

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT: AN OVERVIEW

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Abstract :

The increasing population and growing need of demands in economic sector compels the government as well as private organization for establishing more and more industries that results in large scale displacement. In the beginning of the process of industrialization in tribal belt, large scale displacement causes irreparable loss of tribal life and livelihood. The rehabilitation of these evicted tribals is the most serious challenge. This shatters their economic, social, cultural and physical links. The tribals who were familiar with a 'Nature-Man-Spirit' culture, are suddenly exposed to 'Building-Machine-Material' culture. This upheaval as well as disintegration of a stable society gives rise to problems of adjustment. Hence, the rehabilitation of displaced tribal people requires well thought out prior planning and a peaceful approach. However, the actual process shows that a large number are left without any benefits.

Introduction :

Displacement further exacerbates the economic, social and cultural marginality of indigenous populations. The conscious citizenry and intellectuals worldwide criticize the way in which resettlement and rehabilitation occurs. The fact of criticism is that in no case of resettlement had the project affected populations recovered the same level of economic, social, and or cultural well being which they experienced prior to displacement. According to Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model, displacement results in further social and economic exclusion of the project affected population (Cernea: 1997:127). It culminates in physical exclusion from a geographic territory and economic and social exclusion from a set of functioning social networks. The risks associated with displacement include landlessness, homelessness, economic marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of common resources, and disruption of community networks. The key economic risks to affected people arise from the loss of livelihood and income sources such as the arable land, common property, and decreased access and control of productive resources. For indigenous or tribal peoples, resettlement has often been accompanied by lack of consultation, forcible evacuation, dispossession of lands and common property, human rights violations, inadequate or no compensation and cultural alienation (Fernandes and Antony: 1992:101).

The problem of displacement is a major challenge in our country; Odisha is not keeping away from it. The industrialization process affects more or less in every part of Odisha, and worst affects in Kalinga Nagar Industrial Complex. The huge investment causes large number of displacement in this locality. The industrial development and displacement process is continuing in Kalinga Nagar Industrial Complex since 1992.

3:1.Development induced industrial displacement: A Theoretical Analysis:

The history of Indian economic and industrial development is a never-ending story of displacement of people. The economic planning while aims to take India towards the 21st century, the scholars and social activists concerned with the weaker sections are today concentrating on the question of displacement

caused by development projects. Relocation of people disorients their past as well as fractures their future. And it ambushes their present variously by callous, and at times cruel, indifference of processes of resettlement and rehabilitation.

The theoretical aspects of the term ‘displacement’ and ‘development’ are in same origin. With this in mind, it is important for development ethics to approach this issue with a conception of development that is not biased a priori either against ‘managerial’ or ‘movement’ orientations. At the same time, it needs to be noted that our primary concern is actually with the meanings of ‘displacement’ and development specially in relation to each other.

Since these terms have been in common use within the literature for a number of years, we will try to contrast our usage with others. One lesson we have learned after years of struggling with this terminology is that the most commonly used phrase for the topic, ‘development induced displacement’, is too broad and vague, especially for purposes of ethical assessment and in assigning responsibilities. But the targeted displacement due to development is a narrow concept which would spoil the day-to-day life of the local inhabitants.

An analysis of the meaning of ‘development’ must distinguish between its normative and descriptive use. The normative usage is meant to capture good development, and this, of course, opens the door to all of the complex ethical questions about what makes development good. However, the mere identification of displacement for or by development should not take us onto this normative terrain. Instead, a descriptive usage is appropriate here, because, when we talk about displacement for development, we do not mean displacement just for good development, but rather displacement for any and all development.

Development in its descriptive usage, as a first approximation, might be taken to mean expansion of an economy’s productive capacity. However, this result in too narrow conception, in which development would not include increases in consumer goods as such, but only indirectly through the capacity to produce them. When it comes to displacement, rather than attempt to first define that term independently and then relate it to development, we immediately define it in relation to development. Moreover, since our primary concern is with displacement for development, it is necessary to define these concepts. Displacement for development means, the exclusion of people, for the purpose of development, from one or more current crucial uses of a particular area of land or other territory. Adding what we take ‘development’ to mean in its descriptive usage, it is said that ‘displacement for development’ means the exclusion of people from one or more current crucial uses of a particular area, usually land, for the enhancement of the production or distribution of perceived public or private goods. Such exclusion may be accomplished through legal or illegal coercion, through voluntary consent based on negotiations and compensation, in money or kind, or combinations of these (Dhagambar & Verma: 2003:98). Central to this conception of displacement is its inclusion of purpose or intent, namely development. That normally means that it is for a development projects.

