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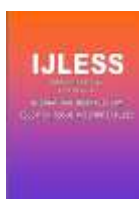
DEVELOPMENT DYNAMISM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON TRIBAL LIFE WORLD: SOME INSTANCES FROM ODISHA

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ABSTRACT

Among different dimensions of tribal sufferings development induced displacement is an ever standing problem which needs an urgent attention. In 21st century economic gain is a prime law for the development of nation. India is also using different development strategy for the economic growth today. Among these strategies natural resource extractions contribute a prominent role. In India, odisha as a state with rich natural resources like forest, land, water as well as coal marching towards economic growth through using these resources. There are different development projects like irrigation projects, dam projects, mines and industrial projects and conservation and wildlife sanctuaries, which in a every way benefits the state as well as the large sections of better off people. However a huge section of tribal people in odisha are living in the large part of the hinter land. The areas covered with natural resources are the customary land of these tribals who are the age-old care taker of it since time immemorial. Different developmental projects for the use of these natural resources have displaced and created a series of social, environmental, health as well as ethical issues among the tribals. So the present paper is an effort to analyse the outcomes of these development project and its impact on wellbeing on tribal life world.

Keywords-Development, tribe, displacement, livelihood, life-world

Introduction

Globalization has led to a new trend of homogenization in development process all over the globe today. It has given rise to escalating growth of development projects in the resource-rich regions of India (Choudhury and Choudhury 2020). In the name of modernizing backward regions and civilizing the 'less civilized' indigenous people in these areas, the current form of development is creating wealth for the modernizing elites at the cost of the livelihood and security of the indigenous or tribal peoples in these areas. In the name of development it is causing the massive displacement of human populations and the decimation of the sustainable subsistence agriculture of the peoples who have traditionally been dependent upon their local ecosystems for their survival (Blaser et al., 2004; Taylor, 1995).

After launching of planned development programs beginning with 1950-51, the Indian Economy witnessed undertaking of a large number of projects which may be grouped into (i) irrigation and

power projects (ii) industries projects (iii) mining projects (iv) forest and wildlife projects and etc. But we do not have much thought over the implication of these projects from the point of view of extensive displacement and turn certain people destitute. The planners are concerned with the growth of GNP and NNP with the hope that benefit of economic growth would trickle down to the poor community. But this has disturbed the traditional resource-utilization pattern and existing mode of production encounters with an advanced mode of production. The interaction of these two processes has given rise to “losers” and “gainers” in development (Nath, 1998). According to the World Bank, development projects every year involuntarily displace one million people in the developing countries from their land and homes (World Bank, 1994). In India alone, between 1951 and 1990 around 21.3 million persons were displaced by development projects. Among this number 8.54 million (40 per cent) were tribal or indigenous people and only 2.12 million (24.8 per cent) were resettled (Government of India, 2002: 458).

This problem has created increasing conflict between these ecosystem dependent peoples and the elites. They are fighting to defend their traditional and sustainable forms of subsistence as well as trudging into the territory of these people to exploit the land, forests and minerals in their ecosystems. In the name of development and of civilizing, assimilating and mainstreaming the tribal people, the affluent elites are evicting these poor people from their homes and land (Gadgil and Guha, 1995). These Mega development projects like multipurpose river dams and large scale mining and conservation of ecosystem, national parks generate benefits for the few relatively better off sections of population while marginalizing and excluding the poorer tribal people (Oommen, 2004, 2006, 2008). The majority of the tribal become the victims of development. So based on the some relevant reviews of dark part of development projects, this article seeks highlights impact on tribal life world by different developmental projects. The special focus of this paper is specifically in Odisha which is a resource rich state in India. It also constitutes a very good number of colourful tribal communities. The paper aims at examining the dynamism of different development project specifically the mining, dam and conservations projects and its implications on tribal livelihood and life world as a whole.

