

Women, Mining and Displacement

*Report of a Pilot Study Conducted
in Jharkhand*

Nesar Ahmad



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NEW DELHI

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of
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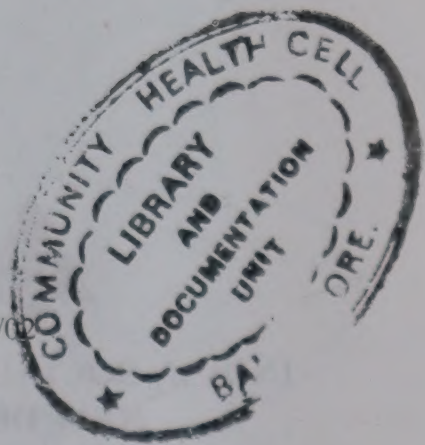
ISBN 81-87218-58-4

Published by
Indian Social Institute
10 Institutional Area
Lodi Road, New Delhi-110 003

Printed at
Evan Printing Service
B-25, 1st Floor, Subhash Chowk
Laxmi Nagar, Delhi

Cover Courtesy:
Roger Begrich, Indigenous Affairs 3-4/02

Rs. 50; US\$ 5.95



WH-100
08659 P03

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Acknowledgment

Many people have helped, given suggestions and encouraged me in completing this study. Fr. Fernando Franco guided me through out the study. It was his guidance and encouragement that I could think in innovative ways. I am thankful to him for his valuable and affectionate guidance.

Fr. Tony Herbert of Prerna Resource Centre (PRC), Hazaribagh gave valuable insights about the issue, the area, and the people and was always very helpful and kind to me. Sisters Bina and Gema of Chotanagpur Adivasi Seva Samiti (CASS) were also very helpful and kind to me. Fillen, Mahalal, Margret, and Kalista (CASS), and Alexander and Shanker (PRC) took me to meet the people in their respective areas. The days, I spent with them in those villages of Jharkhand are memorable. I thank them all.

I should also acknowledge a person who I have never met. Ms. Malika Basu. I read a paper written by her on the subject and sent her an e-mail. She also, through e-mail gave some important suggestions, which I received when I was in the field. These suggestions helped me during the data collection.

I am also thankful to my colleagues at the Institute. Colleagues of Tribal Studies Unit, Library and Dalit Units, to name a few. Ms. Madhuri Paliwal who did the data entry and Mr. Maheshwar Singh who helped me learning the SPSS package. Fr. Alex Ekka was also always ready to help. Everybody at the Institute was helpful and cooperative. I am also thankful to Dr. Prakash Louis for giving me a chance to work in the Institute, which in turn gave me this opportunity to work on such an important issue.

And finally, I am grateful to the displaced women and men of Hazaribagh and Chatra districts, who - in spite of the fact that they are fed-up of interviews, studies and research - spared some time and took pain to tell me their suffering in detail.

Nesar Ahmad

Preface

Women suffer more than men on account of displacement caused by development projects. But women belonging to the tribal or Dalit communities suffer still more on account of social prejudices. These are the realities both before and after displacement. Practically in every area they are discriminated against in the family, in society and on every aspect of compensation, resettlement and rehabilitation. They suffer much deprivation despite the fact that they are the main providers and the homemakers.

Displacement on account of coalmining unleashes its own kind of civic hazards and socio-economic problems for the displaced and the project affected people, especially the women. The study made by Mr. Nesar Ahmed has tried to analyze the extent of deprivation the tribal and Dalit women suffer at a few coalmining projects in the Hazaribagh region of Jharkhand. It's a matter of serious concern how women suffer more than men in each of these impoverishment risks: landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, increasing food insecurity, morbidity and mortality, lack of access to common property resources, marginalization and social disarticulation. Besides these, Nesar's two important findings in his study are impact of psychological pressure and socio-cultural risks faced by women. To ameliorate this situation he has tendered few recommendations also. His argument to ensure the basic resettlement and rehabilitation benefits for women is based on the grounds of equality and human rights, and not on any act of charity by the Government or the R&R officials.

This is a seminal study on the impact of coalmining induced displacement in Jharkhand on women with specific reference to the Hazaribagh region. Mr. Nesar Ahmed did this study when he worked with the Tribal Studies Unit at Indian Social Institute, New Delhi. We are grateful to him and to our colleagues in the field, especially to Tony Herbert of Prerna Resource Center, Hazaribagh and Bina

and Gemma of Chotanagpur Adivasi Seva Samiti, Kasiadih. We also express our gratitude to all the other team members acknowledged by Mr. Nesar Ahmed. We hope that this study will further help in the struggle for women's empowerment and justice especially in Jharkhand.