There are different forms of the displacement.

1. Direct displacement

- Displacement for development.
- Displacement for resettlement.

Modes of direct displacement for development

- (a) The legal eviction without or with compensation, which can be in cash or in kind.

(b) Threat or actual harm due to withdrawal of entitlement to public services or common property resources. Moreover it also implies legal termination of employment, deprivation of livelihoods and violence against person or property.

(c) Voluntary departure or resettlement without threat of eviction or harm to anybody. It is based on the acceptance of compensation in cash or in kind, like negotiated resettlement.

2. Indirect displacement

- Indirect displacement by development
- Indirect displacement by resettlement

Millions of persons are displaced forcibly by development projects every year. Such projects include gas, mining, dams, reservoirs or oil, roads and so on. While such projects have the potential to bring enormous, benefits to human society, the costs imposed by these are often borne by the poorest and most marginalized section of the members. As Robinson (2003) points out, “for millions of people around the world, development has cost them their homes, their livelihoods, their health, and even their every lives”.

The industrial displacement started after the 2nd world war with the introduction of industrialization. The government of India was also proposed to set-up large scale industrialization in order to develop our economy. With the inception of the new economic policy, the central government as well as state government are inviting national and multinational companies to establish industries. There is a belief that this industrialization will open new employment opportunities to the unemployed and it is also a good source of revenue to the government. This neo-liberal industrialization is trying to extract the vast natural resources. On the other hand, local people, mainly tribal and dalits, the most neglected sections of our society, are resisting these projects fearing displacement and loss of livelihood.

Involuntary displacement causes ecological changes and environmental degradation which have been a companion of development throughout history and enveloped both industrial as well as developing countries. Installing major hydro-power dams, irrigation and drinking water systems and establishment of industrialization have entailed displacement fraught with hardship and deprivation. Each and every development project essentially requires large chunk of land, which involuntarily displaces the local inhabitants, mostly the poorer and backward sections of the population, residing in the remote corners of the country.

3:2. Historical Background of Industrial Development and Displacement :

The introduction of modern economy, leads towards the development of industrial establishment. Large scale development projects have been taken up throughout the world, in order to speed up the faster economic growth and development. While some of the projects have been completed, some others are ongoing and still some others are in the pipeline. Various sectors where development projects have so far been undertaken are dam, mining, industrial, urban infrastructure including slum clearance, wildlife sanctuaries, linear projects such as road and railways, defense related projects etc.

The displacement caused development is not new in our society. It started, when human being March towards the larger economic gain. From east to west, each and every country now trying their best in this race. Since the days of renaissance in the medieval period and the beginning of the “Industrial Revolution” in seventeenth century Europe, humankind has relentlessly marched on the path of economic

progress and development. Economic development of human society and enrichment of the wealth of nations have become the primary goals of mankind.

The industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth century has fostered the idea that modern science and technology is endowed with unlimited power to bring socio-economic transformation in terms of a progressive increase in the Gross National Product (GNP) and material wealth in many parts of the earth. Imbued with this materialistic ideology, human society everywhere in the world is trying to fast-track its economic development goal without pausing to think about the unintended consequences and negative effects of the process among different strata of the human population and other biosocial systems(Ravindran:2007:9-10).

The development paradigm in the present day world entails uninterrupted growth of Gross National Product (GNP) by the application of modern science and technology through the construction of hydropower dams, irrigation and drinking water systems, extension of highway networks, excavation of mines, exploration of minerals and the like. However this form of development has not been an unqualified blessing for mankind. On the one hand, it entails involuntary displacement of a large number of people heaping untold hardships and deprivation on them, destruction of the symbolic relationship between man and nature, increasing environmental pollution, deforestation, and loss of agricultural land and marginalization of the poor and weaker sections in the project area. On the other, there is increasing prosperity for a privileged few emanating from the linkage and multiple effect of the project. While the nation at large enjoys the benefits of 'spread effects', the local population in the project area bears the brunt of the 'backwash' effect and the fury of nature. Often, the cost benefit analysis of development projects concentrates solely on economic loss and gain, completely ignoring the social costs of projects. The belittling of the social aspects of the project invariably causes immense hardship for the local, ecological imbalance and economic un-sustainability in the long run (Ota: 2010:1-2).