Tribal scenario in Odisha

Odisha occupies a unique position among the Indian States and Union Territories for having a rich and colorful tribal Scenario. Majorities of scheduled tribes or Adivasis live in hilly and forest regions. Their economy is largely subsistence-oriented, non-stratified, and no specialized. Their social structure is simple and aspirational and their needs are not many, they live a simple life. Though the STs or Adivasis in Odisha have suffered from social, educational, and economic backwardness due to geo-historical reasons they are very much self sufficient by utilising the natural resources (Xaxa, 2014). Thus, they have their distinctiveness and socio cultural milieu. In Odisha, we have 62 tribal communities that speak as many as 74 dialects and more who are spread over 30 districts and 314 blocks (Chandramouli, C., & General, R., 2011). Living in deep forest and hilly areas they have their own ethos, ideology, worldview, value orientations, and cultural heritage that are rich and varied. At one end of the scale there are nomadic food gathers and hunters and at the other end, skilled settled agriculturalists and horticulturalists. Thus, tribal areas of Odisha, are present an extremely diverse socio-economic panorama. Geographically, Odisha is full of mineral resources, raw materials, and iron ore and those are present where Adivasis or scheduled tribes are residing. They are the age-old care taker of rich natural resources in odisha. They have their own traditional utilization cum conservation method to maintain their livelihood as well as protect the environment. As per the Census of India 2011, the state of Odisha has the third-highest percentage of tribal population in the country which stands at 9590756. They constitute 22.85% of the total population of the state and contribute 9.17% to the total tribal population of the country (Pothal & Panda, 2017).

Development projects and its implications on tribals : Scenario in Odisha

Odisha, a state located in eastern part of India as an economically developing state with its natural resources and huge mineral reserves, has always received global attention. The state is considered to be one of the fast-growing state economies in India. Now it is noticed as a transitional economy, as it is marching towards industry and service sectors from an agriculture-based economy. Odisha is one of the prominent states in terms of Forest resources, water resources and also coal resources in largely concentrated in different zones(Conservation action trust 2014).These zones with rich in minerals lie in the tribal districts. The hilly terrain and availability of water also makes the suitable for reservoirs and dams. The major dams taken up in Scheduled areas are the Machkund, Salandi, Balimela, Upper Kolab, Indrawati, Mandira etc. The major industrial projects taken up in scheduled areas have been the Raurkela Steel Plant, NALCO's Alumina refinery at Damanjodi, HAL, Sunabeda. Large number of future industrial projects is under implementation or proposed in scheduled areas including the alumina refineries of UAIL in Kashipur and Vedanta at Lanjigarh. The richness of forests and wildlife has also led to increasing number of protected areas (wildlife sanctuaries and National parks) in the scheduled areas of Odisha. Such protected areas have created a major problem as the rights of all inhabitants in and around these areas in the forest and forest land is being extinguished, affecting their livelihoods and sometimes leading to displacements. An estimate of displacement by development projects is that of 1.5 million people being displaced by development projects between 1951 and 1995, of which 42% were tribals. As per this estimate, less than 25% of the displaced tribals were ever resettled even partially. The casualness with which displacements of tribals have been treated is evident by the fact that out of the 13 major dam projects before 1990, no data seems to be available on ST families displaced in 7 projects. Similarly out of 10 major industrial projects, no data on proportion of STs displaced is available for seven projects.

Table-1: Area acquired and villages affected by development and conservation projects in Odisha

Serial No	Projects	Area acquired (ha.) ⁵	No of villages affected
1	Irrigation- Dam projects (Major) Completed.	200423	900
2	Irrigation - Dam projects (Medium) Completed	14403	118
3	Irrigation - Dam projects (Medium) Ongoing	12160	92
4	Irrigation - Dam Projects (Major) Proposed	30233	113
6	Industries (All Types of Industries)	45358	176
7	Mines (All types of mine leases given out)	101947	NA
8	Wild life Sanctuaries and National Parks	811155	771
	Total	1215679	2170

Irrigation and dam projects:

The irrigation and dam projects have been the most important reason of displacement in scheduled areas. Undivided Koraput district has been the worst affected of all. List of a few major irrigation projects in Koraput district areas of Odisha is given as below:

Name	Area (ha)	No. of hhs affected	Tribals hhs as % of total HHs affected	Source
Machkund	6477	2938	1500 (51%)	Fernandes et al, 1992
Balimela	17496	1900	1507 (79%)	Diwakar, 1982
Upper Kolab	11350	3179	1421 (44.7%)	GOI, 1993
Indrawati	17263	5534	42%	Ota

Ota, in his study of displacement in upper Indravati dam Project found that on an average, each displaced family had been cultivating 1.50 acres of state owned and 2.34 acres of private land before displacement and that 49% of the sampled family were landless. After displacement, landlessness increased to 85.25%, the average legal landholding declined to 0.62 acres and the average government land cultivated came down to only 0.2 acres. (Ota, 2020).

Mining project

The mining activities in Odisha have more prominently started during the post-independent period. In an effort to monitor the mining activities, Odisha Mining Corporation Limited (OMC) was established in 1956 as a Public Sector Unit. Mahanadi Coalfields Limited (MCL) a subsidiary of the Coal India Limited (CIL) (Mishra and Mishra 2014). As per the Odisha Economic Survey Report 2018–2019, coal contributes 86.48 per cent, followed by iron ore (6.61 per cent) and bauxite (2.16 per cent) to the mineral reserves of the state. Odisha has two Gondwana coalfields, namely Talcher coalfield and Ib valley coalfield situated in the western part of the state. Opencast as well as underground mines are found in both the coalfields. Coal mines are basically found in the western part of the state especially at Angul, Jharasuguda, Sundergarh and Sambalpur districts (Ray and Saini, 2011).

MCL is spreading over two coalfields, i.e. Talcher and Ib valley. Talcher coalfield is having the pride of highest geological reserve of 51.220 billion tonnes in the country, whereas Ib valley coalfield has the third highest geological reserve of 29.620 billion tonnes (Planning and Convergence Department, Government of Odisha 2019). Talcher coalfield is situated in Brahmani valley to the north of Mahanadi River in the Talcher block of Angul district, about 120 km away from Bhubaneswar, the capital of Odisha (Mishra and Das 2017). As per the information received from MCL, at present there are total 06 coal mining projects in operation and all are opencast mines. The total capacity of these projects is 95 million tonnes per year with Rs. 8907.89 crores of sanctioned budgets. Despite some developments in the local region through the mining activities, diverse environmental and human hardships are increasing (Mishra 2009). Approximately 1019.47 sq. km. of land has been leased out for mining in Odisha, with most of these being in the Scheduled areas. The most important mining zones within scheduled areas are iron ore and manganese mining in Sundargarh, jharsuguda, sambalpur and Keonjhar districts, coal in Sundergarh district, bauxite in Kalahandi, Koraput and Rayagada districts. Apart from displacement, mining and industries lead to large-scale influx of non-tribals, which often leads to social and political marginalization of the tribals. The environmental impacts are drastic and affect much larger number of people than directly displaced. Given the liberalization of mining and industrial policies which allows for direct foreign investments, large number of mining and industrial

projects is in the pipeline, mostly to be located in scheduled areas. Some of these propose to carry out mining in areas inhabited by Primitive Tribal Groups, such as Dongaria Kondhs in Lanjigarh, Kalahandi and Juangs and Paudi Bhuiyans in Keonjhar and Sundergarh districts (Kumar, 2006).

Iron ore and bauxite deposits

Almost all the iron ore mines and deposits in Orissa are located in the scheduled areas of Keonjhar and Sundergarh districts. The amount of mining in this area is proposed to be increased manifold with influx of such giant factories as POSCO, Jindals, Tata Steels etc. The effect of such proposed mining, almost all in Scheduled areas of Keonjhar and Sundergarh, on the local tribal inhabitants, their habitats and their livelihoods can only be imagined. Similarly the major bauxite deposits are also located in scheduled areas in Kalahandi, Rayagada and Koraput districts with the major mining being done by NALCO on ~~part~~ ^{part} of Koraput district.

