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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Impacts of Development Induced Displacement on the Tribal Communities of India: An Integrative Review

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Abstract: Development-induced displacement (DID) has been a contentious issue linked to development today. Thousands of people, particularly tribal and other marginalized communities in India, are being uprooted from their land every year in the name of development. The available evidence-based suggests that DID brings a myriad of implications to the lives of the displaced. However, it is unclear what domains DID impacts and marginalizes tribal communities. Therefore, this review aims to analyze the impacts of DID on the lives of tribal communities in India. Synthesizing evidence on the impact of DID deserves high policy and research attention. An integrative review of the published literature between 1992 and 2019 was undertaken. The review was performed using the database from Google Scholar and Scopus. Seventy-three articles met the inclusion criteria and were analyzed. Five themes emerged from the review on the impact of DID on tribal communities: impact on land and livelihood, impacts on socio-cultural life, impact on health and education, human rights violation, and the state of rehabilitative measures. DID has put a significant toll on the lives of tribal communities of India. Policy measures should be implemented appropriately to ensure the rights of tribal and other vulnerable communities.

Keywords: Development-induced Displacement, Impoverishment, Tribal community, Resettlement and Rehabilitation

Development-induced displacement (DID) has become a global phenomenon. Large scale uprooting and relocation of people against their will from their homestead due to land acquisition for development projects such as the construction of dams, irrigation canal, road and railways, coal and mining industries, and the alike is known as DID. Every year, many people are displaced due to large-scale land acquisition and appropriation of natural resources for public

purposes. The obvious outcome of such acquisition of lands or appropriation of natural resources is DID, wherein numbers of people are forced to leave their homesteads or lands. The people who are affected due to development are termed as “displaced persons, or project-affected persons or families” (Dias, 2012). Displacement not only results in physical eviction, but the expropriation of natural resources has enduring effects on the lands and livelihoods of the people.

People often lose their rights over productive lands resulting in social disarticulation and myriads of other impoverishments (Cernea 1995, 1996, 2000, 2008; McDowell, 1996; Parasuraman, 1996; Fernandes 2001; Dias, 2012; Mathur, 2013; Rangarajan & Shahabuddin, 2006; Parasuraman, 2016).

Data on the magnitude of displacement is also subject to significant controversies. There is no official record of how many people are displaced due to development projects. However, the data available on personal accounts tell that about 50 million people have been displaced due to development projects in India in the last 50 years (Negi & Ganguly, 2011). Of these, 16.4 million were displaced due to dams, 2.55 million by mines, 1.25 million by industrial development, and 0.6 million by national parks and sanctuaries across India (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2007). According to Fernandes (2007), there were more than 60 million displaced people between the periods of 1947–2000. One of the cited reasons for the largest number of displacements is the construction of large dams in India (Siddiqui, 2012, Thakkar, 1999). It has alone displaced almost 64 lacs to 4 crores people since Independence (Patwardhan, 2000). The highest numbers of displaced persons due to development projects are Scheduled Tribes (STs) followed by Scheduled Castes (SCs), and other backward castes (OBCs). Tribal constitutes the most significant proportion (more than 40%) in the list of displaced persons (Nayak, 2004; Fernandes, 2001; Mathur, 2013; Patwardhan, 2000) though they constitute only 8.6% of the total population. They bear the disproportionate cost of development, and unfortunately, 40% of displaced in India are tribal populations (Fernandes, 2001).

Given the pace and scale with which development projects are being approved, the contentious issues of land acquisition and subsequent displacement are expected to increase exponentially in the future. Large-scale development projects are being constructed in the areas inhabited by indigenous/tribal populations. The available literature on DID suggests that the initiation of such a large-scale project results in the expropriation of lands, forests, and other natural resources in the tribal areas. Resultantly, tribal communities are deprived of their customary rights over commons or forcefully displaced from their dwelling place. The available evidence suggests that DID brings a myriad of implications to the lives of the displaced.

However, literature focusing on the tribal community is scanty, and it is unclear what domains DID impact and marginalize the tribal communities. Therefore, this review aims to analyze the impacts of DID on the lives of tribal communities in India. Synthesizing evidence on the impact of DID deserves high policy and research attention.

Methods

Design

The integrative review was chosen as the design of this review of the literature. The choice of the integrative review was due to its potential to the inclusion of conceptual and empirical literature and studies in the quantitative and qualitative domains.