Development of industrialization is required for enriching the economy of the state. On the other hand, these have brought baneful consequences, the primary being the displacement of a large number of tribal and rural people. Such displacements have subjected the project affected persons (PAPs) to untold miseries, frustrations, marginalization, dehumanization and trauma. This has become a matter of concern at the national and international spheres. So far as the establishment of these development projects does not lead to a corresponding development of human resources then the entire effort is bound to boomerang and the backlash will affect the socio-economic and cultural fabrics of the society and in turn will generate social tension. Therefore the rehabilitation of the project affected persons (PAPs) is a national task of paramount importance. The pragmatic considerations of social justice demand that the oustees be provided a better standard of living in their new habitat at par with the project benefited persons (Mohanty:2009:260).

In recent decades, the scale of development related displacement has registered a marked increase in developing countries particularly in Asia. In 1994, World Bank estimated that at least 10 million people had been displaced for around 300 large dams and another 6 million due to urban development and transport programmes. Another estimate (Cernea: 1994:64) put the number of people forcibly resettled in the last few decades at 80-90 million. Developing countries have been investing at the rate of \$ 200 billion annually to provide basic amenities to a fast growing population through construction of multipurpose dams and creation of essential urban and transport infrastructure.

The industrial development-caused-displacement is now a part of modern economy. Displacement is indispensable, without it a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) would not be increased. History has proven that, throughout world industrial displacement is a continuous process. The inventions and applications of modern science and technology for the improvement of a standard of living of human beings have led to many undesirable consequences all over the world. The emphasis of both developed and

developing countries on giant development projects such as big multipurpose river dams, thermal power plants, large industries, open cast mines and a host of such mega projects has forced large numbers of people out of their home and hearth and from forests and agricultural land they have been enjoying for ages. Seeking as they do control nature, such projects have generated serious ecological imbalances and have destroyed the symbiotic relationship between man and nature in quite a few cases.

3:2:1. Industrial Development and Displacement: An Indian scenario:

Development and displacement may appear contradictory terms, but they are facts of our national life and these facts are more astonishing than any of our fictions. In India during last 50 years more than 50 million people have been uprooted from their homes and huts, displaced from their farms, jungles and rivers and sacrificed at the altar of 'National Interest'. These millions bear witness to the destruction of their own lives, livelihoods and lifestyles. However, development-induced displacement has largely remained a non-issue for the governments, politicians and policy planners during all these years. This is evident from the fact that the government has no data about the actual number of the people displaced as a consequence of the various development projects like hydroelectric and irrigation projects, mines (especially open-cast mines), super-thermal and nuclear-power plants, industrial complexes etc.

The most puzzling and worrying aspect of any displacement study in India is that there are no authentic official records available about such bare facts as how many families or persons were displaced by a development project, what was their socio-economic background and where and how they settled afterwards. However the industrial revolution in India started after the Second World War and the historical evidence suggests that in the first half of 19th century, a major wave of development induced involuntary displacement took place between 1830 and 1842. This phenomenon was the result of colonial industrial policy of the British government, which was aimed specifically at crushing the Indian manufactures and handicrafts (Fernandes, 1997:193). The most stunning blow was to the indigenous textile industry, which collapsed due to dumping of mass-manufactured British textiles in India. In practice, it was accompanied by imposition of a tariff which protected woolen and silk manufactures in Britain, at the expense of Indian weavers.

The subsequent collapse of the Indian industry heralded an era of massive unemployment which culminated in involuntary displacement. At a conservative estimate, 35 million persons were displaced due to planned destruction of Indian industries in the 19th century. Although detailed statistical data are not available, sufficient corroborative evidence suggests that almost 13% of urban population which was involved in handicrafts or manufacture of one kind or another, had to migrate involuntarily to rural areas and became landless labourers.