The bauxite deposits are all located on top of the highest mountains in South Orissa which are called Malis, and are sacred to tribals as they are source of large number of perennial streams. These streams are vital to local tribals as they are often the only source of water for drinking and irrigation of fields in summer season, and sustain the local agricultural economy. In Kashipur, the local tribals have been struggling the bauxite mining and alumina refinery project of Utkal Alumina India Ltd (UAIL). Similarly in Lanjigarh, there have been long struggle by the local tribals against the establishment of an Alumina Refinery and proposed mining of Niyamgiri Hills for bauxite (Kumar, 2006).

Conservation projects and wildlife sanctuary

The link between the realization of forest rights and the conservation of natural resources is a worldwide attention today. Ecological conservation is being recognized as essential for human development with wellbeing. This concern is both incorporated in global development targets such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and global environmental targets, such as the Aichi Targets under the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). Efforts for conservation have consequently increased in numbers and wider areas are covered legally through declaration of protected areas (PAs) across the globe. In India, Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, (hereafter FRA), is in effect since 2008. The Act defines 'community forest resources' to mean customary forest land within traditional or customary village boundaries, or the seasonal use of landscape in the case of pastoral communities, including reserve forests, protected forests and protected areas, to which the community has traditionally had access. The Act is a significant step towards recognising the pre-eminent rights of tribal on forest land; but, in most cases, it does not yet harmonise well with forestry, wildlife or general environmental laws. As a result, forest dwellers, formerly communal owners, end up as 'encroachers' in protected areas. In Odisha, protected areas cover around 5.35 per cent of the total geographical area and 14.33 per cent of the total forest area. There are 19 sanctuaries and two national parks in the state; most are in Schedule V areas where the tribal population is predominant. Further, the Government of Odisha has notified three protected areas as critical wildlife habitats as per the provision of the 2006 Amendment to the Wildlife Protection Act, 1972. More than 300,000 people live in protected areas and maintain a subsistence livelihood from these ecosystems in terms of agriculture, fishery and non-timber forest produce (NTFP). The Wildlife Protection Act imposed restrictions on the collection of NTFP, grazing of cattle and trading of forest produce goods. Almost 8111.55 sq. km. (5%) of Orissa have been declared as protected areas (Sanctuaries and National Parks). Similipal Tiger and Biosphere Reserve (STBR) in Orissa is a big instance of tribal suffering due conservation policies. The STBR is situated in Mayurbhanj district of Orissa state, India, between longitude 85°58' and 86°42' E and latitude 21°00' and 22°12' N. The Similipal hill ranges 2924 sq. km were notified as reserve forests in 1857. One of the largest contiguous tracts of *Shorea robusta* (Sal) forest in peninsular India, it became a Tiger Reserve in 1956 and was included under the national conservation program 'Project Tiger' in 1973. The vegetation is a unique

combination of northern tropical semi-evergreen forest, northern tropical moist deciduous forest, dry deciduous hill forest, grassland, and savannahs that harbor 1076 species of plants (Saxena and Brahmam 1994), 42 species of mammals, 242 species of birds and 30 species of reptiles. A major tiger habitat of India, it is estimated to have 21 Royal Bengal Tigers and 432 Wild elephants (Govt of Odisha 2007). Designated as a wildlife sanctuary in 1979 and as Biosphere Reserve in 1994, STBR is one of those rare PAs declared as a sanctuary and biosphere reserve, and designated a National park, having both 'Project Tiger' and 'Project Elephant' – two flagship conservation programs – within its ambit. On the otherside large number of tribes namely Santal, Kolha, Bhumij, bhuyian, Hill Kharia, Gond, Mankirdias, Puri-Bhyuyan, Mahalis and Saharas. Hill Kharia and Mankirdia are still in primitive stage of living. Tribes such as Ho, Kolhas, Bathudi, Santhal and Munda comprise 91 % of the STBR population (Govt of Odisha Census 2001). They solely depend on their surrounding forests for most of their requirement from food to medicine. They collect large variety of edible roots, tubers, fruits, nuts, barriers, mushrooms, leaves, flowers, honey etc. They also gather useful products like fuel wood, fibres, timber, grass, resin, gum, honey, arrowroots, siali creepers and medicinal plants for fulfilling their household requirements. Their whole livelihood dependent on forest based products. 52% of their household income generates from the forest. After their displacement to nearby village due to the conservation policies they have taken compensation. The village resettlement from the core zone of Similipal was taken up in three phases between 1993 and 2010. In the first phase, the displaced families were provided with brick-built houses, homestead land (0.25 ha) and INR 6000 (US\$ 1331) to resettle in a new colony, Banbasa in Jashipur revenue block 18 km away from the reserve. However, no farm land was provided to the displaced tribal families. In 1998, 31 households were relocated from Jenabil and Kabatghai (inside the reserve) to Ambadiha, a new settlement created 30 km away from their forest abode. The resettled households were given 0.32 ha of homestead land and 0.8 ha of farmland. INR 500 (US\$ 12) per month was provided per family as compensation for 1 year. About 45 households who were shifted later to Ambadiha in 2010 got a better package, in the form of crop land, temporary sheds, drinking water facilities and cash deposits of INR 1,000,000 (US\$ 22,222). But these people totally lost their traditional livelihood and their customary land. Their customary practices also affected (Mahapatra, Tewari, & Baboo, 2015). These conservation-centric policies and an exclusionary PAs management approach have resulted in serious social and economic consequences for native tribal populations in many poor but wildlife-rich areas (Colchester 2004; Berkes et al. 2003)

