



Development and Threats to Human Security: A Critical Look from Odisha

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ABSTRACT

The modern era of globalisation has widened the roads for 'growth oriented economy'. Development projects are the models of economic development recognised across the world. It may be Industry, Mining, Hydropower Projects, Power generation Projects or Infrastructure development Projects. But these projects are associated with the problems of displacement and threats to human security, cutting across the boundaries particularly hitting hard the tribal communities. Development in its present form, which has caused displacement of the people from their traditional habitation without share its benefits, has brought out worries and miseries to them. Development induced displacement is one of the major problems of tribal. Displacement implies the dislocation of people from their own place to another, either voluntarily or forcefully. Over the years, we have been standing at the cross road and looking for better solutions. However, we may state development is unarguably needed, but should it be at the cost of others? So, the key attempt of this study is to understand different aspects of development projects and deprivations of tribal communities. It also identifies that- in spite of profound increases in human security threats derived from development, the history of development does not inspire confidence that further development can reduce fear and want, because it is itself the source of ghastly threats.

KEYWORDS: development Projects, development, displacement, tribal communities, human security

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Development is often a veil for extracting resources in a way that destroys communities, living organism and their environment. So, the present study leads to questioning industrialization as the basis of development. If industrialization causes poverty, environmental pollution and social upheaval and does not solve it. Then "it is illegal to use poverty as legitimating for the uncritical continuation or acceleration of industrial development policy"(Lohmann, 2006)). Since the onset of new economic policy, the Government of Odisha is in a hurry to invite national and multinational corporations to set up industries, to develop the socio economic condition of the people, on the other hand, local people, mostly tribal and dalits, the most neglected section of our society are resisting these development / development projects fearing displacement and loss of a secured livelihood. In every step it has proved to be security threats to their lives.

Industrialization is often essential for economic growth, and for long-run poverty reduction. This excluded the possibility of articulating a view of social change as a project that could be conceived of not only in economic terms but as a whole life project, in which the material aspects would be not the goal and the limit but a space of possibilities for broader individual. The central concepts of human development, that is placing people at the centre of development, by emphasising that development is of the people, for the people and it should be carried out by the people, have

offered ground breaking analysis on a wide range of issues related with livelihood, health and education disaggregated by class, creed and gender.

Displacement is a burning problem of the present world due to developmental project taken by the Government from time to time. In spite of various efforts by the Government development induced displacement in the country has resulted in severe socio-economic and environmental problems to the displaced people. However in this context some people enjoy the profits of development while others bear the pain and sufferings. The displacement population faces total economic deprivation and social disruption. Despite the special constitutional provisions, policies and programmes directed towards the development of the adivasis in Odisha and their protection against exploitation, the situation even today is one of marginalisation and deprivation which has caused continuation of their existing vulnerability. Yet, large numbers of tribal are homeless in contemporary Odisha. According to Census 2001 (table-1), among tribal dominated districts, jharsuguda has got a very large number of homeless tribes with followed by Sundergarh, Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur. In Angul district, which is not a tribal dominated district, about 2,700 tribal are homeless. About 9491 tribal are homeless in nine districts, it represents the destitute condition of tribal. The tribals in Odisha suffer from various development gaps, homelessness among them is quite wide spread and they are deprived of basic infrastructural facilities.

Table-1: Homeless tribals

Name of the district	Males	Females	Total
Angul	1,321	1,414	2,735
Jajpur	301	267	568
Khorda	312	168	480
Jagatsinghpur	384	319	703
Mayurbhanj	419	364	783
Sambalpur	375	348	723
Jharsuguda	703	698	1,401
Sundergarh	666	591	1,257
Ganjam	432	409	841
Total	4913	4578	9491

Sources: Census- 2001

In spite of the homelessness among the tribals, huge number of people especially tribals being displaced, for the development projects, is increasing day by day. Development projects have been continuously displacing a large chunk of tribals in Odisha. Most of the projects are close to forests and the mining sites are mostly inside forest areas. As tribal community live in the forest and primarily depend upon the forests for their livelihood, though poor deprived, and mostly scheduled tribe people, inhabit most of these lands. To acquire their land, these people need to be displaced by hook or crook. The State imposes the right over land, whereas, customarily the local communities, i.e. various tribal communities enjoy the use fractals rights over the natural resources for generation together.