This phenomenon is vividly encapsulated in Lord Willian Bentick's statement in 1834 that the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce, the bones of cotton weavers were bleaching the plains of India. The displaced population moved from one worksite to another as low paid labourers, for constructing the network of roads, railways, bridges, dams and as workers in plantations. Most were unable to get even this opportunity and were, therefore, forced to migrate as indentured labour to other British colonies.

Subsequently, in the year 1864, the British Government established the Imperial Department of Forests and a German expert, Dietrich Brandis, was invited to take over as the first Inspector General of Forests in India. Recognizing the strategic importance of forests, the colonial government passed the Indian Forest Act of 1865, which facilitated acquisition of those forests lands that were earmarked for building railway lines. After a long process of administrative debate and refinement, a more stringent and comprehensive law was enacted, which came into force as the Indian Forest Act of 1878. It established

the absolute proprietary right of state and gave it a monopoly control over the land by converting them into state property. Most of these lands had traditionally belonged to the community and did not carry any private land title. The Act defined the state ownership, regulated its use and appropriated to itself the power to commute or extinguish customary rights as and when it is desired. This annexationist approach led to acquisition of 84,700 sq. miles of forest area by the year 1890. Thus, in the history of development-induced involuntary displacement even before the promulgation or enactment of Land Acquisition Act of 1894, a law had been passed by the imperial British Government, which by one stroke of the executive pen attempted to obliterate centuries of customary use of land by rural populations all over India, (Guha: 2006:42).

The ownership rights of all the people living in these reserved or protected forests had been delegitimized. Since villages continued to exist within the forests, there was limited physical displacement. However, communities had been refrained from exerting any of their ownership rights thereby turning them into encroachers on their own lands. The logic and justification of the British forest policy was public interest. Thus, the principle of state monopoly had been clearly established. It insidiously became the corner stone of the British forest policy of 1894.

In the same year, the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 was passed which was an important legal instrument of economic control, oppression and exploitation promulgated by the British imperialist government. By using the concept of “public domain” the British were able to theorize and legitimize their control over the land, which was most fundamental resource for people’s survival. The moral justification was that the private lands belonging to the Indians would be acquired for “public purpose” alone and that the erstwhile owners would be compensated so as to avoid making them worse off in economic terms. Since the enactment of this legislation, millions of people has been displaced. But because the spirit of law was ignored, displacement made them worse-off and their economic and social impoverishment was final and absolute.

In a modern democratic society, the authority has no absolute right to displace the people from their native place. Each right is inseparably linked to a duty. In the case of Land Acquisition Act of 1894, another law was necessary to locate the responsibility of rehabilitation on the state authority to counterbalance it. But no such Act or policy existed till the end of colonial rule, because it was never the intention of the British to be truly benign or just. They acquired land for the railways, expansion of the trade routes, conversion of the forest and pasture lands and its use for the plantation of tea, coffee, rubber, indigo, establishment of army cantonments and ordinance factories, construction of dams and canals, creation of harbours and establishment of administrative institutions. In most cases, the displaced persons were either agriculturalists or communities dwelling in the forests or mountains. Unfortunately, there is no documentation of such displacement. Thus, the year 1894 became a landmark in the history of involuntary population displacement in India subsequently, by the year 1947, the forest Department had acquired 99,000 Sq. miles of land and displaced a total population of about 16 millions.

Nearly 67 years after the departure of British this shameful legacy of social injustice continues to exist. After 1947, displacement continued under the same law of colonial vintage of 1894, accompanied by exactly the same kind of social injustice and trauma. However, less than 25% of the displaced people have been resettled and rehabilitated. Inherent social and economic inequalities, embedded in the Indian society along with the types of laws for land acquisition and compensation payment have curtailed the capacity of the displaced to organize themselves and demand better rehabilitation provisions. Subsequent developmental projects even in the independent India continued to evict people from their lands without proper compensation, and often without due process.