Impact factor due to Displacement on Livelihood and life world

Though the concept of displacement involves physical uprooting from the place of habitation, it results into endless socio-cultural, psychological and economic difficulties (Cernea, 1997). The first and foremost impact is the livelihood hack. Livelihood system consists of five capitals: human, physical, natural, financial and social (Su et al. 2018). Giddens in his analysis of risks concept discussed about 2 types of risks According to Giddens : external and manufactured. External risks are caused due to natural occurrences like floods famines and natural calamities and manufactured risks are human made in nature which are at present in the rising trend. Deforestation, global warming, ozone deterioration, ocean acidification, increasing air, water and soil pollution caused by rapid development in the expenses of nature are the examples of manufactured risks. In this direction, this section seeks to assess the tribal livelihood implications development dynamics in the name of different development projects in Odisha . Particularly how the livelihoods have been threatened giving rise to multiple risks on their life world have been investigated.

Natural resource extinction

The development concerns in general and the rapidly growing economy have implications on forest cover and the land use pattern (Nayak *et al.*, 2014). At the same time the development of displacement of forest has severely affected the natural resources. Most of these trees have been lost in the areas of scheduled tribe population. In a study by Mahapatra et al, households in Orissa reported

a total of 27 NTFPs (Non-Timber Forest Produces) that were extracted from surrounding forests (http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in:8080/jspui/bitstream/.../13_chapter%207.pdf). Odisha contains 24.5 percent of India's manganese reserves (Pandey, 2009). It is a veritable dream destination for steel-makers, containing 25.3 percent of India's iron ore reserves, 24.5 percent of its coal reserves, 17.5 percent of its dolomite reserves, and 1.4 percent of its limestone reserves (Pandey, 2009). About 105 mining companies spread over an area of 33,000 hectares have already been set up, producing 2.4 lakh tonnes of iron ore everyday (Pandey, 2009). As a result of these developments, Odisha has suffered a major set-back in terms of natural resource reserves. Forest is the life world of tribal and natural resources are the only means for their livelihood. So their livelihood hacked due to this process of development.

Absence of food security

The outcome of displacement decreases the chances for achieving food security. The increasing cost of food and reduction in food productivity due to land displacement has ushered in food insecurity in the household. Maxwell and Wiebe state that lack of access of land leads directly to a reduction in income and access to food. According to them, access to resources is a very essential element for access to food. Displacement from land brings tribal more vulnerable condition.

Homelessness

Homelessness is one of the major impact of displacement. Uprooted from ancestral places, the tribal community does not get space for immediate settlement. As the displaced families become scattered in different rehabilitation colonies, seek refuge in relatives' homes. It results into alienation and status deprivation. The families remain at the highest risk of being flushed out of their homes and forced into the streets. In Kalinganagar (Odisha), only 238 families out of 815 displaced families have received homestead land (Dash and Samal, 2008).