Search Strategy

The search for the literature was majorly done through electronic databases, including Google Scholar and Scopus. The keywords used for the search were *development induced displacement*, *displacement in India*, *resettlement of displaced*, *forced displacement*, and *impact of displacement*. The reference lists of the relevant articles were also reviewed for fetching more studies/literature on the subject matter.

Criteria

The selection of studies was based on a set of inclusion criteria. Firstly, only literature published in English was considered. Secondly, the peer-reviewed literature about displacement in the Indian context was only included. Thirdly, we have included studies of any design on development-induced displacement focusing on the tribal communities of India. Finally, articles published between 1992 and 2019 were only considered because many works in this domain were published during these periods. The studies on the development-induced displacement of communities other than tribal populations are excluded. We have adopted these inclusion criteria to delimit the scope of the study. The selection of India was due to the higher magnitude of DID. The total number of articles included in the final analysis was 73. These studies deal with the different aspects of DID in the Indian context. Studies from different States concerning

various tribal groups constitute the selected articles. The study selection process is depicted in the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) flowchart (Figure-1).

Data Evaluation and Analysis

All the shortlisted articles were subjected to a critical appraisal skills program (CASP). The quality of each article was evaluated, and those with poor quality were excluded. The major domains included for the CASP evaluation were the aims of the study/paper, method, samples, collection, analysis, and findings.

The selected articles were analyzed rigorously. We individually analyzed the selected papers and extracted the potential codes and themes. An iterative and inductive approach guided us to derive the themes from the analyzed literature. Whitemore and Knafl

(2005) suggested that, to achieve logical evidence in integrative reviews, the data analysis process should undergo identifying patterns and themes in the analyzing literature. Also, comparison and contrast are central to the process of data analysis. The coding, categorization, and extraction of themes were based on the conceptual constructs that define the impacts of development-induced displacement on tribal communities. The themes we extracted were discussed, and the consensus was achieved before the finalization of the themes.

Results and Discussion

Five major themes representing the impact of DID on tribal communities of India have emerged from the

