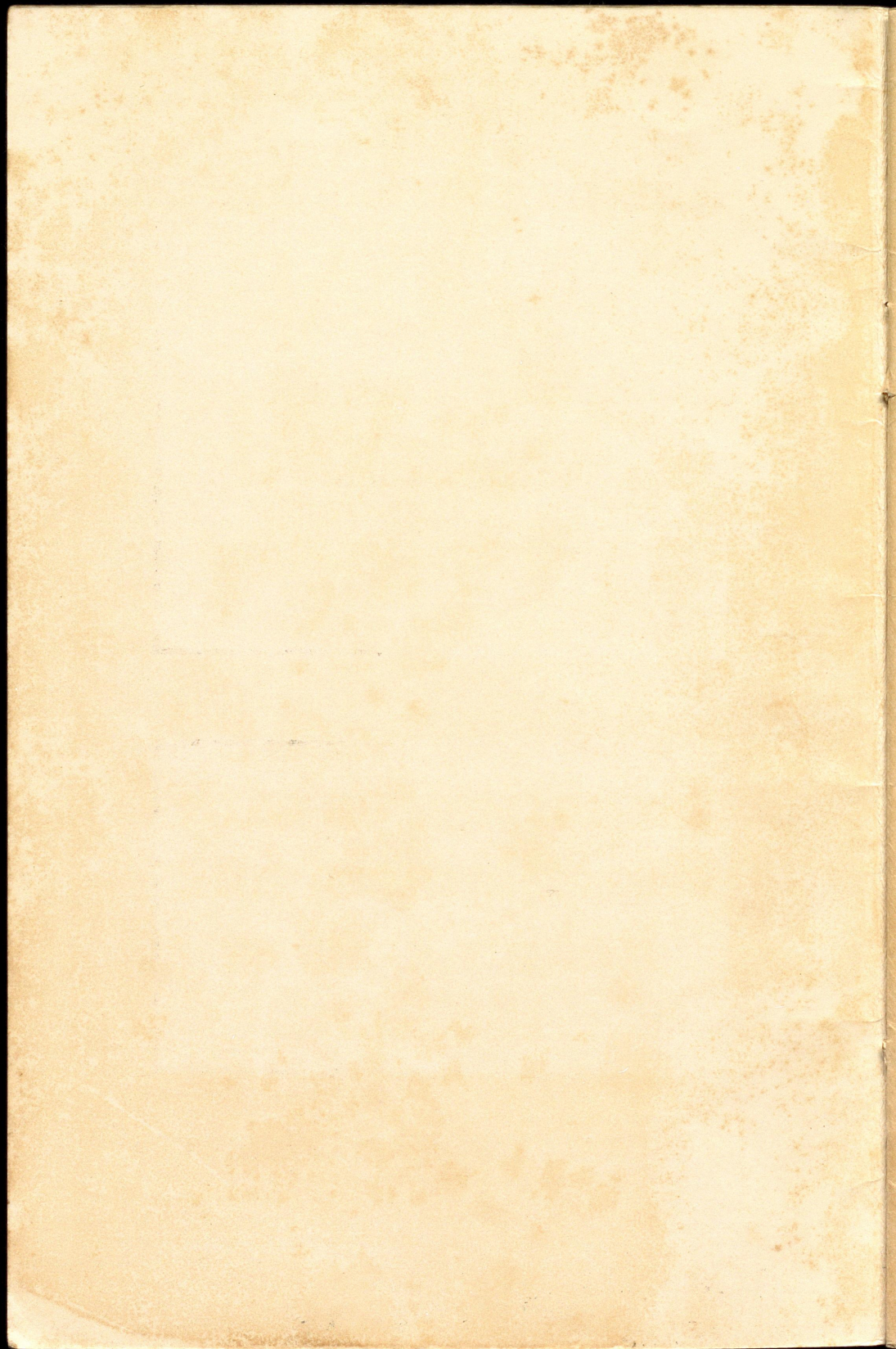


THE
SARDAR
SAROVAR
PROJECT

Experiences with
Resettlement and
Rehabilitation
1987-93

**Tata Institute of Social Sciences
Bombay**



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The Sardar Sarovar Project

Experiences with Resettlement
and
Rehabilitation

A Summary Prepared

by

The Monitoring and Evaluation Team
for Maharashtra
1987-93



Tata Institute of Social Sciences

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Bombay - 400 088

The Garden Survey
Project

Experiment with the
and
R. Robinson

A Summary Report

by

The Planning and Research Team
for the
1977-78



The Institute of Social Studies
The University of Toronto
1977-78

INTRODUCTION

This report summarises the findings of six years of work completed by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, in its capacity as the Monitoring and Evaluation (M and E) Agency, for the Maharashtra submergence villages of the Sardar Sarovar Project. Tata Institute of Social Sciences was appointed for this task by the Government of Maharashtra as required by the terms of the contract with the World Bank. The report presents the team's perspectives on the rehabilitation of the displaced, based on the analysis of their own data (not influenced by the opinions of the Narmada Bachao Andolan or the Government). These experiences have been documented in 19 reports, that have been circulated among the officials of the Government of Maharashtra, the World Bank and other organisations related to the project. Reference is also made, for comparisons, to some findings of the Centre for Social Studies, Gujarat, the official M and E Agency for the project affected villages in Gujarat. These have been incorporated for illustrative purposes so as to indicate the commonalities in the displaced persons' experiences across the two States. No claim is, however, made to summarise the Gujarat situation.

The plan of the report is as follows:

1. The size of the problem is first examined, followed by an elaboration on the policy package for Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R and R).
2. An assessment of the socio-economic condition of the people prior to their displacement is then made. This reflects the tribals' perspective of their own situation.
3. Finally, details on the various aspects of R and R, including the implementation, the Government procedures, the situation in the resettlement colonies, and the R and R as it stands today, are presented.

4. The policy implications which emerge, from the above, are presented.

Throughout our association with the Project, we have urged the Government to place the findings within the broader perspective of the entire scope of the rehabilitation of the Project Affected Persons (PAPs). This initial micro-level feedback was regularly provided so as to give useful pointers to issues likely to affect the policy at the macro-level.

THE PROJECT

1. Direct Displacement

The Sardar Sarovar Dam is expected to impound water to the full reservoir level of 455 feet. It will submerge 37,000 hectares (92,500 acres) of land in three states: Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The canal and irrigation systems aggregate to 75,000 kms., submerging 85,000 hectares (2,12,500 acres) of land. The length of the water catchment of the dam is slated to be 123 kms. Conservative estimates place the number of displaced at approximately 152,000 persons (about 27,000 families as per Government estimates), residing in 245 villages of these States, to be affected by the submergence. The break up by States is: Gujarat - 23,500; Maharashtra -13,500, and Madhya Pradesh - 115,000.