Social Disparity and cultural disharmony

The continued land displacement creates a rift between the mainstream people and the marginalized tribal communities. It further widens inequality between tribal communities, and general upper-caste communities. Commenting on it, John Gaventa writes, no unequal social system can be maintained unless the subalterns internalize the dominant values (Fernandes, 2009). In other words, inequality gets developed inside society in such a way that even rehabilitation process becomes flawed in nature. Apart from social discrimination, the cultural harmony in the society also gets uprooted due to displacement. They find it difficult and often impossible to begin a new society where they can live with their old values, old relations, and old meaning of life and tribal are the worst hit (Pandey, 2009).

Individualism in ownership

Another prominent impact of displacement on livelihood is individual ownership of land and transfer of power into individual hands. The tribal community loses collective ownership over land and privilege goes to dominant owner. Therefore, it results into paucity of access of livelihood to common masses. As per fifth schedule of the constitution of India, the alienation of tribal land is strictly prohibited. Even in sixth schedule, the state favours collective ownership and class formation (Fernandes, 2009). Now-a-days state provides loans and subsidies to individual holders of Patta only. Such land transfer to individuals is encouraged with a distinct preferential slant towards males who largely manage the cash crop production (Fernandes, 2009). This existence of individualism in ownership leads to bifurcation of gendered status in ownership also.

Marginalization

Displacement originates a plethora of marginalization of tribal people not only from economic perspectives but also from socio-cultural perspectives. Marginalization is an individualized process

that occurs when families or individuals experience downward mobility, primarily because resettlement may bring a loss of control over physical space and new environments where existing knowledge and skills are less useful (Koenig, 2002). Due to social disarticulation, the community remains on the verge of disintegration. The existing social bond gets extinct. The atomization of existing communities, combined with the need to adapt economically and socially in the new location and to integrate with host communities, leads to a gradual moving away from the old cultural traditions (Terminski, 2013).

Human rights violation

Involuntary or unwanted displacement is known to be one of the most perceptible as well as painful consequences of development. The principle of 'greater common good' is deliberately invoked to justify this act of heartlessness (Roy 2009). Studies show that tribals are the worst victim who experienced development-induced displacement (Fernandes 2008). It is a well-known fact that the land owned by these groups cannot be transferred or taken away from them. However, these are desecrated in the name of development (Lahiri-Dutt 2005). The state applies the principle of 'The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013' (Lahiri-Dutt 2016). The purpose is to demonstrate the ultimate form of authoritarian power to usurp any property of any citizen for different development projects specially industrial and mining (Bennett and McDowell 2012). This is nothing but the violation of human rights. White et al. (2012) said that such kind of ruthless acquisition of land and abuse of land rights by state or corporate houses as 'new enclosures'. The rehabilitation policy fails to facilitate them to reconstruct their lost life support system and add on to their already marginalised position (Choudhury 2013).

Conclusions and interventions

Different development has provided giant contributions to the economic benefits at national as well as global level. No doubt odisha as a developing state also heading towards a magnificent economic growth due to the development interventions. However it is also a state of majority of downtrodden people like tribals. The development projects are heading towards success in the expenses of the suffering of these tribal. In the pursuit of economic gain the state should not neglect the aborigines greater need. Their livelihood and life world facing towards major setbacks due to the conservation projects and all industrial as well as mining projects. It resulted to their pauperization, identity crisis and socio-cultural trauma. They are suffering of their customary livelihood hacks. In the gaining worldview of development they are pushing towards looser. Though development is urgent but should be sincere efforts to balance with social wellbeing. Without the wellbeing of states ethnic minorities (tribals) the development becomes vague.

Moreover the strategy of development deserves reconstruction. With the growing need of using resources the social development cannot be ignored. In the same way in the conservation of nature the state look forward the role of these indigenous people nature is their core home to survive. The government has to develop mechanism to watch out their dignity of living with the development dynamism. Lastly there is an urgent need for giving the representation to the tribals in development when it comes to their customary land. Lastly every development should be attached with the environmental and social wellbeing of people as a whole.

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