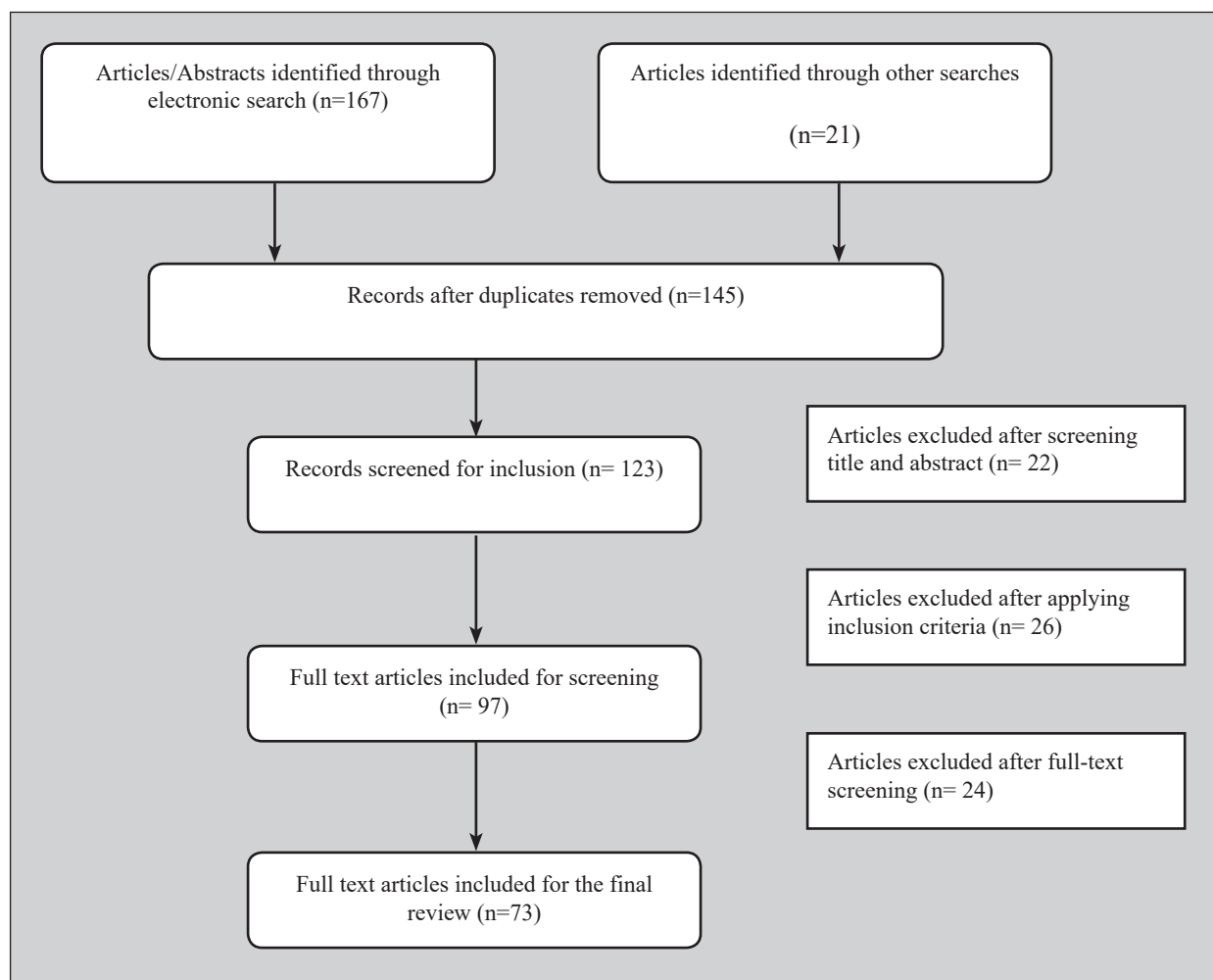


Figure 1. PRISMA Flow Chart Portraying the Study Selection

analysis. Each of the developed themes corresponds to the unique impacts of displacement on the different domains of tribal life. The themes include (a) impact on land and livelihood, (b) impacts on socio-cultural life, (c) impact on health and education, (d) human rights violation, and (e) the state of rehabilitative measures.

Impact on Land and Livelihood

Land and forest are indispensable assets for the tribal community in India as most of them depend on them for their livelihood. They possess the customary rights over land and forest. The land tenure system and subsequent development have impacted their traditional rights over these resources. Subsequently, tribal people face land alienation. The expropriation of land and forest resources in the name of development further pushes them into the enduring cycle of poverty, deprivation, and impoverishment. Evidence suggests that large scales of tribal lands are continually being alienated in different states of India. The largest share is in the states of Andhra Pradesh (1,129 square kilometers), followed by Madhya Pradesh (639 square kilometers), Karnataka (256 square kilometers), and Gujarat (469 square kilometers) (Society for Regional Research and Analysis, 2010).

In his article on the impacts of mining industries on the lives of tribal people in Jharkhand, Areeparampil (1996) revealed that excessive exploitation of natural resources in the region severely affected the land and livelihood of tribes. It has also resulted in a situation of semi-starvation throughout the years and the enslavement of many tribes. Similarly, in Jharkhand, the forest economy of tribal communities has been wrecked in the wake of setting up the mining and other development projects resulting in the loss of means of livelihood and allied activities (Kujur, 2008). The economic hardship and multigenerational economic marginalization were also highlighted among the tribes due to involuntary and forced displacement (Somayaji & Talwar, 2011). Another study in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal, and Orissa by Meher (2019) also revealed that the mining industries caused the loss of traditional agro-based livelihood due to excessive appropriation of natural resources. Many tribal communities in these states have either lost land or livelihood. The establishment of Kuno Sanctuary in Madhya Pradesh resulted in the plight of the Sahariya tribal community. They have lost landholding and traditional sources of survival and

are forced to work as nominal wage laborers (Kabra & Mahalwal, 2014; Kabra, 2009). In Andhra Pradesh, the landholding given to non-tribal communities and restriction to collect forest produce in the protected areas has resulted in livelihood diversification and further aggravation of tribal's miseries (Rao et al., 2006).