One “Continuous retrain that sought to attract people’s attention” (Bhaduri, 2009) was that Odisha needs rapid industrialization to mitigate its abysmal poverty. By all account, initially the local people welcomed the idea of the development projects, believing that the new projects would usher in development of the area, give employment to the local people and improve their standard of living. Over the years these tribals have come to view the development plants of the government with suspicion; they feel they are being given the short shift. Suspicion leads to resentment, and resentment leads to resistance. And wherever there is resistance, the government comes down on its own citizens with a heavy hand. Greater the resistance, greater was the repression of the government. The police firing at Maikanch that led to the loss of three tribal lives in December 2000

is still a fresh in the public memory. Earlier in 1997 there was a police firing at Sindhigaon, Gopalpur where people protested against the proposed steel plant by the Tata, a steel major (Mishra, 2006). The incident (The tragic death of 12 tribal on 2nd January by police firing) at Kalinganagar, in that way, can be seen as the latest in a series of ongoing conflict between the two sides: between the one favouring industrialization, led by the government, and those opposed to it.

DEVELOPMENT AND DISPLACEMENT

The establishment of development projects in tribal regions has invaded upon their land and has displaced people from their land and occupation. These projects have enormous impact on their life and livelihood. Among all the displacing agents such as dams, mines, industries, sanctuaries dams constitute the single most important displacing agent. And in the process among the people the tribal are the worst sufferers. They have experienced displacement more than once in their life time. But it is a fact that accurate data on the number of people displaced and affected by the projects is still not available. Here, a few cases estimates have been presented. For instance, Hirakud Dam, a multipurpose project, displacing 22,144 families from 249 villages and acquired 147,363 acres cultivable land. Similarly, Balimela dam project displaced about 2,000 families and the Rengali Dam Project displaced more than 10,847 families. Many of those displaced families were tribals. 2,938 families displaced from Machakund Hydro project, 51% were tribal, the Indrabati Hydro Project displaced 5,725 families living in 44 villages in Koraput district and 51 villages of Kalahandi district. Out of them 1630 were tribal families (Dyal et al, 2014). A cursory calculation reflects that since independence, Odisha has set up 190 such type of development projects, which have deforested 24,124 hectares of forest land, the basic sources of livelihood to the tribal people (Behura and Panigrahi, 2001).

The estimate on the magnitude of displacement and rehabilitation of people in Odisha due to the establishment of various mega projects during 1951-95 provides on Table-2. It shows that, the hydroelectric multipurpose projects have displaced the highest number of people. i.e. 425,000, out of them only 21.18 percent people rehabilitated. Similarly, the Mining and other projects displaced 100,000 people and rehabilitated the highest percent 60.00 people. Regarding different types of development projects, total number of people displaced 546,794, total rehabilitated is 192,540 and percentage of rehabilitation is only 35.27. So, all these projects have immense impact on village economy, family life and village power structure of the tribal people, and this situation, in turn affects their livelihood and makes them more vulnerable. 'The key question, however, is common to all involuntary displaced persons. Given that industrial transformations necessary to shift surplus workers from agriculture to industry and that involves dams, mines, factories etc., all of which require changes in land use, how can this be brought in inclusive manner?' (Nathan 2009). A significant number of people have gradually refused to become silent sufferers of the ill effects of development and are now raising their voices collectively to counter development plans that they feel go against their interest and existence. In the process, they are profoundly influencing the emergence of an alternative development paradigm for Odisha (Hussain 2008).

