

## Development and Population Displacement in Odisha: A Human Rights Perspective

Mrutujanaya Sahu \*

### Abstract

Development is intended to address deprivation. Paradoxically the ongoing process of development in Odisha not only deepened but also widened deprivation and caused large scale displacement. In the case of Odisha's development model, displacement caused by large projects has actually resulted in a transfer of resources from the weaker section of society to the privileged ones. Mega dams, thermal power plant, mining and industrial projects create victims of development. It can be said that the bigger the development project, the greater the centralized control over it. This centralization has a bias in favour of large landholders, rich farmers, engineers, bureaucrats and politicians. The large scale development projects are basically designed to enhance the power of the state and private capital and are incapable of representing or serving the interests of the vast majority of the people. With the takeover of forests by the state, the traditional or customary rights of forest-dwellers were gradually converted into privileges and even further into concessions. This paper highlights the process of development in Odisha and its implications to deal with human displacement issue. Also, it seeks to reassert the protection of the rights of displaced peoples and what needs to be addressed today is the right to development, in which all their fundamental rights and freedom are realised. It concludes that though infrastructure development is necessary, it has to be implemented with a human face so that the effect of displacement is minimized and the goal of inclusive development will achieve.

**Key word:** Development, Displacement, Constitution, Rights, Odisha, India

### Introduction

Development was an integral and even non-negotiable part of the modernizing agenda of the Indian state at independence. It was comprehensively defined to encompass not only an industrial economy, but also simultaneously a programme of social transformation and political democratization. The history of last two decades has been marked by the process of development in general and economic transformation in particular in India. As in other parts of the India, in Odisha, the last two decades have witnessed a major change in the nature and process of development activities. In a state like Odisha where an overwhelming majority of the population lives in rural areas and is suffered by chronic poverty, widespread unemployment, subsistence production, and poor basic facilities, the planning and execution of large development projects play a vital role. These projects include dams, power, mining, and industrial and allied with infrastructures, transport network, and commercial forestry. However, there has been a lack of effective planning and execution of the infrastructure projects. Most of the development projects in Odisha have brought adverse effects in the form of displacement of people from their traditional homeland and way of life and denying them their basic rights of livelihood (Velath 2009). When development-induced displaced persons bear the burden of development, they do so at the cost of their own human rights and social justice. The effects of the externalization of the cost of development are realized in serious impacts on the environment and in a transformation of people through the reduction of an enormous diversity of life ways into a significantly reduced set of social, cultural and economic relationship that is compatible with the

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\* Assistant Professor, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India **Email:** [m.sahu@tiss.edu](mailto:m.sahu@tiss.edu)

industrialized form of production that from the basis of current development models.

In pursuit of growth based on a neo liberal development paradigm in an era of heightened economic globalization, Odisha state government policies have favoured increased for foreign investment in mining and other related industries. Because of its rich natural resources and the new investor-friendly development policies, Odisha is now fast becoming an attractive destination for the large corporations, Indian as well as multinational, looking for investment opportunities (Sahu 2008). It has attracted large development project right from the beginning of the planning era in the early 1950. The Hirakud Dam and the Rourkela Steel Plant located in Odisha were among the first major projects undertaken in India. The state has witnessed a further rapid development. However, these projects have not benefited the local population, which has a large tribal segment. On the contrary, the paradigm of development has increased inter-and intra-country socio-economic inequalities, displacement and devastation, and drastically altered the relationship of the tribes with their natural environment and its resources, which invariably led to disempowerment of the tribes (Xaxa 2001). The projects of development had finally, come to be questioned by the advocates of sustainable development strategies as well as by movements questioning the rationale of projects that contribute to the prosperity of the some social groups even as they cause the large scale displacement of others. This paper seeks to reassert the protection of the rights of displaced people of Odisha and what needs to be addressed today is the 'right to development' in which all their fundamental rights and freedoms are realised.

### **Development and Displacement in Odisha**

Odisha could be categorized as one of the poorest states in the country, next to Bihar, despite its rich natural resources. The state is endowed with huge mineral resources having about a third of the country's iron-ore reserves, large bauxite, chromate, coal and dolomite (Somayaji 2008). Hence, industrialization of the state is a must to eradicate the poverty, to open up employment opportunities to be educated and unskilled labour, besides enhancing the state's revenue. The elites of Odisha, mainly politicians, higher caste land owners, traders and the urban middle class have always taken a pro-industry stand for rapid industrialization. In the general elections, both national and regional, political parties of the state have been giving false promises to provide jobs to growing number of unemployed educated youths. It may be recalled in 1980s when the first child sale due to hunger and starvation was reported from Kalahandi, the then Chief Minister of Odisha announced 1000 industries in 1000 days to be set up. The public sector mega Aluminum plants were set up in Anugul and Koraput districts in the early 1990s. These two industries displaced more people than jobs provided (Meher 2008).