The construction of the Polavaram Dam in Andhra Pradesh has resulted in the mass eviction of tribal communities. Resultantly, forest areas were converged for the dam, which affected thousands of tribal households (Kumaran, 2013). A similar situation of tribes is also vivid from the descriptive study of Jaysawal and Saha (2018) on the impact of Pohang Iron and Steel Company (POSCO) on the tribes of Orissa. The vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) like *Paudi Bhuiyas* and *Juangs* were forcefully evicted from their land, denied their forest right, and eventually faced acute threats to their livelihood. Fernandes (2001) found that most tribes lost their rights over the Common Property Resources (CPRs) after displacement, which further resulted in economic impoverishment among the tribes. Mathur (2009a) observed that the loss of CPRs had drained the household budget resulting in impoverishment and deprivation. Similarly, the tribal-dominated regions of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh have been greatly impacted due to the Lower Subansiri Hydro Electric Project (LSHEP) in these two states. However, there was no direct displacement that occurred, but indirect displacement due to the loss of CPRs resulted in livelihood impoverishment among the tribal groups, specially Mishings of Assam and Adi people from Arunachal Pradesh, Koch-Kalita, Ahom, Sunuwal Kachries, Koibatra tribes in the regions (Hazarika, 2013).

Azeez et al. (2014) have also inferred that displacement has significantly deterred the lives and livelihood of the Meena Tribe due to the creation of the Sariska Tiger Reserve in Rajasthan. The source of livelihood of the community in the pre-displacement stage was forest and livestock, which drastically changed after displacement and led to impoverishment. Mahapatra et al. (2015) found significant changes in the household income and pattern of livelihood of Kharia tribal communities due to relocation resulted from Similipal Tiger and Biosphere Reserve in Orissa. One of the immediate relocation outcomes is livelihood diversification, which often deluges tribes and compels them to involve as menial laborers.

Fernandes et al. (2001) have asserted that development-induced displacement in Andhra Pradesh during 1951–1995 has negatively impacted people's land rights and livelihood, especially the tribal communities. The same indication was evident in Assam during 1947–2000 (Fernandes & Bharali, 2006) and West Bengal (Fernandes et al., 2006). In consolidation, the evidence from available literature underlines that the tribal population in India is adversely affected in the domains of land and livelihood due to DID. Resultantly, the tribal communities are impoverished and marginalized.

Impacts on Socio-Cultural Life

DID has extensively disrupted the social and cultural life of tribal communities in India. Traditional social structure and informal social networks, once popular among tribes, are now broken due to displacement (Mathur, 2009a). The establishment of development projects and subsequent entry of non-tribal communities into the tribal regions has brought tremendous changes in tribal life. The available literature on the impacts of development projects suggests serious chaos and havoc on the indigenous ways of tribal communities.

In his case study of Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada River, Flood (1997) asserted that displacement has culturally victimized the tribal communities in their land. Disturbance in their cultural and ecological niche is consequent to the breakdown of the family and other social ties. Similarly, Mathur (2009b) has also reiterated the ill effects of DID in the state of Orissa. The displaced were often called *budiloka* (ousted people), a derogatory remark in the local context. Decreased social status and subsequent non-acceptance in the mainstream often place them in a state of helplessness. Baruah (2003) underlined a drastic transition in tribal communities' cultural and social life in the northeastern states. The region's development has attracted many denizens (outsiders) in the region and has significantly disrupted the social, economic, and ecological niche of the tribal population. The intrusion of denizens in the region has significantly transformed the ethnicity of many tribal groups in these states.

Joseph and Beegom (2017) have found that development projects, that is, Silent Valley Project, have alienated the tribal communities living in the Attapady region of Kerala. The acquisition of lands

by the non-tribal communities and their settlement in the tribal regions has brought enormous changes in the primordial culture, languages, beliefs, and religious practices. The communal life of tribes has also been affected dramatically due to the weakening of cultural bonds and social ties. Tribal language is integrated into the non-tribal language, and nature worship and other religious practices have also been impacted. Mohanty (2011), in his empirical study on substantially affected families of tribes in the state of Orissa due to Mahanadi Coal Fields Limited, accentuated that the family and kinship system is highly fragmented. Tribal mutual solidarity and a strong community network are disrupted, resulting in social and cultural disintegration.