2. Indirect Displacement

In addition, about 140,000 farmers are likely to be affected by the canal and irrigation systems, some in a major way and others marginally. The latter, however, will stand to gain from the irrigation when it becomes available. The land purchased from absentee landlords in Gujarat to relocate the PAPs is likely to displace an almost equal number of tenant farmers. Further, people living downstream, numbering thousands more, and those located in the backwater zone, will be affected. Compulsory afforestation, and the development of a sanctuary, will displace hundreds of families, since the consequences of the destruction of the environment are sought to be compensated through these means. One estimate places this category of project affected persons at 42,000 (approximately 7,000 families).

These figures reveal the magnitude of direct and indirect dislocation. No one really knows the exact magnitude of the likely displacement in all its dimensions, and the spin-off effects are yet to be measured. The existing figures on the amount of surplus land available in these states for compensating even the directly displaced are far lower than

the required amount. Therefore, whether in fact, sufficient land will be found, is not known.

THE PACKAGE

The Sardar Sarovar Project has undergone many financial and economic cost-benefit exercises. As per the Government records, the cost-benefit ratio is positive. However, most of these exercises have been conducted without fully accounting for the social and environmental costs. The Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) Award of 1978 gave its report on R and R based on the critical minimum requirements of resettlement for the displaced. It is not clear whether a detailed costing of the R and R had been undertaken.

The Award was hailed as a breakthrough in rehabilitation as it made provisions far beyond those of earlier projects where only cash compensation (often under valued) had been provided. It stated that the Project Affected Persons (PAPs) must:

- (a) improve or at least regain the standard of living they were enjoying prior to displacement;
- (b) be relocated as village units, *padas* (hamlets) or families, in accordance with their preference, as far as possible;
- (c) become fully integrated within the community in which they are resettled; and,
- (d) be provided with appropriate compensation and adequate social and physical rehabilitation infrastructure.

The general compensation package, designed for this purpose, is characterised by state-specific variations with regard to certain aspects. It comprises the following:

1. A minimum of two hectares (5 acres) of irrigable land has to be provided to each land holder. In Maharashtra, one hectare of irrigable land has to be provided to all the landless families, post-1978 encroachers (i.e., those not in possession of title deeds for their lands), major sons, and major unmarried daughters of PAPs. All persons are defined as 'major' if they have attained the age of 18 on 1 January, 1987. In Gujarat, the provision of two hectares of irrigable land has been made to all persons of the above categories except the major unmarried daughters. In Madhya Pradesh too, the landed are to receive a minimum of two hectares of land. Those who encroached land before April 4, 1987, are eligible for a minimum of one hectare and a maximum of two hectares of land. Landless major sons from all

the families and those with land encroached after April 4, 1987, do not qualify to receive the land. The Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh PAPs can opt to resettle in Gujarat according to NWDI Award. In reality, however, this disparity in policy reduces the choices available to the PAPs who wish to move to areas where cultural affinity exists, but the rehabilitation package is less attractive.

2. There is non-uniformity in the policy across Maharashtra and Gujarat regarding the compensation for land. The PAPs of Maharashtra are entitled to Rs. 3,750 to Rs. 4,500 per hectare as opposed to the Gujarat figure which is placed at Rs. 10,000 (1990-91 reporting).

3. In Maharashtra, the PAPs are provided with food ration for a three month period after shifting. In contrast, in Gujarat (for Maharashtra PAPs) a subsistence allowance of Rs. 4,500 is to be paid to all PAP families by the first year after resettlement. In both Gujarat and Maharashtra a resettlement grant of Rs. 750, with January 1980 as a base and a rise of 8 per cent for every year; and a grant-in-aid of up to Rs. 500 for each family. All this is in addition to compensation for the land.

4. In Maharashtra, PAPs are entitled to house plots measuring approximately 60 sq. mts., while those in Gujarat are entitled to about 68 sq. mts. House building loan and subsidy, and free transportation of all salvaged and household material, are also to be provided.

5. Within agriculture, during the initial period, land is to be developed by the Government. There is also to be diversification towards horticulture and cash cropping. Secondary and tertiary activities are to be initiated, including dairy, supported by training and marketing.

6. Areas have to be demarcated for fuel wood and fodder cultivation.

7. In the resettlement colony, physical infrastructure is to be provided through the construction of approach and internal roads, transport facilities, drinking water, domestic and street lighting, and residential and day schools.

Several policies were not included in the original package. For instance, financial compensation is now provided to the PAPs for a year after they move to the new location site. This was introduced when it was realised that it takes some time to clear rocks and roots/ground level growth, so as to permit cultivation. Another problem was of "tapu" lands, i.e., lands becoming surrounded by flood waters, thus becoming islands rendered inaccessible to the owner.

The landless and major sons were not eligible for R and R provisions. Policy changes to incorporate this group came in 1987. The cut-off date to determine major sons was moved in 1988 from January 1, 1980 to January 1, 1987. Some of these policy changes have resulted from the R and R monitoring feedback and several others from the organisation of people by NGOs demanding change.

It is evident from the above package that the Governments of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh do not have policies equivalent to that of the Government of Gujarat. Therefore, non-parity between packages across States has created complications for the PAPs in terms of the real choices available. Even then, the provisions currently available to the Sardar Sarovar PAPs in these states are relatively better compared to the benefits available to similar categories of people affected by other such projects.

Moreover, prior to completion of negotiations on the issue of the loan, the World Bank had not appraised the R and R component. It, therefore, asked Prof. Scudder, an expert on resettlement issues, to analyse the situation related to the extent of displacement, and the R and R measures adopted by the State Governments. After his review in 1984, he concluded that the resettlement of the displaced was likely to occur in a very unfavourable environment. India's past record of reservoir related relocation did not meet the World Bank standards. The provisions of the Award represented a major advance in India, yet they did not meet the requirements of the World Bank policy guidelines on involuntary resettlement.

Six years later, in 1991-92, the World Bank deputed the Morse Commission (The Independent Review) to conduct a further appraisal of the progress of the project with specific regard to the R and R and the amelioration of the environmental impact of all the aspects of the project. The Commission concluded that environmental and social trade-offs have been made without a full understanding of the consequences. The social and environmental costs were understated; as a result, the financial benefits of the dam tended to be overstated. Further, it was maintained that the rehabilitation of all the displaced would be impossible under the present circumstances. The World Bank agreed to continue funding the project on the condition that the Indian Government met six benchmarks related to the R and R component by April 1993. These were:

1. Satisfactory improvement of the data describing the number of PAPs in the reservoir area, including an analysis of the affected tribal

people. The Governments of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh were expected to agree on the interpretation of eligibility criteria applying to various PAPs, including the landless agricultural labourers and major sons.