Similarly, Table-3, Table-4 and Table-5 shows the human displacement from multipurpose, major and medium irrigation projects

Table-2: Displacement from mega projects

Categories of projects	Total displaced	Total rehabilitation	Percentage of rehabilitation
Hydro-electric for multipurpose	425,000	90,000	21.18
Industrial	71,794	27,000	37.61
Mining & Others	100,000	60,000	60.00
Sanctuary etc.	50,000	15,540	31.08
Total	546,794	192,540	35.27

Sources: Fernandes and Raj, 1992

Table-3: Displacement from multipurpose

Name of the project	Number of displaced family			
	General	SC	ST	Total
Hirakud	Na	Na	1,636	22,144
Balimela	Na	Na	Na	1,200
Salandi	32	5	352	569
Rengali	8,015	1,710	1,172	10,897
Upper Indravati	1,557	338	1,630	3,725
Upper Kolab	1,308	442	1,421	3,171
Total	10,912	2,495	6,211	41,706

- Source: Dalua A K (1993). Environmental Impact of Large Reservoir Projects on Human Settlement, Ashish Publishing House, and New Delhi.
- State Report on Rehabilitation and Resettlement and IPDP of Rengali Irrigation Project, 2000, Department of Water Resources, Government of Odisha

Table-4: Displacement from major Irrigation projects

Name of the Major Irrigation project	Number of displaced family			
	General	SC	ST	Total
Subarnarekha	2,246	416	6,382	9,044
Rengali Irrigation	918	81	10	1,009
Total	3,164	497	6,392	10,053

- Source: Dalua A K (1993). Environmental Impact of Large Reservoir Projects on Human Settlement, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.
- State Report on Rehabilitation and Resettlement and IPDP of Rengali Irrigation Project, 2000, Department of Water Resources, Government of Odisha.

Table-5: Displacement from medium irrigation projects

Name of the medium irrigation project	Number of displaced family			
	General	SC	ST	Total
Dadraghati	228	66	133	427
Derjang	327	29	*	356
Baghua	416	8	96	510
Baghlati	3	*	65	68
Ghodahad	17	15	91	123
Dumberbahal	74	23	156	253

Pilasalki	57	24	104	185
Kuanria	49	54	48	151
Daha	3	10	7	20
Remal	1	2	1	3
Sarfgarh	26	3	*	29
Jharbandh	120	2	4	126
Talsara	1	3	19	23
Gohira	51	18	74	143
Ramiala	166	159	89	414
Sunet	84	2	267	353
Kanjhari	113	4	80	197
Bankbahali	98	35	149	282
Kansahal	10	29	172	211
Hariharjore	140	41	213	394
Harbhangi	17	8	128	153
Badamala	4	2	163	169
Upper Junk	46	30	225	301
Total	16,117	3,829	14,887	57,386

- Source: Dalua A K (1993). Environmental Impact of Large Reservoir Projects on Human Settlement, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.
- State Report on Rehabilitation and Resettlement and IPDP of Rengali Irrigation Project, 2000, Department of Water Resources, Government of Odisha.

NATIONAL ALMINIUM COMPANY (NALCO)

NALCO, the large quantity of aluminium produce project in Damanjodi of Koraput district, has displaced 597 families out of which 254 were tribals. A total of 10,058,76 acres of land was acquired by the company out of which 41.36 percent was forest land, which was previously accessed by the people of nearby villages for fruits, leaves and other forest products (Das, 2008).

UPPER KOLAB PROJECT

The Upper Kolab Project of Koraput district has displaced 8,514 families from 147 villages (Panda and Dash, 2008). Table-6 explains number of families displaced, rehabilitated and number of families who preferred to receive cash grant. It reflects that, the largest number of families displaced belongs to tribal in comparisons of all other social groups.

Table-6: Displacement of Upper Kolab Project

Category	Displaced families	%	Families rehabilitated in resettlement colonies	%	Families preferred to receive cash grants	%
ST	1,431	46.66	195	13.6	1,236	86.4
SC	435	14.18	30	6.9	405	92.1
Others	1,201	39.16	194	16.2	1,007	83.8
Total	3,067	100	419	13.7	2,648	86.3

Source: Adivasi, 46 (2), December 2006.