Equivalently, another study in Orissa by Pattnaik (2013) revealed the significant distortion in the cultural and social identity of tribes dwelling in the region due to Kashipur's mining-based refinery projects and Lanjigarh's mining-based refinery projects of Utkal Alumina International Limited (UAIL) and Vedanta Aluminium Limited (VAL). Displacement due to these projects destroyed the age-old tribal culture and folklore. They are on the verge of extinction, corresponding to modernity and alien culture. He further reiterated that the tribal world view, cosmology, religious life, is being endangered due to these development projects. To it what Padel and Das (2008) called "cultural genocide." One study from the mineral-rich state of Chhattisgarh by Sebastian and Azeez (2014) on the Baiga tribe found that DID has disintegrated the social and cultural life of this tribal group. Social disarticulation and subsequent disruption in social capital challenged their ethnic identity. The cultural disintegration and entry of various social evils are recorded among the Baiga tribe owing to assimilation with other communities. A more or less similar situation of degrading social status, cultural genocide, loss of close kinship and relationship, difficulty in marriage, loss of social ties and weakness of social fabric, and deterioration of social and cultural status are also evident in the available literature (Mahapatra 1998; Colchester, 2000; Fernandes, 2001; Ray & Saini, 2011; Chakroborty & Narayan, 2014; Dutta et al., 2018; Narasimham & Subbarao, 2018).

Besides severely impacting the lives of the tribal population in general, DID has brought enduring ordeal for the tribal women folks. They often faced discrimination, sexual exploitation, and constant

harassment from mining mafias. Deforestation and excessive mining resulted in the loss of many medicinal plants impacting women's natural health support system. Due to displacement, downward social and economic mobility has negated the social and economic status and dignity of tribal women (Das & Das 2015). Similarly, Narasimaham and Subbarao (2018) have discerned that mining industries in the tribal belt have significantly influenced the status of women. The encroachment of non-tribal communities in the regions and subsequent cultural assimilation has given rise to the unfurling of various social evils such as wife battering, alcoholism, and dowry. These, in turn, resulted in increased instances of domestic violence affecting the women folks at large. Fernandes and Raj (1992) have also asserted the increased domestic violence cases among the tribal community due to loss of land, livelihood, and a host of other reasons.

In her study, Ghose (2008) found that loss of land and forest due to mining and coal industries and subsequent DID have negatively impacted the tribal women. Women were forced to work in mining industries as miners without safety and security, which impacted their well-being. It further resulted in the loss of the symbiotic relationship between women and nature upon which they were dependent for their survival. One such outcome of this is an irreparable loss to the women's natural health support system due to the extinction of many medicinal plants in the tribal regions. In his critical study on the impact of development on the tribes in India, Debasree (2014a) found that displacement has degraded the lives of tribal women in Orissa, and they become the mere victims of exploitation and discrimination. Moreover, the loss of livelihood and employment opportunities forced tribal women to migrate to urban slums and accept menial works full of exploitation and harassment.

The Eurocentric approach to development has negated the social and cultural lives of tribes in India. In the name of development and mainstreaming, they were forced to evict themselves from their land and forest. Consequently, they lost their traditional ways of life. Tribal populations have their own belief system, notions of morality and ethics, close and harmonious relationship with nature, rich tradition of herbal medicine, traditional knowledge of weather and climate, and so forth. These tribal views were distorted owing to modernization and development. The ambitious and big-scale development projects, such as

dams, coal and mining, and thermal or hydro projects, adversely impact the tribal's social and cultural life. Moreover, the encroachment of non-tribal in the tribal areas has led to cultural assimilation.

Impact on Health and Education

It is evident from the analyzed research that displacement has a significant impact on the health and education of the tribal communities. The global literature on displacement also highlighted impacts in the domains of health. For instance, Cernea (1995) indicated eight types of impoverishment, including increased morbidity. Relocation results in psychological trauma and a host of parasitic and vector-borne diseases, making relocated populations vulnerable and susceptible to transmitted diseases. Similarly, Judge (1997) also contended that the community's relocation resulted in a new set of social hierarchy and collectivity, exposing them to more health risks that eventually affected their health and well-being. The robust and culturally rooted traditional health care system of tribal communities gets destroyed in dislocation and relocation, resulting in more health care deprivations. Flood (2007) has also underlined that the psychological well-being of oustees would be affected due to loss of culture, homestead, and economic security.

The tribal medicinal system is the by-product of their centuries-old association and sacred relations with nature and the environment. It holds a significant position in their culture (Negi & Singh, 2018). Conventional medicine is often obtained from nature and the environment. Massive mining, blasting, and deforestation for development caused a severe threat to this practice. Unplanned development projects heavily deteriorate health and traditional medicine and practices due to the forest and environmental loss. Azeez and Sebastian (2016) found a drastic change in traditional health practices and medicine of the Baiga Tribal community of Chhattisgarh due to the loss of land and forest due to DID. Baiga's rich tradition and knowledge of indigenous medicine are on the verge of extinction.