2. Preparation of satisfactory resettlement and rehabilitation plans in all the three States.
3. Adaptation of strengthened institutional arrangements for the implementation of R and R, including an appropriate role for local non-governmental organisations.
4. Satisfactory demonstration of improved consultation practices.
5. Satisfactory demonstration of the feasibility of getting land in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.
6. Development of a satisfactory policy package for canal affected families.

All these tasks should have been completed before the Government of India gave clearance to commence work in 1987. The tasks were not completed even by March 1993, creating conditions under which World Bank funding became impossible.

This summary seeks to examine the extent to which it has been possible for the Governments to meet the terms and conditions elaborated in the Award and as per R and R related World Bank benchmarks.

THE TRIBAL SITUATION

No attempt is made here to glorify the tribal situation, as life in these areas is both arduous and rigorous. Instead, their well-being is defined as seen from the point of view of the tribals themselves. Thus, social values and lifestyles preferred in non-tribal locales need not always coincide with those subscribed to by the tribals of the Narmada Valley. Since the Award envisages the assurance of continuity of life for the displaced, rehabilitation has to be examined in terms of the social, cultural and technological matrix of the community and the extent to which the tribals can continue to utilise known practices and skills while coping with a new environment.

A few universal factors can be observed across all tribal sub-groups of Akkalkuwa and Akrañi Talukas (the two affected talukas in Maharashtra) as well as those in Gujarat. These are:

1. The existence of an integrated, self-sufficient and essentially non-monetised economy. Agriculture, cattle rearing, forest and the river provide the main sources of sustenance.

(a) Table 1, which pertains to select Maharashtra villages, indicates that land ownership and entitlement in these villages are quite different from those put forth by conventional definitions. People have access to land through a range of methods (owned, shared, and encroached land) which vary across villages. Thus, landlessness in the real sense of the term is virtually non-existent. In Maharashtra, as well as Gujarat, this is as little as two to four per cent. In Maharashtra, the average land owned per family ranges from 2.82 to 5.25 hectares while in Gujarat, it ranges from 1.6 to 10 hectares. More than half the land under cultivation in Gujarat is of the non-revenue category (so called encroached). In Maharashtra, a large quantum of land was not treated as revenue land because the 1975 land survey remained incomplete and till 1980, no land survey had been undertaken in these villages. The second reason for land not being registered in a family's name is related to non-transference of title deeds. Though the number of families has increased and the lineage expanded, no effort was made to transfer the divided land to the name of the inheritor. This was unimportant in the prevailing tribal context. In actuality, the notion of encroachment is alien here, as the output from encroached land does not differ from owned land.

(b) The average yield per hectare meets the food requirements of the people. The major items cultivated are indicated in the section on consumption. The fertility of this (semi-grade) soil has not deteriorated due to minimal application of chemical fertilisers; instead manure is utilised, especially since the people own large livestock.

(c) Table 2 indicates that an average family in Maharashtra owns up to nine to ten animals. In Gujarat, as well, on an average, families possess 11 animals. Poultry too are owned in abundance. The output from agriculture is thus substantially supplemented by livestock (milk, meat, eggs etc.)

(d) Proximity to the river and forest has provided additional supplements. Most households catch fish at least four times a week. The forest provides a range of food items and adequate fuel and firewood. Every household in Gujarat and Maharashtra consumes a minimum of five to eight kgs. of fuel wood per day, with an increase in the winter and monsoon months.

(e) Bamboo and wood are also gathered for house construction. In Gujarat, 27.31 per cent of the people are engaged in cattle grazing, 30 per cent in firewood collection, and one fifth in collection of minor forest produce. Existence of these complementary production sources has prevented the emergence of unemployment.

Table 1
Percentage Distribution of Households by Land Holding Status
(Only of families present at the time of survey)

Particulars	Village Names								All
	Dhan- khedi	Chim- alkhedi	Sin- duri	Bamni	Danel	Mu- khadi	Mani- beli	Ga- man	
No. having only own land	5.0	28.6	40.3	5.6	9.5	3.7	—	30.8	14.8
No. having only encroached land	36.7	—	24.2	24.1	20.3	16.7	91.9	17.9	29.2
No. having only shared land	3.3	30.2	9.7	—	9.5	22.2	—	—	9.7
No. having own land + encroached land	10.0	20.6	28.5	22.2	21.6	25.9	—	51.3	20.5
No. having shared land + encroached land	25.0	17.5	7	44.4	39.2	29.6	—	—	21.6
No. having no land	3.3	3.1	5	3.7	—	1.9	8.1	—	3.6
No. having satbara	3.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
No. having satbara + encroached land	11.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
No. having sharing + Satbara + encroached land	1.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.2
Unspecified	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	0.4
All households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average land owned per family	5.25	3.35	2.82	3.12	4.22	3.28	3.86	3.12	3.81

2. The consequence of such an economy is a fairly high consumption level. The consumption patterns are varied and fluctuate across seasons. The principal source of consumption is

land, while cattle, river and forest produce play a significant role. For example, in one village up to 16 per cent of the total consumption comes from the forest in the monsoon months. It needs to be mentioned that wage labour is not an important source of income in these villages. This is significant as it implies adequacy and self-sufficiency of the economy.

Table 2
Cattle Population Per Family In Eight Villages (in Akkalkuwa Taluka)

Animals	Dhan- khedi	Chim- alkhedi	Sin- duri	Village Names				
				Bamni	Danel	Mu- khadi	Mani- beli	Ga- man
Bullocks	2.4	2.1	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.8
Cows	1.7	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.8	1.0	1.2
Goats	4.8	2.0	7.4	3.5	1.9	3.8	6.4	3.3
Buffaloes	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.6	—	0.7

Table 3 indicates that the per capita calorie intake is about 2527 in Maharashtra while in Gujarat it is 2418 calories. Considerable diversity too, is noted in the items of consumption: maize, jowar, bajri, a range of local millets (badal, banti, mor) til, mahua seeds and pulses (udid and tur), milk and its products, fruits, fish and meat. There is virtually no hunger, even in the summer, as the river-bed is used for cultivating vegetables and for catching fish in shallow waters. Leaves, tubers, stems, fruits and vegetables from the forest, also make up the tribal diet.

3. This community is minimally dependent on the market as most items produced are largely consumed locally. A major portion of til and a small quantity of udid and tur, harvested by the households, is sold in order to purchase essential items such as clothes, utensils, tobacco, sugar, salt and jewellery. Ambadi seeds are exchanged for salt and spices. The people also visit the market to sell their surplus livestock. The house is constructed of material obtained from the forest; tiles are prepared by each family; and basket making and pottery are skills every family possesses for its utensils and storage requirements. All of these indicate a high degree of self-sufficiency in the submergence villages. Even if there is no saving, there is no indebtedness, since this is a largely non-monetised economy.

