard.

- **Creation of livelihood opportunities:** Past experiences shows that women have not been equally treated at par with men in job allocation to the displaced people in the projects having scope of job opportunities. In such circumstances, women should be equally treated with their male counterparts in the allocation of jobs to the displaced people. In case of the women lacking the requisite skill, the project authorities or rehabilitation authorities should take necessary steps to provide them the required skill training before absorbing them in the jobs. Where the projects do not have job opportunities, those should take steps to ensure livelihood opportunities for the women who lost their vocations after relocation. In such cases, livelihood options should be in conformity with their choice and local needs. For example, micro finance programme in self-help group (SHG) mode may be an option for livelihood.

Implementation Strategy: The Ministry for Rural Development, the Ministry for Water Resources Development, the Ministry for Coal, the Ministry for Power and other Ministries of the Central Government whose projects result displacement of people in the country should issue notices to their respective public sector enterprises those induce displacement and the respective departments of the State Governments where such projects are located to give equal importance to the displaced women as their male counterparts in the allocations of job opportunities. In case of the displaced women lacking the requisite skill, they should be imparted the required skill training at the cost of the R & R authorities before allocation of jobs in the project. In the absence of job opportunities the displaced women should be given preference for land-based rehabilitation depending on its availability and their choice. In the absence of both land based

rehabilitation or allocation of jobs, the displaced women should be assisted with requisite skill training and provision of capital for undertaking income-generating activities. Group based micro finance may be one of the options for the purpose. The displaced women should be integrated with the poverty alleviation programmes of the Central Government to benefit from its various income-generating schemes. In this regard, respective Ministries of the Central Government such as the Ministry for Rural Development, The Ministry for Urban Development, the Department of Women and Child Development etc. should be directed to consider the displaced women as poor to benefit from such poverty alleviation schemes. The NABARD, SIDBI, the commercial banks and Regional Rural Banks should be instructed to extend financial support to such women while undertaking income-generating activities.

- **Provision of sanitation facility in the resettlement colony:** The resettlement colonies developed by many projects lack sanitation facilities and in certain cases there is not enough space for erecting such facilities in the house provided or homestead land provided by the project for which displaced faced various associated problems. Thus, the project authorities should keep in mind to develop or keep scope for developing sanitation facility in the resettlement colonies.

Implementation Strategy: The Ministry for Rural Development, the Ministry for Water Resources Development, the Ministry for Coal, the Ministry for Power and other Ministries of the Central Government whose projects result displacement of people in the country should issue notices to their respective public sector enterprises those induce displacement and the respective departments of the State Governments where such projects are located for developing sanitation facility in the resettlement colonies.

- **National R & R Act:** This is high time for the central government to come out with the national R & R policy. However, past experiences show that the state machineries have simply neglected in practicing the R & R policies in principle. The policy does not have teeth for which the affected people can't appeal against the government in the court of law. Thus, at the first step government should come out with national R & R policy and it should start the process to translate it into law as the states like Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka have such legislations already. The central government should either have a separate ministry or department on R & R that would deal with land acquisition, payment of compensation, and resettlement and rehabilitation and monitoring, evaluation and impact assessment of such activities. In this regard, the colonial Land Acquisition Act must be amended so as to help address various issues of displacement and resettlement especially that of women as pro-displaced people measure.

Implementation Strategy: The Ministry for Rural Development, the Ministry for Water Resources Development, the Ministry for Coal, the Ministry for Power and other Ministries of the Central Government whose projects result displacement of people; the Ministry for Law should work

together towards formulating a National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Act for the rehabilitation of the displaced people.

- **Representation of women officials in the R & R authorities:** As mentioned earlier, until recently whatsoever rehabilitation of the displaced people is being made, the men officials mostly represent the R & R authorities who may not be able to address the gender issues and concerns in rehabilitation. In this context, women officials - at least 30% - should represent the R & R authorities who can better realize the gender issues in displacement and assist the displaced women for better rehabilitation.