The Mullukurumbas tribe of Kerala, as studied by Joseph and Beegom (2017), has also been facing severe health issues such as anemia, tooth decay, scabies, kwashiorkor, marasmus, tuberculosis, and other venereal diseases due to change and alteration in the dietary habits and food culture. Besides

these, tribal populations are also facing mental and emotional strains. Mohanty's (2011) research on DID implications on Tribes of Orissa brought to the fore increased morbidity and mortality among the displaced tribal populations. He asserted that the Ib Valley coalfield project caused pollution, skin-related problems, eye irritation, diarrhea, and other diseases. Ghose (2008), in her study from gender perspectives on evaluating the mining industry's impact, enunciated how mining has significantly affected the health of tribal women. It is widely known that the lives and livelihood of tribes revolve around the land, forest, and nature, wherein women hold a pious and crucial position. Her life depends on nature for carrying out day-to-day activities ranging from fetching fodders, fuels, and water to collecting minor forest produce to sustain their livelihoods. They were forced to work as menial laborers in mining industries, where they were exposed to a host of health and other risks such as respiratory and reproductive problems, silicosis, leukemia, arthritis, and tuberculosis. She has further delineated that those children of tribal women who accompanied them to the workplace are exposed to more significant health risks.

In her study exploring the mental health concerns of tribal women in Andhra Pradesh, a southern state in India, Goessling (2010) brought to light how the psychological and mental well-being of tribal women are being tormented owing to mining-induced displacement. She asserted that excessive mining and exploitation of natural resources have resulted in the shrinkage of natural resources. It has, in turn, mounted the frustration, anxiety, stress, and constant fear of loss of land among women folks. Consequently, loss of appetite, sleep disorder, and other health risks were vivid among them. A similar situation among the tribal people was also vivid from various other literature, which highlighted the frequent psychological burden and stress. DID has caused severe psychological and social consequences for the displaced (Swain, 2014; Dutta et al., 2018).

The tribal population is behind in literacy level. Getting an education is still a distant dream for many tribal groups in India. DID has further aggravated the education situation of tribal communities. Displacement causes children to remain out of school, and in many cases, absenteeism increases. Kabra (2003) found increased inaccessibility to education for the Sahariya tribes in Madhya Pradesh in the

relocated places. A similar study by Mahapatra (1998) showed that children's education is seriously affected, as the provisions of schools in the relocated areas are lacking, resulting in children remaining out of school. The South Orissa Voluntary Association (n.d.) study has found that displacement forced children of tribal communities to leave school and work as laborers. In their review essay, Chakroborty and Narayan (2014) found mining-induced displacement has led to an exponential increase in school dropouts, and subsequently, they remain out of school. Moreover, once relocated to new places, the displaced never get an opportunity to re-admit their children into schools.

The literature on the impact of displacement on health and education is scanty in the Indian context. However, the available literature underlines that DID has significantly impacted the health and education of tribal communities. Moreover, due to inadequate and poor rehabilitative programs, tribal communities remain deprived of education and health accessibility. Consequently, they lag in health and education indicators of social development and constantly perform worse.

Human Rights Violation

Human rights violation is also perturbing besides social-economic implications of displacement. The growth of development projects in the last six decades in India has resulted in the loss of tribal customary and collective rights over land, forest, and other resources. Sharma (2003) highlighted that most development projects are established in resource-rich areas dominated by tribal populations, and often their rights are violated. The impacts of such sheer violation of the human rights of indigenous people are the long-term escalation of violence on an ethnic and religious basis (Terminski, 2013). Nayak (2013) studied the case of people evicted for the construction of the Hirakund Dam in Orissa and found that DID had a significant impact on equality and justice as they lost opportunities and self-respect. A similar study on Orissa by Xaxa (2013) also pointed out the human rights issues wherein the government and other officials failed to provide promised compensation to the oustees.

The constitution of India has provided the right to live with dignity and move freely anywhere in the country. Therefore, force displacement is a severe blow to the constitutional and human rights of the displaced (Hemadri et al., 1999). It is unjust because it violates

the property rights of individuals and the rights to self-determination (Stanley, 2004), which are the central and core principles of various international human rights covenants and bills. Kothari (1996) has outlined the social and cultural trauma faced by the victims of development. One of the often-neglected areas of concern during the pre and post-implementation of projects is the gross violation of human rights of the displaced through threats, harassment, police actions, forced entry into the villages, and brutal behavior of the officials.