4. People reside in spacious and comfortable houses made out of teak wood, thatch, mud and bamboo. These are not the stereotyped concept of the village hut. The size of the houses range from 50 to 100 sq.mts.

Table 3
Per Capita Calorie Intake in the Eight Villages
(in Akkalkuwa Taluka)

Village Names	Average Consumption (Calories)
1. Dhankhedi	2942
2. Chimalkhedi	2618
3. Sinduri	2359
4. Bamni	2375
5. Mukhadi	2583
6. Danel	2178
7. Manibeli	2482
8. Gaman	2682
Total (average)	2527

5. These villages are characterised by close family ties and strong intra- and inter-village networks. Relationships of patronage and exploitation are absent. Instead, reciprocity permeates all interactions, evident during the agricultural season, at the time of house construction, or on ritual occasions (including marriage). This is evident from the fact that the component of wage labour, referred to earlier, never exceeds three to five per cent of anybody's major activity. Services are not hired but exchanged and only food and tobacco are provided for the days when such help is used. Strong inter-village networks also result from the establishment of affinal ties across village boundaries. Leadership is customary (i.e., the headship usually is located within a single family), but the head is chosen based on his capability. Decision-making is not entirely his prerogative; every single adult has the right to express his/her view.

6. The women occupy a special position in these villages. This is evident from the roles performed by them, their contribution to the economy, decision-making powers vested in them, and the nature of interaction with men and with the wider society. An open admission

of the high premium placed on women, is the payment of bride price at the time of marriage. The women perform a multiplicity of roles as they shoulder a large burden of the agricultural work, look after the livestock, do all the housework, make utensils, fetch water, gather minor forest produce, etc. Rather than being exploited, they are valued for their capability. They are seen taking important decisions within the household and outside. These decisions are wide ranging, pertaining to agriculture, selection of spouses, opting for resettlement, etc. High fertility rates and a good health status have prevailed. No incidents of wife battering have been recorded, despite regular alcohol consumption. The women consume alcohol and smoke bidis, against which there is no social sanction. Unequal power equations between genders are not evident.

7. There is poor access to the formal health care, child welfare and educational facilities, due to isolation. Such facilities have not been adequately extended to them. This is a definite lacuna, yet people's health status is not very poor. They avail of an array of medicinal plants from the forest and only in the case of serious illness, they go many kilometres to seek medical help. Their current lifestyle precludes the need for formal education. This, however, restricts their opportunities while attempting to move beyond their isolated surroundings.

The above description indicates the nature of the community being dealt with and the rehabilitation programme required.

REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT IN TERMS OF THE AWARD AND WORLD BANK TERMS

1. Survey of the PAPs

The project work was to be preceded by a comprehensive appraisal regarding displacement and plans for rehabilitation; but the Government of India granted permission for the commencement of work on the condition that such studies will be commissioned and comprehensive plans will be submitted by 1989. This did not occur. Even subsequent to the World Bank conditions (1992), no comprehensive studies were commissioned between October 1992 to April 1993. As mentioned earlier, according to Prof. Scudder's report, the extent of displacement was not known and, hence, no clear plans for resettlement could be envisaged. The Award and certain World Bank benchmarks assume relevance only if these aspects are clearly explicated.

As the State Governments are still not aware of the exact extent of displacement, assurance cannot be provided that all PAPs would be appropriately rehabilitated. A simple calculation, based on the Maharashtra and Gujarat baseline village studies, shows that each family, on an average, owns or has access to two to five hectares of land. Hence, even at the minimum norm, for the Maharashtra PAPs alone, about 7,000 to 8,000 hectares of cultivable land is required. This is evident from some sample data in Table 4.

The Government of Maharashtra obtained 2700 hectares of forest land, to be cleared for purposes of resettlement. Since additional land was required for persons newly designated as PAPs, due to policy changes, another 1500 hectares is being considered for this purpose. However, it should be noted that the PAPs also subsisted on cattle rearing, forest and river produce. In the past, as their families grew and older sons established nuclear families, they could clear additional forest land. In the new settlement colonies, there is no river and access to forest is restricted. Also, expandability of land is not a feasible proposition. Thus, even if a total of 4,000 hectares of land is released by the Government, it will prove to be inadequate as families grow and have to seek an alternate livelihood for which there is no provision in the resettlement colonies. It is anticipated that they will be reduced to landless and, possibly, even migrant wage labourers.

Table 4
Quantity of Agricultural Land Required for Compensation

Particulars	Village Names						All six villages total
	Dhan-khedi	Chimal khedi	Sin-duri	Bamni	Danel	Mu-khadi	
1. Number of landed and landless adults and major sons as on 1981 cut-off point	63	69	98	62	93	75	460
2. Agricultural land required as per 1. (in hectares)	126	138	196	124	186	150	920
3. Number of landed and landless and major sons as on 1988 cut-off point	75	96	131	83	116	106	607
4. Agricultural land required as per 3. (hectares)	150	192	262	166	232	202	1204

It is also doubtful whether Gujarat would be able to make available the required land for *all* those from the other two states, who indicate their preference for relocation in Gujarat, in view of the fact that Gujarat *buys* land at a rate of Rs. 35,000 to Rs. 75,000 per hectare, and the land prices are expected to continue to escalate since Government is acquiring so much land. The per family financial allocation for rehabilitation is in the range Rs. 1 to 1.25 lakh only. This is clearly not adequate to meet procedural and incidental costs and other expenses, in addition to land costs.

2. Maintaining the integration of the village community

An important element of the Award was the relocation of PAPs in units of their preference. However, due to the non-availability of large land plots, they are unable to express their preferences. In most resettlement colonies, there is no possibility of relocating an entire village. (The Taloda forest in Maharashtra provides such an option but due to non-parity of packages between Gujarat and Maharashtra, those opting for this site stand to lose in economic terms.) In fact, even pada members (group of inter-dependent families), and major sons and daughters have not been resettled together with their families. This poses new problems in an inter-dependent society and economy. For the Maharashtra PAPs, the most striking example, in this regard, is in the first resettlement colony of Parveta (Gujarat), which is inhabited by families from Manibeli (a submerging village in Maharashtra), but the major sons had to go elsewhere — Lunadra and Sihandra (Gujarat).

Maintaining village also community integration has been problematic as there are factors beyond economic imperatives influencing the PAPs' decision-making: (a) proximity to forest, and (b) retaining inter-group ties by resettlement at the same sites. For example, the *Vasavas* and *Tadvīs* (sub-tribes) have expressed the desire to be relocated together. The *Tadvīs* have been more inclined to avail of the Gujarat option while the *Vasavas* are interested in residing near the forest. Thus, people have been compelled to opt for one choice or the other, while both aspects are equally important. The outcome of this is that the villages have been split; in some cases members of the same pada have been resettled in different colonies, inter sub-group ties have been broken and families have been divided. Gujarat is resettling its 19 villages in 175 different locations*. From a single village, Khalvani,

* The Gujarat data, in this report, pertains only to the 22 resettlement colonies surveyed by the centre for Social Studies.

a group of 46 oustee families were resettled in three different sites: 26 in Chhindiapura; 17 in Khadagada; and 3 in Thapavi. Similar problems are occurring in Maharashtra villages.