KALINGANAGAR INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX (KNIC)

The recent development Kalinganagar Industrial Complex of Jajpur district has acquired a large area of land and displacing a large number of people, especially tribals. Table-7 shows the extent of displacement of the-three social groups: a. SCs, STs and General category by seven major companies. It clearly shows that the STs comprise the maximum number of displaced families (around 60 percent) followed by the "General" category (34 percent) and the SCs (around 6 percent). Neelachal Ispat Nigam Limited and Jindal Stainless Steel Limited have together displaced around 60 percent of the total displaced ST families. Highest number of families displaced by TATA Company i. e 1239, out of them 1035 belongs to tribal families.

Table-7: Group-wise displaced families

Name of industrial units	ST	SC	General	Total no. of displaced families
Neelachal Ispat Nigam Ltd (NINL)	478	22	140	640
Mid-east Integrated Steel Ltd (MISL)	0	6	146	152
Jindal Stainless Ltd (JSL)	82	36	47	165
VISA Steel Ltd (VISL)	25	1	13	39
Rohit Ferro Tech Ltd (Rohit)	12	0	0	12
K.J. Ispat Ltd	8	0	0	8
TATA Steel	1,035	97	107	1239
Total	1640	162	453	2255

Source: ADM Office, Kalinganagar

IMPACTS ON DISPLACED PEOPLE

The state goes for horizontal expansion by acquisition of private and collective cultivable land, which entails the eviction of people from their natural surroundings. The displacement that follows land acquisition destroys the inherited skills or indigenous knowledge of the people, destroys inter-generational social relations shaped over generations, imposes Social Darwinism by the state, empowers industrial capitalists by enhancing their unhindered access to natural resources, converts marginal and small landowners into manual labour-based wage workers, expands labour size in informal sector, and imposes forced migration to urban areas. The following are some of the important impacts that have been revealed from the study.

- **Breakdown of traditional social support systems**

When people are forcibly moved, production systems are dismantled. Long-established residential communities and settlements are disorganized, while kinship groups and family systems are often scattered. Life-sustaining informal social networks that provide mutual help are rendered non-functional.

- **Landlessness**

Expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed. This is the principal form of de-capitalization and pauperization of displaced people, as they lose both natural and human-made capital. Most, of the conflict- affected displaced households, are primarily agricultural. The displacement was accompanied, by a considerable shift from the agricultural sector into other fields. This meant a move from farming into labour, leading to higher unemployment.

- **Joblessness**

When people were displaced from their habitat, they lose their means of livelihood, with loss of land and forest, people lose traditional agricultural-based occupation. Creation of new jobs or alternative sources of income for them becomes very difficult since the oustees do not possess any skill to learn new methods of earning their livelihood. Hence those who were owners of the means of production before displacement have now become daily wage earners.

- **Homelessness**

The project authorities only provided homestead plots while the displaced persons have themselves built their houses. Again when a split occurs in the family, those who leave the family become homeless. The displaced households have not sought, to rebuild or restore what they lost. Generally, the hope, that peace will prevail and they will be able to return to their native villages keeps them from investing in long-term socio-economic activities. The displaced women and children are also reportedly seeking work and engage in all types of hazardous tasks.

- **Food insecurity**

Forced displacement increases the risk of chronic food insecurity and it deprives the oustees from their former resource of livelihood rendering them landless. It finds that displaced peoples in a new location experience food scarcity and fall into temporary or chronic undernourishment.

- **Loss of access to common property**

Common property and open-access resources are intrinsic part of traditional human settlement that helps the community in their social, cultural, economic and environmental development. Loss of access to common property (forest lands, water bodies, grazing land, etc.) leads to a major deterioration in their income and livelihood levels. Loss of common property, for the poor and landless, has an effect on informal economic means.