Baruah (2003), in his study of tribes in the northeastern states of India, mentioned that the loss of tribal lands to the non-tribal communities due to development or industrialization has resulted in a constant source of ethnic conflict counter-insurgency operations and human rights violations. Similarly, Goswami (2019) also showed that land acquisition in the name of development lacks sensitivity to human consequences and leads to human rights violations. Sahoo (2005) also asserted that tribal communities are deprived and denied rights to life and livelihood in the wake of development and displacement. Mathur (2009b) has pointed out the sheer and gross violation of the rights of tribal, specifically communal rights over land and forest. Verma (2016) has depicted the mass violation of the human rights of tribal populations in the regions of Singur and Nandigram in West Bengal. Land acquisition is one of the controversial issues during the process of development projects. However, the Government of India's Land Acquisition Act of 1984 sets guidelines saying that Gram Sabha should be consulted before land acquisition in tribal areas. The fact is that it never happened, and the land is acquired without the consent and notice of the local Panchayat, which is a sheer violation of rights delineated under the constitutional and legal measures. Besides, incidents of violence and subsequent deaths are also reported from the tribal areas wherein people resisted against the state power and private owners of the development projects.

The State of Rehabilitative Measures

The rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced have always been a serious concern. Government machinery fails to address these issues upfront by DID. One of such failures is that State governments do not have official records and data on the number of persons displaced. Resultantly, many displaced remain

out of rehabilitation and resettlement packages. The National Rehabilitation & Resettlement Policy-2007 followed the spirit of colonial LAA for the benefit of the corporates and capitalists, which further resulted in the resource alienation of the poor (Sahaee, 2003; Guha, 2005; Palit, 2004). This policy fails to provide the desired and actual compensation package for loss accrued in land acquisition and the consequent displacement of millions of people. Fernandes (2008) asserted that the backlog of the population was displaced in terms of getting resettlement and rehabilitation. His data indicated that only one-third of the displaced were resettled in a planned manner. Sharma (2010) has shown that displacement has forced many marginal farmers and tribal communities in the states of Orissa, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh to relocate from their homesteads without genuine relief and rehabilitation measures.

The first-ever displacement after the independence of India has resulted from the Hirakud dam construction (Hemadri et al., 1999). This project displaced around 20,000 people from 249 villages, and it could rehabilitate only 300 out of 1,636 families (Reddy, 1992). Debasree (2014b) reported another case of Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC), under which many dams were constructed in West Bengal. The Maithon and Panchet dams under DVC displaced 5,157 families, but only 464 families were rehabilitated. Similarly, the other development projects, such as the Rourkela steel plant, mines, and the Mandira Dam in the state of Orissa have displaced 4,251 families, of which 2,074 were tribal families (Debasree, 2014b). In Jharkhand, the establishment of Heavy Engineering Corporation in 1958 acquired 37.23 square kilometers of tribal land and displaced 12,990 Oraon and Munda tribal populations. There is a massive backlog of compensation to be paid to the displaced (Debasree, 2014b).

An estimation by the Centre for Science and Environment (as cited in Mohanty, 2005), out of 36,000 households, only 12,000 households were rehabilitated. In the case of Pong Dam, it stands for only 9,000 out of 33,000 households, and in the case of the Ukai Project, only 3,500 out of 18,500 families were resettled. It is evident from this case illustration that only 22.5 % of the displaced were resettled and rehabilitated. Mohanty (2009) further deliberated that the amount of compensation is arbitrarily determined with the involvement of lawyers and other mediators.

There is bureaucratic corruption involved in the process of getting compensation. Similarly, in the case of Gir Maldharis displaced due to the creation of sanctuary and later national park in Gujarat, there are discrepancies in the rehabilitation process. Choudhary (2000) found that out of 592 families, only 458 families were resettled with land and houses, whereas 134 families could not resettle due to the non-availability of house sites and proper water facilities. There were also significant discrepancies in the allocation of budget for the resettlement plan, reflecting the flawed policy of the state government of Gujarat in resettling and rehabilitating the Maldharis.