3. The non-submerging hamlets

There exist problems at yet another level as except a few villages in Gujarat and Manibeli village in Maharashtra, all other villages will not be entirely submerged. A few hamlets are to be left out in each village. People residing in these non-submerging parts are not being resettled but will be left behind in inaccessible mountain areas around the rim of the reservoir. For the non-submerging hamlets in Maharashtra, access to Gujarat will be completely cut-off. Villages along the Narmada river are dependent on Gujarat for its market and for a range of social reasons. Markets on the Maharashtra side are located at a great distance from these hamlets. People living in these truncated villages are also likely to be affected by water borne diseases generated by the reservoir. They will have no access to health care, because the nearest PHC or sub-centre will be over six hours walk across the Satpura ranges, and even those would become inaccessible during monsoon. These isolated hamlets will not constitute viable units wherein survival itself cannot be assured.

4. Procedures

The R and R procedures require that the PAPs be served eviction notices, detailed asset surveys conducted, compensation notices issued and amounts fixed, and submergence notices issued. As people of this region are illiterate, they are to be explained the meaning of these processes.

In Akkalkuwa taluka (first phase submergence villages), various problems have occurred in the process of application of the minimum requirements. Resistance to eviction is still evident and consultation with PAPs has not been possible in most villages. This is possible only when there is mutual trust and confidence between the affected people and the Government. Even persons who have agreed to move, have not opted for it as a desired shift. They are virtually compelled to undertake this step through lack of choice: they see the walls of the dam rising before their eyes and fear that moving will become inevitable. They were never consulted in the first instance when the plans were being prepared for the sharing of the Narmada waters. Now, the Government has to exert considerable pressure on the PAPs to relocate in view of the imminent submergence.

In Akkalkuwa again, it has been noted that not all persons whose lands are to be submerged have received the required notices. The level of awareness is also not very high as a number of people who are to be affected by submergence do not know this. There are others who believe that their lands will be submerged but do not feature in the submergence list of the Government. There are 97 persons who maintain that they are to be exposed to submergence but have not received notices. At least 31 PAPs from these villages have also not received compensation notices. Even among those who have received them, some are yet to receive compensation. A total of 107 persons, out of 391, did not receive any form of compensation, till early 1993. In Akrani taluka, an entire village did not receive compensation notices (Sikka); in Paula village, the eviction notices were left at the headman's house, and were consumed by white ants.

In Gujarat, the PAPs who moved to Tentlav and Ambavadi settlements maintain that they received an equal amount or more agricultural land than owned by them in their original villages. However, in Parveta about 18 per cent claimed that they received less land. In Chhindiapura and Khadaga all the PAPs received smaller plots as compared to their original holdings. In 1991, 27 per cent of persons resettled in Khadagada and 9 per cent of the Parveta inhabitants were yet to receive land, while 65 per cent of the Gujarat oustees resettled in Parveta stated that they were dissatisfied with the land quality. Moreover, most of the major sons in 11 of the new sites have not received agricultural land and house plots. Forty-eight oustees in Sandhia, Chhindiapura and Vaghavali have been given less than the requisite 68 sq.mts. for housing purposes.

With regard to the process of land selection in Akkalkuwa, 126 persons are still in the process of selecting land; 40 have selected land but are yet to receive title deeds; and 63 have received title deeds but are yet not cultivating their new lands as they have not been completely rehabilitated.

A series of discrepancies have been noted in the land selection and identification process in Gujarat. Persons have been shown a specific piece of land but allotted an alternative one, of poorer quality. In some cases, the land allotment has been cancelled after being sanctioned. There have also been instances, wherein more than one person has been allotted the same piece of land. In general, the choices offered to PAPs have been minimal, if at all. The PAPs are compelled to wait for long periods outside the rehabilitation office for submitting applications and collecting documents to which they are entitled.

In Parveta, the first batch of 81 Maharashtra PAPs received the first instalment of subsistence allowance as late as 1988, although they had shifted in 1985. The shifting allowances in most cases were paid only after a lapse of at least two years. This led to an unwarranted financial burden on the PAPs, because they had to finance the land clearance as well. Each PAP in Parveta incurred an average expenditure of Rs. 18,000 in the process of resettlement, which was not reimbursed as it exceeded the amount earmarked for this purpose.

A series of problems have also been related to the payment of compensation. The people who have received the amount are dissatisfied as they maintain that the 1985 land survey for regularising encroached land was not complete; hence, all their lands were not recorded and it was difficult to prove that they had been cultivating the land prior to 1978.

Due to non-uniformity of policy across states, the PAPs of Maharashtra received only Rs. 3,750 to Rs. 4,500 per hectare of land as opposed to Rs. 10,000 received by the Gujarat PAPs. This created a feeling of deprivation among the former. A number of cases (at least nine) have been recorded, wherein, people feel that they have not been given adequate choice in land selection. Bureaucratic delays in attending to complaints have further aggravated the problem.

5. Strategy for Shifting

People from Manibeli were motivated to shift to Parveta, unfortunately by adopting the policy of 'first come *best* served'. The first set of families received good quality of land while those who moved in later were allotted poorer quality of land, sometimes too rocky for cultivation. Thirty-four per cent of the Parveta households (from Maharashtra) applied for alternative lands because of poor quality. Land clearance too was slow; in some cases it took up to three years. Up to 15 per cent of the families were affected by this slowness of procedures, while 18 households have returned their lands to the Government as they were not willing to shift out of Manibeli. In January 1992, 52 eligible persons were still waiting to receive land. Factional feuds have also been recorded, and there is a polarisation, as a few have become richer while the majority have not reaped the same benefits.

In some cases, persons have found plots allotted to them to be unsuitable, but their applications for alternative plots are yet to be considered. The applications of the major sons of a number of PAPs have also to be attended to. In Gujarat too, it has been noted that

though the major sons have been declared "oustees", yet many of them have not received land or house plots (a point mentioned earlier). As birth certificates cannot be produced and, therefore, disputes have arisen as to whether a person is 18 years or below. In a tribal society, birth certificates, or any other method of marking births or deaths, does not exist.

Such problems have created disenchantment among some who have opted for resettlement, and is compelling others to move back to their original villages *after* shifting. Tension occurred in March 1992, when efforts were made to forcibly evict people from Manibeli by deploying a large battalion of policemen. The people did not move, and the force had to be withdrawn under public pressure. Prolonged confrontation has injected bitterness between the parties.