The development activities in Odisha began in the late 1940s; it granted momentum in the early 50s with the introduction of the Pradeep Port plan. The major development projects which induced large scale displacement in the state are the industrial project such as the Rourkela Steel Plant, the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) and the National Aluminum Company (NALCO); multipurpose dam projects like Hirakud, Rengali; Upper Kolab, Upper Indervati, Balimela, thermal project like Talcher Thermal Power Station, Ib Thermal Power Project and Talcher Super Power Project, and the coal mining projects in the Talcher and Ib valley coal mining areas; etc. The state's endeavors aimed at encouraging private investment at any cost have been vigorous. During the last five years, the state government has signed 43 memorandums of understanding (MoUs). Notable among them are international and Indian corporate giants, namely POSCO (Korea), Vedanta Aluminum (UK), Rio Tinto (UK). BHP Billition (UK-Australia), Alcan (Canada), Hindalco, Jindal, Tata and Sterlite. Mining projects worth 3,000 billion rupees have already been launched and projects worth a further. 11, 000 billion rupees are in the pipeline. Thus, Odisha is fast emerging as a major site of foreign direct investment and multinational development projects, which violates the rights of the indigenous population in the hill districts and mineral reserves areas of Odisha. (Sahoo 2005).

Development has been both mantra and myth, as thousands of cores of rupees have been ploughed into millions of projects, while the promise of employment and prosperity has remained elusive. Agriculture being the source of income and employment for 85 percent of its people does never have priority. It has always been suffering from extreme poverty and central neglect in terms of the economic sphere due to the unequal allocation of resources. According to the estimation, the poverty

ratio for the state in 2004 was 46 percent; highest in India. The cultivable land in Odisha has declined. In between 1980-2000, 26, 500 hectares of forest land were destroyed for mines and industries. In addition the juggernaut of development reducing them to ecological refugees, victims of strategy growth, which forced them to pay the price of development, while others else reaped the fruits (Fernandes 2005).

### The Continued Suffering

The relationship between development and displacement is an ironical one. The State of Odisha in the process of development has been experiencing the grim truth of displacement due to development projects. A glaring revelation of displacement in the state is that a significant number among the displaced people is the tribal's, and other economically marginalized rural people, who had depended upon the natural resources for their livelihood (Fernandes 2009). The sacrifice of millions of displaced tribal who gave their land, houses, source of livelihood and suffered in the national interest will only be recorded as footnotes in the history of development of the country. Their pain, suffering, all will be forgotten in the government's project files and never find a mention anywhere as is evident from the stories of Hirakud and Rengali displaced persons. One need not go in to a detailed analysis of the various 'developmental' projects initiated after the independence, and the development mania which continues even today, but the fact remains that nobody cares for the DPs. It is only their sheer resolve to build lives in spite of all the adversity and their spirit of struggle to keep pushing for better rehabilitation measures that things have improved. The struggles of DPs either in Rengali, Upper Indravati, Kashipur, and Kalingnagar or all over the state has gone a long way in broadening the envelope of the development discourse and also contributed to deepening of the democratic norms and ethos in the country. One might not talk here of the Hirakud development project, which affected 285 villages, 22,144 families, 18,432 houses and 112.038.59 acres of cultivated land, which were submerged in the Hirakud reservoir, ,but still all the sacrifices made by the displaced people will only be counted as a footnote in the history of the country's 'development' ( Baboo 2006).