- **Increased Morbidity and Mortality**

Environmental degradation in the new place was found in the project area to have a serious impact on the health of the oustees. In the project, pollution caused by dust has caused skin diseases, eye irritation, gastric disorders, diarrhea and other ailments. Mosquitoes are found throughout the camps in summer and rainy seasons,

- **Marginalization**

Marginalization occurs when families lose economic power and spiral on a downward mobility path. Economic marginalization is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalization, expressed in a drop in social status, in resettles loss of confidence in society and in them, a feeling of injustice, and deepened vulnerability.

- **Interruption of Education**

The displaced families are usually unable to choose the location of their shelter, they are not always proximate to a school, they are forced into marginal areas, where communities have not yet been established and are therefore, not conveniently linked to the mainstream education system. Displacement has proved disruptive to children's education in several ways. The displaced children face challenges that result in part, due to their social and economic status and in part because of their isolated location.

- **Violation of Human Rights**

Displacement from one's habitual residence and the loss of property without fair compensation can, in itself, constitute a violation of human rights. In addition to violating economic and social rights, listed above, arbitrary displacement can also lead to violations of civil and political rights, including: arbitrary arrest, degrading treatment or punishment, temporary or permanent disenfranchisement and the loss of one's political voice.

- **Environmental insecurity**

Expansion of industrial areas should be recognized as development projects leading to particularly substantial changes in the environment. Industrial wastage leads to irreversible contamination of groundwater and the deterioration of environmental conditions even in areas very distant from the

exploitation site. Development projects leading to decline in environmental sustainability over large areas and consequent weakening of the basis of economic security for entire communities. The environmental consequences of industrial construction include impact on ecosystems, environmental degradation, threats to flora and fauna, loss of wetlands, loss of forest space for living of indigenous people, water user rights (Ambagudia, 2010).

- **Political insecurity**

Incorrect assumptions about development policy or its wrong implementation, divorced from principles of social sustainability and proper analysis of the social consequences, may become a source of political instability and increasing internal antagonisms. Development-induced displacement has become a global phenomenon on a massive scale through changes such as decolonization and political upheavals in developing countries.

SAFEGUARDS

In spite of these effects we accept that there is no alternative to industrialisation for the long-run development of India and in order to ensure that the process does not result in misery for the project-affected persons we offer some safeguards with aim at minimizing the threats of tribal communities that for the development projects. The displaced should be rehabilitated with care. The rehabilitation programme and its implementation should be accomplished in a planned way, which may slow down the shocks involved with displacement. The government should involve some officials, along with the company officials which will help in successful rehabilitation. While planning and executing rehabilitation and resettlement programmes, one should also take the socio-economic, cultural, and livelihood aspects of the displaced into consideration, and before implementation, it is important to ensure the participation of the displaced people and their concerns are given priority. A good and well-planned rehabilitation and resettlement policy can improve the condition of the displaced and pave the way for building a just society. There is need to monitor and evaluate them regularly. Given the enormity of the problem, there is a need to scale up all the development activities in the areas and target the benefits of these programmes for the tribals. The deprivation of the tribals can be reduced by bridging up the development gaps of the areas where they live, improving the connectivity of the area and provision of other infrastructure, both physical and social are a must for removing their deprivation and vulnerability.

SUMMING UP

Development is seen as a right to which all people should have access. But just as people have a right to development, they have a right to be protected from development's negative effects, including arbitrary eviction and the loss of economic, social, civil and political rights. Development is a right but it also carries risks to human life, livelihood, and dignity that must be avoided if it is to deserve the name. Only then, development has a meaning for the displaced. This study will be an eye opener to all other industrial areas in India affected by climate change. However, environment pollution, the threat of displacement and loss of secured livelihood are the serious problem in Odisha due to setting of different projects in the names of development, where the common people as well as tribal people facing a lot of problem. The significance of the present study will no doubt portray that the projects based concept of development has been a threat to human security in Odisha, where the planners, administrators, industrialists, environment scientists and researchers will find the means to solve the issue raised in the present study.

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