The process of resettlement is itself traumatic, and adjustment to a new environment requires a congenial and supportive atmosphere. This needs sensitive handling by trained and committed personnel. In its absence, it is no coincidence that families that have shifted to new locations for over a year continue to maintain two abodes: one in the new resettlement colony and the other in the submerging village. They need to buttress the loss of agriculture in the initial stages through cultivation in their original village. This has been noted among the Gujarat PAPs as well. They cultivated land in both old submerging villages and new sites for a period of almost five years. Some families are fractured for several years between the new and the old villages. Often, women and older persons are left behind. Family life is disturbed and it is difficult on the women for whom responsibilities increase with divided household and parallel activities in both locations.

6. Changes in the Economy

The dislocation from the valley has eliminated access to river and forest produce. This has resulted in a change in the consumption pattern in the new colonies. Fish and meat have vanished, and while cereals are available and some good crops have been harvested, a general shortage of pulses and vegetables has been noted in some resettlement colonies. In Parveta, about 23 per cent of the Maharashtra PAPs were recorded to be below the poverty line in 1989. In the resettlement colonies inhabited by the Gujarat PAPs, the average calorie intake per adult is 2629. Though this is above the required minimum, it is not uniform across the resettlement sites. In Dhefa, Ambavadi, Bhilvashi, Jemalgadh, Kukarda, Parveta and Vaghrali, the average intake per capita is less than 2400 calories and

16 to 28 per cent of the population in these colonies consume even less than 2000 calories. This has been attributed to low yields and poor employment opportunities outside agriculture.

In 1992, in Parveta (the Maharashtra PAPs resettlement site) with a poor monsoon, wage labour became the only alternative, if and where it could be found. On the aggregate, up to 46 per cent of the households engaged in agricultural wage labour in this village in contrast to only 5 per cent earlier. Contract labour too has begun to surface. In the pre-resettlement situation, the option of expanding land under the plough and availing of forest produce existed to tide over such periods. Wage labour may continue to rise in the future since there are few alternatives/cushions available.

The Gujarat situation is also similar, wherein, 87 per cent of the PAPs maintain that there are less work opportunities in the new sites, except for those resettled in Khadaga. It has been noted that 17 per cent of the population is engaged in casual wage labour for a period of 220 days per year as their main occupation, while 65 per cent of the people are self-employed agriculturists. In addition, 46 per cent are engaged in casual labour as a subsidiary occupation. Approximately, 150 days of employment are generated per year. This is less than the pre-resettlement situation owing to narrowing of the occupational base. Dependency upon agriculture has thus risen, but its ability to absorb people has narrowed.

Regarding the agricultural occupation itself, a few changes are evident. Eighty per cent of the Gross Cropped Area is under food grains. On the one hand, there has been the introduction of two new high value crops: wheat and paddy, while, on the other, there has been the loss of local millets such as nagli, bhanti and bhadi which added variation to their diets. There has been use of HYV cotton seeds, and fertilisers such as di-ammonium phosphate, and plant protection chemicals. Despite this, higher yields have been recorded only in 10 per cent of the irrigated cropped area. Yields in the dry lands of Ambavadi, Bhilvashi, Dhamadra, Dhefa, Gora, Parveta and Vaviyala (all in Gujarat) have been extremely low. The value of the average yield per acre is Rs. 1,032 which is lower than the district yield value of Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 1,800 per acre. The farm economy is, thus, weak in the sites which do not have irrigated agricultural land. Out of the 21 colonies monitored in Gujarat, in four there are no irrigation facilities; in nine, less than 10 per cent of the area is irrigated while in the remaining seven, less than 20 per cent is irrigated.

In Defa, it is feared that farming households will transform to casual labouring ones. A decline in reciprocal labour has also been noted, bringing a new dimension into the agricultural system. People in these resettlement colonies have not gone in for serious investment in land as there is some confusion regarding the interpretation of land allotment rules, shortchanging of land, and canal or road expected to pass through the allotted plot.

The maintenance of large herds of cattle and goats by both the Maharashtra and the Gujarat PAPs has become problematic due to inadequate pasture lands. This is particularly acute for the latter, as in many colonies no grazing has been reported. The grazing land that exists in the resettlement sites, has to be shared with the people of the host village. A large number of persons have also sold their cattle due to this problem. They have reduced the numbers in their livestock and feed them on the stubble after harvesting the crops. A number of PAPs have left considerable livestock in their original villages where adequate pasture is available. Among the Gujarat PAPs, a decline in milk consumption has been recorded. In fact, sheep-herding as an occupation has become insignificant in most Gujarat settlement colonies.

Excessive dependency on land and integration into the market economy, has reduced the earlier self-sufficiency and, thereby, created indebtedness in a market economy where only cash can obtain their requirements. People now have to purchase certain items (both food and non-food) which were earlier obtained *gratis* from the local environment; e.g., grain, oil, vegetables, pulses and seeds. Expenditure on new items has also been recorded: e.g., fertilisers and pesticides. In Parveta, 80 per cent of the Maharashtra PAP households have taken loans in the range of Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 3,000, partly for meeting their agricultural needs and partly for shortfalls in consumption. In the other four Gujarat resettlement sites where families from Maharashtra have settled, six out of the eight (families) studied, have become indebted. Loans ranging from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 26,000 were taken from relatives and money lenders. Hence, while increased availability of cash is cited as an improvement over their earlier living, in fact, their standards have fallen because it is insufficient to meet their needs.

7. Problems of Encroachers

Families in the submergence villages have cultivated these lands since generations without *pattas* (title deeds). Whenever a family expanded, the members took up additional land, cleared and began to cultivate

it. No Government official ever visited these areas till the beginning of the project. However, now the non-*patta* holders are termed 'landless' for purposes of rehabilitation. They are called the encroachers. Since such persons would get only one hectare, their standard of living would be severely affected in a cash economy. This would be against the basic principle of the Award: that all displaced should regain at the least, if not improve, their standard of living. This is in contrast to the Gujarat package, wherein, two hectares of land are available for the same category.

8. Housing

Some PAPs have been residing in tin sheds for up to 18 months in a Maharashtra resettlement site (Somaval). These sheds were meant for a transitional period not exceeding six months. They are small, hot in summer and cold in winter and cannot house cattle. The size of the plot, to be given to PAPs, is about 60 sq.mts. which compares with, perhaps, the smallest of the house plots in the submergence villages (where the houses could be as large as 100 sq.mts.) They can dismantle and bring their old houses from the original village only after they get the titles to their house plots, agricultural land and the necessary compensation. Until then, they are compelled to leave their houses and some members of the family in the original village. These processes are lengthy; as a result, people are compelled to stay in tin sheds for extended periods.