Even though the State Water Commission brings out a detailed directory of the various power and irrigation projects but there is no information available about the numbers of DPs and PAFs. Whatever data there is exists only because of the efforts of the people's movements, NGOs, academics and researchers. It has been estimated that in Odisha sum 14 lakh people, most of them adivasis, have been displaced by the development projects so far (Pandey 2008). The total number of displaced people in Odisha during 1951 to 1995 on account of various projects is approximately 5, 46, and 794 out of whom 3, 25,000 account for dam projects only. Further, Fernandes, Das, and Rao put that by 1985-86, around 8,07,500 people have been displaced due to major projects like Bhakra, Rihand, Hirakud, Balimela and Upper Kolab. The total number of displaced and rehabilitation from 1951 to 1991 in Odisha is mentioned in below:

**Table 1: Displacement and Rehabilitation Situation in Odisha, 1951-1991**

Category	Displaced	Resettled	Percentage	Backlog of settled	Backlog in Percentage
Dams	3,25,000	90,000	27.69	2,35,000	72.31
Industries	71.794	27,300	38.03	44,494	61.97
Mines	1,00,000	60,000	60.00	40,000	40.00
Misc.	50,000	15,540	31.08	34.60	68.92
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,46,794</b>	<b>1,92,840</b>	<b>35.27</b>	<b>3,53,955</b>	<b>64.73</b>

*Source:* Fernandes and Asif (1997).

The data presented above is only until 1990 but the situation has not changed much whether in terms of continuance of displacement due to developmental projects, in fact, it has increased in this hyped up economic boom as never before, or record of rehabilitation. The per cent of those rehabilitated is still as low as 25-30 percent of the total number of displaced population. The magnitude of displacement put above by various groups/individuals shows the seriousness of displacement in India and Odisha as well, and thus draws a special attention. In the age of liberalization, privatization and globalization, the future will certainly witness more cases of displacement in Odisha.

### **Displacement and Rights**

Development-induced displacement inevitably leads to violation of human rights. Displacement predominantly affects those who are politically, economically and geographically marginalised (Mathur 2006). The push of globalization and the State development policies in recent decades have however endangered the continuation of their traditional lifestyles, and they are victims of serious human rights violations as a consequence of the dispossession of their lands and natural resources, widespread violence and repression, and assimilation. In accordance with international law, members of Indigenous Peoples and Minorities enjoy all the fundamental human rights and freedoms of people everywhere and certain international law has also developed specific legal provisions to secure and protect their rights. The Declaration on Right to Development in 1986 states that right to development as an inalienable human right. The right to participation is based on various articles of the International Bill of Human Rights, which consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). More specifically, the 1991 International Labor Organization Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO Convention 169) stipulates (Article 7) that indigenous and tribal peoples shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of national and regional development plans that affect them (Velath 2009).

The process of development-induced displacement in Odisha takes away many rights from the displaced that in fact, are granted to them by the Indian Constitution. Ironically, Article 19 (e) of the Indian Constitution guarantees to its citizens the freedom 'to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India' and Article 21 says that 'no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law'. Thus when the state takes away land deprives CPR dependent communities of their livelihood on the assumption that the natural resources are state properties 'the right of the state has appropriated to itself goes counter to the citizen's fundamental rights' (Fernandes and Paranjypte 1997). Under Article 19 of the Indian Constitution, all people have the right to freedom of assembly, freedom of expression and speech. But Odisha government and private companies have been consistently disrupted peaceful democratic meeting by using police and paramilitary forces, which is violation of the right to the peaceful assembly (Meher 2006). In the last two decades, Odisha has witnessed many struggles to protect life and livelihood (for example, in the towns of Balipal, Gandhamardan, Chilika, Indravati, Gopalpur, Kashipur and Kalinganagar). The police firing at Gopalpur, Maikanch and at Kalinganagar that led to the loss of poor and tribal lives in opposed to mega development projects, can be seen as denying their basic rights of livelihood and an ongoing conflict between the two sides: between the one favoring 'industrialization', led by the government, and those opposed to it. If the democratically elected continues the violation the rights of tribal, which from the perspective of the subaltern is very democratic, the weaker section of the society will be more dehumanized and excluded resulting in resistance movements including violent protests (Samal and Das 2006).

### **Land Alienation and Rights of Local People**

Land is a particularly contentious issue with regard to development projects, especially in areas with tribal populations, and it is important to understand the constitutional provisions here. The tribal land, water and forest alienation took place through a process of gradual, systematic and dubious appropriation of these rights under the British colonial State's penetration into the domain of customary communal property resources. Due to large-scale industrial and infra structural projects, the tribal and poor people are displaced from their productive assets and homes. The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (amended in 1984) empowers the government to acquire the people land, by compulsion for both the public and private purposes, also termed as 'national interest'. This Act helps the State as a weapon for immediate land acquisition. It is in pursuance of this principle of 'eminent domain' by the Indian state that the property or ownership rights of the state came to infringe on the rights of the displaced peoples (Ramanathan 1996).