Implementation Strategy: The Ministry for Rural Development, the Ministry for Water Resources Development, the Ministry for Coal, the Ministry for Power and other Ministries of the Central Government whose projects result displacement of people in the country should issue notices to their respective public sector enterprises those induce displacement and the respective departments of the State Governments where such projects are located for at least 30% representation of women officials in the R & R authorities.

- **Educational facilities in the resettlement colonies:** It has been observed that the education of the children of the displaced people get seriously affected due to lack of access to educational facilities in the resettlement colonies. This may result high dropout among the girl children because of lack of access to educational facilities, their less mobility may hinder to access distant schools along side conservative attitude of their parents to allow going distant schools. Thus, the R & R authorities should provide educational facilities in the resettlement colonies to benefit the children in general and girl children in particular for their educational attainment.

Implementation Strategy: The R & R authority should create educational facilities (construction of school building and other infrastructures), appoint teachers and manage the schools in the resettlement colonies to benefit the children of the displaced people. Alternatively, the R & R authority may tie up the schools with the Education Department of the State Government for their management through negotiations. In this regard, the R&R authority should compensate the cost of taking over the management and maintenance of the school by the Department. However, the Education Department should proactively help the R & R authority wherever required in the running of schools in the resettlement colonies.

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DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT IN INDIA : IMPACT ON WOMEN

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FOREWORD

The end of the 20th Century may be identified as the era of displacement in India caused by disasters that ranged from natural calamities to man-made tragedies like wars, and also caused by the more positive effort of man in the cause of development. Though displacement does not usually seem to be discriminatory, the magnitude of the impact of displacement on women is enormous as they are vulnerable during such emergencies as they are usually the primary guardians of culture and community.

The tribals are deprived of compensation and rehabilitation benefits as per the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (as amended in 1984) because they do not possess any legal documents to prove their ownership right on the land they occupy and earn their livelihood even if for centuries together. A serious weakness of the Land Acquisition Act is that it only offers cash compensation for the land being acquired in the project. The resettlement and rehabilitation of affected/displaced people does not fall within the scope of the Act. Development-induced displacement has a particularly adverse impact on women as they have no control over the cash compensation that is paid to the man of the family.



There is no national legislation or policy on resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) so far for the development-induced displacement of people in the country. The National Perspective Plan for Women (1988), the National Policy on Women and the 10th Five Year Plan (2002-2007) make no mention of the resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced women underscoring the fact that the national government is yet to realize the displacement issue from gender perspective.

The travails of displaced women basically stem from the already existing gender inequalities within the Indian society and family. The laws, policies and government procedures also discriminate against women. It is a consequence of the unequal social and political set-up that men get preference over women in the matter of land, security, physical space, food intake, jobs etc. within the home, society and in the government.

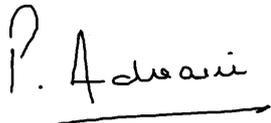
Noting the high incidence of gender injustice and the consequent injury to women which has not received due attention, the Commission and the Institute for Socio-Economic Development, Bhubaneswar had undertaken a study of the issue for intensive analysis especially focused on an overview of the literature on development, displacement and rehabilitation highlighting women's issues and concerns. It also attempts to assess the impact of displacement on women due to development projects in India. The study suggests policy directives for better resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced/affected women.

Development-induced displacement in the country has brought severe economic, social and environmental problems to the displacement people and the magnitude of this displacement and severity for the problems is too high due to multipurpose dam projects as compared to other projects in the country.

The study was used on an assimilation of reports already available on Development Induced Displacement and Impact on women.

The suggestions and the recommendations to improve the policies and programmes for rehabilitation and compensation are based on the findings of the investigation through observation as well as the views of the women and children interviewed. This book is an important tool for formulating effective mechanisms of implementation and social action for Government, women's agencies, NGOs and action groups.

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