An expense of about Rs. 1,500 has been incurred on house construction by the Maharashtra PAPs (in Parveta) which was not compensated. It would be much more if they did not use the original (indigenous) materials. Besides, for the major sons, new houses need to be built on the land allotted to them. There are schemes under the tribal sub-plan which have yet not been implemented in a co-ordinated manner for the allocation of homesteads and construction of houses.

In Gujarat, several PAPs in 11 new sites complained that they had not been allotted houseplots. In Dhefa, the plinth construction work is still not complete. In Jemalgadh, the people are dissatisfied with the plinth construction and wish to undertake the task themselves. The early settlers in the Gujarat sites are disgruntled because they had constructed the plinth at their own expense and have not been compensated for it.

Though the policies provide for housing loans, no such benefit has been extended so far in Maharashtra and Gujarat. People who lived in hill areas, had specific structured houses. Such structures in the

resettlement (which are located in the plains) areas are not protective. People have been waiting ever since they shifted for the subsistence from government to make concrete houses. In fact the tribals are also eligible for house construction assistance due to their scheduled status.

9. Status of Women

A series of changes have been observed in the life and status of women in the resettlement colonies. Earlier, the women were agriculturists and did not have to leave their villages for wage labour. After moving to rehabilitation sites, they have had to engage in wage labour, especially as activities related to tending cattle have reduced and collection of forest produce disappeared. In 36 per cent of the Maharashtra PAP households in Parveta, women's contribution to the total household income through wage labour (mainly in sugarcane cutting) was significant. However, they receive a lower wage as compared to men (only Rs. 7 to Rs. 10 per day). This is the first expression of gender inequality in the relocation sites. The need for wage labour has resulted due to the growing requirements of cash to meet consumption needs, in addition to being exposed to drought without a cushion; a dramatic change from the earlier situation.

The women are now expending less energy and time on certain types of housework such as collection of water, which is available close by, and the flour mill has reduced the drudgery of grinding grain. They are unfortunately no longer using the skills of pottery, basket-making, etc. The Maharashtra PAP women who are availing of gobar gas facility (in Parveta) maintain that the time gained from firewood (non) collection is diverted to the collection of cow-dung for the gobar-gas plant. The availability of firewood is a major problem, for households which cannot install gobar gas plants. The consumption of firewood has decreased to one kg. per day. This extends to the Gujarat PAPs as well.

Efforts have been made to provide alternative opportunities for income generation for women in the Gujarat resettlement colonies through introduction of training in non-traditional skills e.g., soap making and weaving. Most women in the older age category have resisted this. Some of the younger ones have come forward but the effort has not yielded additional income or improved their status as the programmes have not been efficiently adapted. There have been no links between subsidised purchase of raw materials and efficient output marketing.

The status of women in the host villages is not high. This will undoubtedly influence the position of women who are relocating, over a period of time, as cooption occurs. The type of economy reducing them to wage labour and non-parity of values in the two situations, will affect their status adversely.

10. The Host Population

In Maharashtra (Somaval settlement), a forest is being cleared for R and R purposes. This forest contains unrecorded settlements wherein the original residents depend upon the forest for their subsistence. The PAPs are required to adjust to both, the host villages and the unrecorded settlements, as members of the latter now have to share their minimal sources with an additional set of people. Clearing the forest has already reduced their access. Hence, incidents of tension have been noted in these areas. In Somaval, the crop of one of the PAPs was stolen in 1992. Some PAPs have also been physically threatened by the earlier inhabitants. In one incident (in 1992), the tension culminated in a firing incident, in which the life of a tribal woman was lost.

The PAPs are receiving benefits in the form of agricultural implements, fertilisers and other infrastructural support, as specified in the compensation package. Even though these are under-used, it has created feelings of jealousy and hostility among the original inhabitants. Non-advancement of these benefits to host populations, has generated tension.

In most resettlement colonies inhabited by the Gujarat PAPs, integration with the host villages is yet to be attained. Except the site of Khadaga, problems have been identified in the other sites. These relate to a variety of factors. A large number in the host population, employed as labourers on the sites purchased by the R and R Department, suddenly lost all employment. The PAPs, unlike the absentee landowners (their previous employers), do not require their services as they cultivate their fields with the help of family labour. In addition, the arrival of so many persons has created a situation of surplus labour, reducing job opportunities for them. Further, people associated with the land in a share-cropping capacity have been reduced to landless labourers. In 1991, this problem was the most acute in Chhindiapura, Ambavadi and Parveta. Moreover, fodder and fuel shortages were exacerbated by the arrival of the new entrants.

The host population was also not involved in the process of R and R. They got to know of impending changes only through hearsay. The

interaction in most sites is minimal. There is virtually no exchange or interaction on a daily basis. Some amount of interaction on ceremonial occasions (births, deaths, marriages and festivals), though, has been noted.

11. Preparation of site before resettlement and availability of infrastructure

It was envisaged, under the terms of the Award, that when villages or sections of villages relocate, infrastructure of school, primary health centre and transport would be provided.

In the case of the Maharashtra PAPs who moved to Parveta, due to batch-wise shifting at the initial stage, infrastructural facilities were inadequate. The tin sheds were leaking, only one hand pump was functional, there was no electricity, roads, health facility, toilets or grazing ground. The first batch of persons experienced serious health problems due to nutritional deficiency and lack of proper health care. In 1988, 17 deaths (a number of them children below 5 years), were recorded out of a total of 350 persons in this settlement. With improvement in the sites, the number of such deaths recorded has decreased. Initially, the most serious problem was water, which was solved after the people were organised by the Narmada Bachao Andolan. Ironically, the Award requires that two hectares of *irrigated land* should be given. Till irrigation facilities commence, hand pumps and wells are required.

Approach roads have now been constructed to some colonies, but the bus transport is inadequate, creating a problem of accessibility. Somaval (in Maharashtra) has one dirt road on which only one bus plies per day. Among the colonies inhabited by the Gujarat PAPs, only 12 have *pukka* approach roads.

As per geological reports, Somaval is located on the hill slope at the foothills of the Satpuras, wherein, due to the topography of the land, surface run-off could prevent adequate recharge of ground water at the site. It is in the future that water shortages are anticipated unless watershed development is commenced early. At present, all the colonies are provided with adequate drinking water, but in some, water is released only at particular hours, unlike the perennial Narmada. Moreover, in the future, a cost will be attached, as electricity bills will have to be paid for lifting and pumping water. Further, pumps are prone to break down. In Gujarat, PAPs are encountering a water problem in some sites. In Ambavadi, Parveta, Dhefa, Khadaga and Thapavi one of the two sources of drinking water has become

dysfunctional. In Bhilvasi and Chhindiapura, due to only one source being available, and that too non-functional, the PAPs have to carry water from the adjoining villages located three to four kms. away.