In the eastern Indian state of Odisha appear to have been the latest example of the immaturity and ineptness that define many of India's democratic institutions. Some of the large-scale acquisitions in

the years succeeding independence like those for the Hirakud, Machkund, Sileru dams and Rourkela steel plant in Odisha. For the Hirakud dam in Odisha, 1, 12,038.59 acres of cultivated land were acquired in the 1950s and today 50 years later, according to the Odisha government, approximately Rs 6 core (out of the assessed compensation of about the Rs 9 core) has not reached the 3,098 affected families. Odisha Land Reforms Act 1960, section 22 prescribes restrictions on alienation of land by members of the Scheduled Tribes to non-scheduled tribe members. This becomes more important in the context of the rights of tribal upland who have enjoyed these lands as their ancestral domain from time immemorial, but the sovereign domain of government alienates people from their traditional sources of sustenance livelihood and social networks and causes untold hardship and miseries (Sharma 2003).

The recent protest movements against land acquisition for special economic zones (SEZs) in Kalinganagar since 2006 has stirred a national debate on the rights of those displaced and brought recognition to the fact that development-induced displaces are stakeholders in development and should be entitled to rights as equal partners (Pandey 2008). In May 2006, the Odisha government announced a new draft policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation (ORRP), which provides for inter alia, 'land for land' compensation for the acquisition of land for development purposes and SEZs and employment to at least one person from each affected family. But in Odisha, the resettlement programme neither acknowledged this loss nor compensated properly and thus deprived them of their right to livelihood. Besides the R&R policy has endorsed a patrilineal view of property rights by giving land entitlements only to major sons above 18 and unmarried daughter and sister more than age of 30. This raises major issues of social justice and equity. The constitution of India does not explicitly recognize any right to be protected from losing one's habitat and livelihood. Article 21, which confers the right to life, is undoubted one of the most read into provisions of the Constitution. It is up to the states to determine the extent to which the communities who are dislocated and suffer loss of habitat and livelihood can have a say in the matter of being compensated for livelihood losses.

### **Constitutional Provisions and People's Rights**

Local institutions are socially embedded and function in the context of social and economic inequalities. In the process the local institution can be advantageous, functioning as an important actor in the implementation of R & R policy. Under the Odisha adaptation of Central Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, 1996, (PESA), for the first time in Odisha it is legally provided that the Grama Sabha or Srama Sasan will exercise ownership rights over the minor forest produce. The act provides an extensive power to the Grama Sabha and Panchayats in Fifth Scheduled areas. It mandates that there should be consultation with the Grama Sabha and/or Panchayats mandatory both in cases of land acquisition for development projects and before preparing a resettlement and rehabilitation package for the project affected tribal's (Bandopadhyaya 2004). The PESA seeks to provide significant protection to the tribal's in the scheduled area against arbitrary, discretionary, and motivated action by the state relating to land acquisition. However, the state has never consulted on the type of development people desire, thus violating the right to decide their own priorities as part of right to development as an inalienable human rights (Bharati 1999).

The Government of Odisha is signing memorandum of understanding (MoU) with an en-number of companies to set up mega projects. The mining lease given to UAIL, Vedanta Alumina Limited in Lanjigarh block of Kalahandi district is illegal, in fact, unconstitutional. The area where the lease has been given is Scheduled Area, that is to say, territory governed by the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution of India. In these areas, the governor is empowered to make the regulation, repeal or amend any law of parliament to prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the scheduled tribes or regulate the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled tribes in such area ( Sahu 2008). The Supreme Court in *Samatha vs. State of Andhra Pradesh (AP)*, 1997, categorically held that transfer of land by any means including lease by the Government to a non-tribal is impermissible under the Schedule Fifth. It was held that the executive, while exercising the constitutional power to dispose of its property, should equally be cognizant of the constitutional duty to protect and empower tribals. Therefore, the court is required to give effect to the constitutional

mandate and legislative policy of total prohibition on the transfer of the land in Scheduled area to non-tribal.