After independence, the country's economy was in doldrums due to long years of colonial exploitation. Impressed by the success of the soviet economy under the planned development process, the Government of India adopted the path of state centered planning in a mixed economy set up to accelerate the pace of economic development in the country. The focus of the country's First Five Year Plan in the 1950s was on restoration and reconstruction of the truncated economy. The Second Five Year Plan, prepared under the able stewardship of professor P.C. Mahalanobis, emphasized on development of key infrastructure such as shipping, air and rail transport and key industries like iron and steel, heavy engineering, heavy electrical, machinery and machine tools, etc, to lay the foundation of a robust and self-sustaining economy led by the public sector. In the years since then, the country has been making sincere efforts to put in place, key infrastructure like power and irrigation in all parts of the country for the development of agriculture and industry. Under this development strategy, the Government has laid great emphasis on the construction of multi-purpose dam projects on India's major rivers to generate hydro-electricity at a cheaper cost and to provide agricultural fields located downstream of the river and the water reservoir year- round irrigation through the canal system (Ota: 2010: 213).

In the year of 1993, the ministry of Rural Development, Department of Land Resources, Government of India, drafted a National Rehabilitation Policy, which was revised in 1994, and was scrutinized by voluntary agencies for several months. Ultimately, after years of waiting, the ministry of Rural Development succeeded in publishing the National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation for project affected families in the Government of India official gazette on 17th February, 2004. It was done regardless of magnitude of population displaced by developmental projects, although a number of state governments have come up with legislation to rehabilitate and resettle the project-affected person. Still now the central government has failed to enact an effective national legislation to remedy the crisis.

The developmental projects lead towards displacement which means homelessness to thousands. Moreover, it results in massive involuntary displacement of people, destruction of prime forests, agricultural lands and above all ecological imbalances and degradation of the natural environment. Though the benefits of the large scale project adds the government revenue as well as helps large section of the society yet, it deprives the underprivileged sections. Such development affects different strata of population and rural households differently and in different degrees (Mahapatra: 1999:39-42).

The present pattern of development, based on the measurement of Gross National Product (GNP) growth, hides the level of inequalities it generates in the economy. It does not reveal the injustice that is done to a section of the population in the name of development. The oustees, who invariably belong to the weaker sections, are too powerless to resist this. They get evicted without any participation in the process or a share in the benefits of the development projects. The rehabilitation measures taken by the Government have so far remained only nominal. Studies have pointed out that less than 25 per cent of those displaced during the three decades between the 1950s and 1970s have been rehabilitated properly. According to an estimate, the number of people in India who have been displaced and not rehabilitated properly between 1950 and 1980 is over 11.5 million or roughly 1.45 percent of the country's population (Fernades, Das, and Rao: 1989:49). Unlike the developed countries of the west, the lifestyles and settlement patterns of the people in a pluralistic and multi-ethnic country like India are quite heterogeneous in nature.

Since the onset of modernization process of the economy and society unleashed in India by the colonial regime, the country has witnessed involuntary human displacement on a large scale to make way for various development projects. However, involuntary displacement of human population during the colonial rule was on a limited scale because the colonial masters were more interested in the exports of precious raw materials and intermediate goods to the European Countries via the port cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. So they took up limited initiative for the development of road and transport infrastructure

in the hinterland. The need for a higher level of consumption of inanimate sources of energy to run the wheel of industry or to increase agricultural productivity was not felt so much. The colonial Government was mainly interested in the exploitation of precious and scarce mineral resources, intensification of plantation economy and cash crops such as tea, coffee, jute, cotton etc. As a result, displacement caused due to laying of national and state highways, railway lines, exploitation of forests and mines, construction of water reservoirs and dams for irrigation and electricity generation and the like took place on a very limited scale (Ota:2010:6).

Though millions of people have been displaced by various planned developmental projects since independence, the state has not taken the issue seriously. It is only recently that it has promulgated a National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation, for those who have been or are going to be displaced on account of development projects for the nation's prosperity. In the absence of a National Policy till recently, the whole process of dealings with the issues of displacement and rehabilitation remained ad-hoc and piecemeal. Various case studies done by scholars show that as many as 75 per cent of the displaced people have not been rehabilitated suitably and their income sources and livelihoods have not been restored properly (Fernades: 1994:67-70). The people who generally belong to the most underprivileged and disadvantaged communities of the Indian Society, are pushed into impoverishment, marginalization and further backwardness in the absence of proper resettlement and rehabilitation.