Regarding educational and medical facilities, there appears to be improved accessibility in both Maharashtra and Gujarat. In Somaval and Parveta, schools exist. The PAPs are availing of these facilities and sending their children to school if not required for domestic work and minding cattle. In the newer resettlement colonies in Gujarat, however, the total number of PAPs from Maharashtra is too small to qualify for the infrastructural facilities, according to the laid down norms. Therefore, the children of the Maharashtra PAPs are expected to avail of the schools of the host villages, where they have to traverse a distance of at least four kms. everyday. This affects small children.

The Gujarat PAPs have access to a health sub-centre in only three colonies. In 13 new sites, services are available at a distance of one to five kms. In the remaining four, the closest sub-centre is 15 kms. away. The PHCs and the sub-centres of nearby villages are poorly equipped and the people no longer have access to medicinal herbs earlier procured from the Satpura forests.

CONCLUSION

1. The above discussion highlights that, given the baseline situation, the resources available, and the approach adopted, the implementation of the Award is far from satisfactory, across both the States reviewed in this paper. It is also doubtful whether the Governments can take on the full dimensions of the task, given the problems highlighted at the micro-level with the rehabilitation of just a few families. The tense situation in the Narmada valley region is the outcome of the serious problems relating to rehabilitation of this tribal community. A project symbolising development has caused deprivation to a group of people who lived beyond 'development' strategies for centuries. Bringing people into the main-stream should not adversely affect their life situation. The claim is now being put forward that they have access to Government services in the resettlement sites. This is unjustified since they were supposed to be entitled to these services even in their original villages as these areas have been demarcated for coverage under the tribal sub-plan. They had a basic right to services such as health or education. Moreover, they are now being moved to sites which will not be similarly covered under the tribal sub-plan provision. Earlier neglect cannot be sought to be made up by this claim. It is accepted that some of the services

are now more accessible such as the PHC, school, roads, and transport, yet observed that their overall position has actually deteriorated in both economic and social dimensions as documented by this report.

2. Problems have emerged due to a variety of reasons. At the macro-level there was clearly the need to : (a) gauge the exact dimension of the total impact of the project (on the people, flora and fauna) at the stage of project formulation; (b) determine the exact number of PAPs at the very outset; and (c) determine the nature and the extent of resources and finance required for resettling the displaced. None of these were fully undertaken before commencing the construction of the dam. At the very outset, it needs mention that there is need for a systematic review wherein an effective cost-benefit exercise needs to be undertaken with a major emphasis on accounting for the social costs and not only the cusecs of water likely to reach a certain number of beneficiaries.

3. With specific regard to R and R, there are problems with the policy package as well, which have been documented in this summary. The basic problem pertains to non-parity of the package across the three States. Though people in all the three States are exposed to the same situation, there are vast differences in the R and R provisions which have not been modified by the Governments of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh to bring them on par with the Government of Gujarat. The R and R provisions of these States do not provide adequate support for people to regain their previous standard of living. It is anticipated that the displaced from Madhya Pradesh (especially) will have no alternative except to move to Gujarat.

4. If the people from these two States do opt to resettle in Gujarat, non-availability of land in sufficient quantities is going to pose difficulties due to the magnitude of displacement in Madhya Pradesh. The experience of all the three States clearly reveals that land for cultivation and resettlement cannot be acquired easily. Claims being put forward regarding the availability of land lack authenticity, as much of this land has been proved to be non-arable.

The Governments have not acquired land for resettlement using legislative measures such as the Land Acquisition Act, Land Reform Act and Land Ceiling Act. The 1984 amendment to the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, provides for land acquisition to resettle people. Instead, in Gujarat, land is now bought in the open market in small bits and pieces. Thus, it may be difficult to obtain land of adequate size to resettle even 30 to 40 families in one location. This prevents

effective relocation of groups which represented cohesive social units. The resettlement experience of Gujarat villages is already available as evidence: families from 19 villages are resettled in over 175 locations. The Government of Maharashtra has chosen to resettle people in the clear felled forest area. Private purchase of land cannot permit large-scale resettlement due to limited availability. Forest land cannot be a source of agricultural land for the resettled, given the magnitude of displacement caused and depleted forest reserves. The options of the Governments of Maharashtra and Gujarat, thus, have limitations as also repercussions and, in conditions of large scale R and R they cannot be justified or sustained.

5. In order to effectively operationalise the R and R policies of Gujarat, the Government must account for the unwillingness of people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds (from Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh) to settle in Gujarat. For most of the displaced people, caste, religion, language and kinship, continue to play a dominant role in determining their economic and social security. Education and the formal sector employment do provide people with the capacity to break away from the ties related to social attributes, to a certain extent, but only a small minority come under this category. Hence, the non-availability of suitable and adequate land in their own State, and the unwillingness of people to move to unknown areas, easily gives rise to the use of external pressures or force, besides leaving no options for the concerned person to choose between alternatives. The choice is, then, between being wiped out or accepting whatever is offered without protest.

6. The adoption of the policy of 'divide and shift' in the villages has devastating effects on the welfare and community life of the originally cohesive groups. In the process, the original villages are divided into non-viable social units and relocated. Further, the Government is attempting to resettle people by marginalising the advocacy groups spearheading the anti-dam movement. In the absence of advocacy groups, it is possible that the people will not be able to put the necessary pressure for resettling them with the full provisions of the Award and its subsequent modifications in the light of experience in implementation.

7. The Sardar Sarovar Project has highlighted one point very clearly: large scale displacement of people from land cannot be sustained. It may be easy to design an appropriate R and R policy framework, similar to the policies the State and Central Governments have evolved for the social and economic development of tribals, harijans and other weaker sections. The M and E experience for a period of

six years has revealed the magnitude of procedural problems associated with R and R.

8. The time has come to look for alternatives to large dams, in order to minimise submergence of land and displacement of people. High population density on land implies large displacement. When the area of submergence is large, the problem of displacement assumes serious dimensions. Moreover, when the people displaced are dependent on land for livelihood, and if they happen to be tribals, then the alternative provision has to be land. At least for the first generation of resettlers, provision of land can be the only method of compensation. All other methods have their shortcomings. As discussed earlier, land is not available or the State is unable to acquire land for the displaced.

9. Divisive policies will trigger serious social and political consequences in society. As displacement progresses and dissatisfaction increases, the affected people will regroup to challenge the State. This process is gaining momentum. The Narmada Bachao Andolan has sown the seeds of assertiveness and it has taken firm root in the minds of the affected people. The activists view their work basically as facilitation to enable the people to awaken them to their dormant capacities to decide and act for themselves.

10. Given these observations from M and E work, it is incumbent on the State Governments, and the Centre, to review not only R and R but the entire issue of creating development with deprivation as these data show. This is particularly crucial at this stage as, ultimately, there are a very large number of PAPs from Madhya Pradesh who are yet to be resettled. Hence, decisions taken now will be crucial for thousands who will be displaced by this project.