### **Rule of Law**

The rule of law remain eminently measurable in terms of governance transparency and public accountability of the class of developmentalists, though not fully the theory of development which may, and does indeed run counter to the idea of the rule of law (Baxi 2009). A blatant double set of values is apparent in the application of Law. Under Article 19 of the Indian Constitution, all people have the right to freedom of assembly, freedom of expression and speech. The not-so-hidden cost of development in the state of Odisha design of developmental governance escalates state investment and dedication of disproportionate resources in police, paramilitary and related security forces. The police and paramilitary forces, along goondas hired by companies, have consistently disrupted peaceful democratic meeting is a violation of the right to the peaceful assembly. Odisha Government security forces have been responsible for a reign of terror against the Adivasi by arbitrary arrest, torture, custodial death, maiming, rape and extrajudicial killing. The armed police march past villages and conduct the regular patrols as a way of instilling fear in villagers and extorting their consent. Instead, the Government of Odisha has chosen to rely on police power, rather than democratic dialogue: they have launched a concerted campaign to silence and suppress opposition to the project through the excessive use of force (Padel and Das 2009).

The police forces are arresting community leaders, activists and others identified as opposing the project including women and minors, w protestors against the UAIL, POSCO, and Tata projects are arrested by countless false cases. The majority of the arrests appear to be based on trumped up charges involving dacoit or arson and stringent interpretations of the law. The arrest of Bulka Miniaka, a respected member of the community of Kashipur, on charges of a dacoit on 2 December 2004, the murder of anti-POSCO activist Dula Mandal by pro-POSCO goons on 21 June 2008, then gunned down of social activist Amin Banara near the Tata factory site on 1 may 2008 and several leading activist have been attacked and murdered by company hired goons or State suppression by force has been the hallmark of bauxite-mining projects in Odisha and this underscores coordinated efforts to ensure that bauxite-mining projects proceed as planned, with or without the consent of the local people. The collusion of the Government of Odisha and Private companies in repressing the voices and desires of the people explains the culture of impunity surrounding the incidences of violence. The Government of Odisha should uphold the rule of law, specifically to enforce the Samatha Judgment, cancel any unconstitutional mining leases, and refrain from granting any further constitutional leases on Adivasi land in the future. (Goodland 2007).

### **Forest Rights in Odisha**

The Forest Rights Act (FRA), which was passed by parliament in 2006, has been implemented in India since 2008. It provides a legislative basis to redress the historical injustice forest dwellers in the country, including Odisha. The Act was an outcome of concerns about increasing land alienation and acquisition of forest dwellers from the forest was looming in the last two decades. The Act was about protecting the interests of the tribal and forest dwellers in relation to their habitats. The Act also provides safeguards against arbitrary eviction or relocation of tribal's and other forest dwellers living in/ dependent on protected areas. However, the FRA has not been implemented in Odisha a comprehensive manner and that it has focused more on providing land right to individual claimants than community claimants (Sarap et al 2013).

Scheduled tribe (STs) constitute 22.8% of the total population of Odisha, according to the 2011 Census. They comprise 62 tribes, including 13 particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PTGs). Odisha had a very long history of customary rights over forest. Recognizing the symbiotic relationship between tribal people and forests, establishing industrial projects, laying railway tracks, building towns and collecting raw material for industries gave birth to a process of deforestation and makes an insecure livelihood for tribal and indigenous communities in the hilly areas and tribal belts of Odisha. The Odisha government's agreement with Vedanta Alumina to allow mining of bauxite deposits in the Niyamgiri hills, the home of the Dongaria Kondha tribe, is an example of how

corporate interests backed by state support are trampling on tribal livelihoods and threatening an ecologically rich and important region (Sahu 2008). However, if the recent stand of the Odisha government towards the UAIL and SILL is any indication, then the agreement has violated the forest rights act as the state government has not taken the local communities, especially the tribal's into consideration. It meant the loss of rights earlier by the tribal community over the forest and land sources around them (Mohanty 1998). In the process, the rights of the working class and the marginalized are violated in the mad rush for exploitative growth. So it becomes the responsibility of all the concerned people to join efforts for building collective and long-standing resistance against ideas and actions that deprive people of their rights to life and livelihoods.