The displacement of the inhabitants who live in a particular home-land with their agricultural lands turned into a chronic problem of the Government of India (GOI) and the state Governments. In the first phase of Five Year Plane, GOI took up the agricultural development of the country with World Bank Loan under the scheme called PL-480. Under this scheme GOI took up mega projects like Hirakud Multipurpose Dam Projects in Odisha, Bhakra Nangal-Govind Sagar Dam in Punjab, Thilaty Mayurakshi Dams in Damodar Vally in Bihar and many other mega projects in the southern states of India. These projects were supervised by the experts who came to India under the aegis of World Bank. The GOI had constituted various rehabilitation committees, to acquire lands, which could be irrigated downstream of the dams. The displaced families could resettle there in colonies with irrigated lands and with financial compensation as per the land Acquisition Acts of the GOI. Since the people displaced, received adequate financial compensation and received land for land and better houses in place of old houses, the problems of the people did not surface much during the first year plane period (Majhi: 2010: 85).

The present development strategy leads towards, involuntary displacement and relocation of human population. Modern economic development requires setting up of a large number of hydro-electric projects, thermal power projects, large water reservoirs and perennial canal irrigation systems, vast rail and road networks, causing intensive exploitation of natural resources such as land, water and minerals and promotion of large and key industries powered by inanimate sources of energy. The setting up of all these development projects requires acquisition of vast areas of land in a consolidated form in the region or area of their location.

The projects are essential to accelerate the pace of economic development and to feed the teeming millions in both developed and developing countries and also to maintain the present standard of living of various categories of population in the future. Moreover, the existing projects cannot be disbanded on the grounds of ecological disruption or massive displacement and dislocation of human population. The remedy perhaps lies in the minimization of the cost of displacement and uprooting of human population by protecting the interests of the weak and vulnerable among the displaced and in the maintenance of ecological balance with a little modification or alternation in the existing support systems.

In the process of displacement, the tribals are more affected than the non-tribals as most of the projects are located in remote tribal areas, where the tribals are inhabited.

3:2:2. Industrial Development and Displacement in Odisha:

Odisha is a mineral rich state of India which attracts the attention of the investors to plant industries in this state. With the dawn of independence, the state of Odisha is steeping the same pace with the other states of our country in the process of industrialization. A large number of projects have also been taken up in Odisha to register speedy economic growth and bring prosperity. The tribal habitat, in India and in the state of Odisha as well, is gifted with forests, fountains, flora, fauna, and mineral deposits. These lands of tribes are hospitable hosts to mining and industrial operations, dam projects, national park, sanctuaries and biosphere reserves. These areas are prone to be acquired for setting up of industries, mines and other development projects. Since, the said projects are mostly located in the tribal concentrated areas, the tribals are dislocated. The Government has power to acquire any land anywhere in the country at considerable rate it chooses to pay. This is for the public interests, economic development and national progress. On the contrary, the tribal people have borne the risks and burden of displacement from their lands, for the greater cause of national development.

The Rourkela Steel Plant, set up in the fifties, acquired 7,917.84 hectares of land and displaced 2,464 families from 30 villages in Sundargarh District (Roy-Burman, 1966). According to an estimate 1231 families out of the 2464 families displaced were tribals and 733 families were scheduled caste (Mahapatra: 1999:58). Nearly, 2741 hectares of land had to be acquired in Damanjodi in Koraput District for the aluminum plant, mining activities and township of NALCO. The project affected 17,678 people in 26 villages, out of which tribals constituted 52.49 percent, scheduled castes 10.84 percent and other castes 36.72 percent. NALCO also acquired a further 3877.81 hectares of land in Angul for its smelter plant, captive power plant and township. This affected 3,997 families in 40 villages. Out of the affected families, 12.76 percent belonged to scheduled caste and 2.78 to scheduled tribes (Fernandes et. al: 1992).

The Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) set up the MIG factory at Sunabeda in Koraput district in 1963. The project acquired 3,764 hectares of land and displaced 468 families from 10 villages (Reddy: 1993:34). The ordnance factory of Saintala in Bolangir District, established in 1984, displaced 1200 families from 14 villages (Pandey: 1998:28). The total number of families affected by industries in Odisha is 10,704, which accounts for 11.47 percent of the total displacement in state (Ota: 1999:34). The table below gives an overview of development projects and displacement in Odisha.

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