Baxi (2000) argued that there are two flaws in the process of compensation for the displaced. Firstly, many displaced people who did not formally have land before displacement were ignored. Secondly, people do not get cultivable lands of their choice in the relocated area. The compensation in monetary income and “land for land” is disproportionately executed in many cases. In terms of monetary compensation, Ray (2000) argued that monetary compensation/benefits in the rehabilitation process are supposed to improve the conditions of the displaced, but most of such efforts do not reach the people. Maitra (2009) also showed that land for land compensation was not fulfilled in the Sardar Sarovar Dam’s displacement.

Compensation paid is highly inadequate in many cases and lacks any further judicial probe or redressal. Mishra (2002) analyzed four major projects: the Hirakud dam project, the Rengali dam project, the Upper Kolab project, and the Upper Indravati project in Orissa. He delineated that there is still a backlog in land compensation for land and cash or monetary compensation. Women and children were often overlooked in relief and rehabilitation programs. Moreover, discrepancies and discrimination based on gender in the process of compensation are recorded in many states (Agnihotri, 1996; Thukral, 1996; Fernandes, 2001; Parasuraman, 2016).

With the enactment of the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (LARR) 2013 by the Central Government, it is speculated that it will be a landmark policy for effective and actual rehabilitation of displaced or project affected families. However, there is a way forward in the actual implementation of this policy.

Conclusion

This review was an attempt to understand the impacts of DID on the tribal communities of India. The appraisal and synthesis of the available evidence-based suggest some critical issues and concerns regarding the impacts of DID on the tribal communities in India. The Eurocentric model of development has brought great miseries to this already marginalized and vulnerable population. In most cases, the very right to land, forest, and livelihood was denied, which is central to the lives and existence of tribal communities in India. The relocation has resulted in extreme poverty and impoverishment in the majority of the DID cases. The literature synthesized also reflected that DID culminates in the destruction of the socio-cultural fabric of the tribal community. Losses of cultural identity, the degraded status of women, and the extinction of traditional cultural practices were prominent due to relocation and displacement. The available literature also showcases that DID has brought significant changes in health and education. School dropouts, poor attendance, and inaccessibility to schools become prominent issues in the post-displacement periods in many tribal communities. Psychological and mental health issues are also reported as common among the displaced population. The loss of access to the forest has a severe blow to the traditional medicinal practices of the tribal communities. The process of land acquisition, relocation, and resettlement has caused a series of human rights violations. The available evidence suggests that the rights accorded to the tribal communities in different national and international frameworks were grossly violated. The instances of violence and ill-treatment toward tribal communities become a “common” consequence of the land acquisition process.

There is substantive evidence that the government grossly neglects the resettlement and rehabilitation of the victims of DID. Moreover, in the process of rehabilitation, the interest of corporations and the government is protected. Tribal communities are deprived and impoverished in the absence of substantive rehabilitative measures. There is still a long pendency of rehabilitation of the tribal communities post displacement. The provided compensation hardly suffices the loss accrued due to displacement. This literature review also evidences some critical gaps in the current literature on the DID and tribal community.

One such area is health and education challenges in the post-displacement period. Studies on gender implications of displacement in the tribal regions are lacking. The degrading medicinal practices of tribal communities and their relation with DID also deserve high research attention. Therefore, future researchers can explore these crucial domains empirically to understand the phenomena in more depth.

Tribal culture and identity are negatively impacted due to their relocation into areas that are dominated by non-tribal communities. Consequently, they are alienated and discriminated. Upon relocation, government policy should look into the aspect of retaining their cultural and ethnic identity. Measures to protect their customary and constitutional rights should be taken into consideration. In addition to this, CPRs are of great importance for tribal communities. CPRs are inherent to their right to self-conception and vested in groups as a whole. Unfortunately, CPRs are not legally entitled as a group or individual assets due to which land lost to it is not counted as land for land compensation, leaving thousands of displaced tribes landless. Hence, the government should make a policy to confer land for land compensation to such groups who lost their land.

The current trends indicate that India will continue to have voluminous projects requiring displacement and relocation of tribal communities in the near future. Therefore, the government must address the issues of the displaced tribal population at a priority level. Conferring the rights, provisions, and entitlements suggested by the international and national framework in the resettlement and rehabilitation of the tribal communities should be ensured. Policymakers should consider these broader impacts when planning policies and interventions for the tribal communities who were displaced or to be displaced.

Declaration of Ownership

This report is our original work.

Conflict of Interest

None.

Ethical Clearance

This study was approved by our institution.

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