### **Intellectual Property Rights**

The predominant tribal people of Odisha are the Khond, the Saora, the Bhuiya, besides the Gond, the Munda, the Dongaria and the Santal having good indigenous knowledge. The new development paradigm has given away the large traditional ethno-biotic knowledge and skill base possessed by the tribal communities of Odisha from the mainstream (Mahapatra 1994). The assertion of intellectual property rights of the tribal is an apt way of surviving in the market economy. Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) encompasses the preservation of indigenous knowledge bases in the fields such as medical plants, agriculture bio-diversity and environmental management and compensation to indigenous people for the use of their expertise. Apart from plants indigenous people have drawn attention to new varieties of crops, organic pesticides, sweeteners, new fruits, preservatives and perfumes. In the age of liberalisation researchers of professional gene hunters sub-contracted by international companies visit, talk to the tribals and take away their samples. When the samples are processed and a product is made, the so called discovery is patented and rights are under the control of the company backing the project. The National Environment Policy 2004 in section 5.2.2 envisages the legal recognition of the tribal intellectual Property rights but still the traditional knowledge base of the tribals is either ignored or not legally recognised by the foreign sources.

### **Environment Cost and Sustenance of Livelihood**

Environmental protection is clearly provided in the constitution of India and judicial interpretation has strengthened this mandate. Despite India's commitment at the Climate Convention, green-house gas emissions in Odisha have skyrocketed. Odisha's environment and social fabric are severely threatened by large-scale mining and industrial activities, there are expected to further intensity in coming year (Goodland 2007). Presently, the state emits significant per cent of the world's greenhouse gases. By 2020, this figure is expected to rise to one per cent at the current rate of development. The environmental clearances have granted to UAIL, POSCO and Sterlite industry, without the use of rapid environmental impact assessment, creates a conflict interest and violates the judicial principles of National Environment Policy 2006. It has been seen in the past that because of improper environment impact assessment study, the NALCO smelter in Angul has come to be established in a place where the fluoride level in the ground water was already high and identifies eleven villages that were affected by the increase in fluoride levels, which can have serious health risks.

Besides causing drastic climatic changes and a decline in wildlife habitats, mining in Odisha has undermined the livelihood of thousands of Adivasis. It deprives future generations of the benefits of the state's mineral resources. Marginalized people are forced to live with a scarcity of water as rivers are diverted for industrial use, the ash ponds, red mud stacking and chemical effluents disposed of into the rivers not only contaminate the water, making it unfit to human and animal consumption, but also harm their agriculture lands and destroy their produce (Samal and Das 2006). Loss of habitat and livelihood, environmental hazards, the inadequacy of the compensation packages, the irregularities of the planned rehabilitation scheme, and the socio cultural impacts on the people are the direct impacts of development activities. When people directly affected by pollution or development projects, are made to participate in the decision, along with the representatives of industry as well as government officials, the industry and the developers cannot exploit the local landscape or disregard the community. Development in such a context is more likely to be ecologically-sensitive and justice-oriented.

## Conclusion

The human rights dimension of the development process has often been sidelined because it does not fit well within the prevailing conceptions of development. In the recent years, the plights of indigenous people in Odisha have started to become a specific issue of concern in the international human rights agenda, as well as in domestic legislation and policies. Displacement is not on the wane. Ironically, the development policy presumes that displacement is inevitable. There is an attempt to justify it as 'national interest' actually diminishes poor people's ability to control and gainfully use natural resources. The technocratic model of development adopted by the Odisha government was thoughtlessly derivative and has proven to be economically iniquitous, environmentally unsustainable and politically less than democratic in its denial of the right to livelihood and sustenance.

Development is necessary and indeed, crucial to improving the living conditions of Odisha's marginalized communities. However, it cannot take place without the participation of those who may stand to lose a significant portion of all that is valuable to them. What is thus needed is an alternative model of development, a model that believes the "small are beautiful" and effectively counters the 'large' that symbolizes unsustainable and elitist development. It has to be man-centred and nature-centric. The fruits of development should not go to the privileged beneficiaries only; all the affected people should be given every opportunity to be a part of project benefits. Resettlement and rehabilitation measures should be a participatory one, so that all stakeholders are involved in the process of resettlement. Compensatory policies should not be half-hearted and should provide a suitable environment, employment opportunities, education facilities, food security and health care facilities for the displaced. The entire issue of displacement must be seen as complex human rights, political, social, economic and cultural problem and must not be seen as a merely administrative issue. Displacement policy, practice and research need to focus not merely on the risks and impact of displacement, but also should develop institutional mechanisms that will protect and strengthen the rights of displaced women and men, including their right to information, shelter and development. The challenges faced in the process require strong determination, sustained political commitment of the government, resources, capacity and over a period of time. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the state to ensure that the processes of change and goal of development are so guided as to achieve the constitutional goal of creating a vibrant socialist welfare society.

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