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Introduction

Development induced displacement is not a recent phenomenon in the country. A large number of people have been displaced by all sorts of development projects e.g. dams, industries, mines, national parks, firing ranges, etc. Most of the displaced people belong Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste categories. They are poor, landless and assestless, and people whose life before displacement was dependent mainly on agriculture and common property resources. The people, mainly, the Scheduled Tribes who have been owning land are reduced to poverty and misery through the process of land alienation.

Tribal Studies Unit, in the Department of Research of Indian Social Institute has been studying the problem of displacement, its causes and extent as well as its impact on people all over the country for almost a decade. In this connection a need was felt to study the impact of involuntary displacement, particularly on women. This pilot study is an effort in that direction.

The main goal of the study is to see the impact of displacement due to mining on the women of Hazaribagh district. We will also try to explore the possibilities of providing a plan of action with the groups working there for addressing the issues with people.

In this study an attempt was made to examine:

- i. the social and economic impact on displacement on women belonging to the displaced families.
- ii. the impact of new economic policy of liberalisation and privatisation on mining and on the displaced people.

The report of the study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One gives an introduction to the issue of displacement in the light of the available literature on the issue. It focuses particularly on the past and the present state of coal mining in the country and the recent

changes introduced in the coal policy. It also looks into the state of displacement in Jharkhand and Hazaribagh district in particular induced by the coal mining.

Chapter Two is on the methodology adopted for the study. Effort has been made to develop a model to have a better understanding of the impact of displacement on women.

In Chapter Three, socio-economic profile of Hazaribagh and Chatra districts is given. This chapter also presents the status of displacement in the two districts.

Chapter Four is the main one, where findings of the study are presented. The data collected is analysed according to the model discussed in chapter two on methodology. This chapter also gives summaries of the group discussion with women and the interviews with men and women.

Chapter Five presents a summary of the major findings and recommendations.

We hope that this study will contribute to the struggle of the people of Jharkhand against unjust development and its disastrous consequences.

Chapter One

Status of Displacement and Rehabilitation in India and Jharkhand

Displacement is one of the fall-outs of the present development process. In the name of national interest, development projects have displaced millions of people all over the country, during the last 50 years. There is also a sizable number of people who might not have been displaced from their original habitations but have lost their means of livelihood e.g. fields, forest, grazing land etc. And so these people, referred to as project affected persons (PAPs), are also the victims of the development process.

One notable feature of those displaced persons (DPs) or PAPs is that the majority of them are assetless poor like landless labourers and small and marginal farmers of ST and SC communities. Their life style is such that they depend largely on the natural resources for their livelihood. The indigenous people, known officially as scheduled tribes, have been living in and around the forests for centuries and have a symbiotic relationship with the environment. They have protected forests, cultivated the lands, and adored the rivers, water falls etc. and have developed a mutually supportive relationship with the environment.

But with the onslaught of a commercially motivated and growth oriented development process, which is based mainly on maximum exploitation of the natural resources, the very base of their life is being uprooted. They are being dispossessed of the means of production, to which they had access for centuries and are being further marginalized. What is even worse, in the process of this dispossession the States, private companies and other agents of development have not shown even the minimum degree of sensitivity and respect for those people and their rights. They are rarely given

prior information of the impending displacement. Their consent is never in the agenda and rehabilitation is not an issue to be bothered about for the policy makers and the implementing agencies. Most of the displaced people have to 'wait' and are still 'waiting' even for decades to be rehabilitated. Rehabilitation is often inadequate and lacks basic facilities. Displacement of people without their consent and without making all the resources available required for rehabilitation is a violation of people's right to life with dignity.

The Development Debate

This problem of displacement is a result of the model of development chosen for our country. The development process based on the experiences of the so-called "developed Western countries," is one of higher economic growth, based on maximum exploitation of resources. However, those countries had their colonies to exploit and extract resources, human and natural, till about the middle of the last century. The third world countries have no such privileges. This model of development 'focuses on individual competition and therefore, does not believe in access to resources but in its control and ownership' (Tondon, 1993: 51). This process of development dispossesses people from their common control and access to resources. And the net result is further marginalization and impoverishment of people. 'Some people enjoy the gains of development while others bear its pains' (Cernea, 2000: 3659). 'What we are seeing is, at national level, a massive transfer of resources from one section of the people to another... Control of these resources is transferred from traditional communities to the corporate sector' (BJA & NBJK, 1993: 73). Besides depriving people of the control over resources, the modern economy and development also impoverish people with their dogmatic believe in and unjust use of technology. The technological revolution, as it is called, again displaces people from their work and employment. The artisans and those involved in traditional production systems are victims of mass scale industrialization and technological revolution. 'The Indian textile industry offers one instance of how expansion of the modern technological system and poverty go hand in hand' (Alvares, 1992: 9). The thrust of adopting 'internationally competitive' technology, particularly those with export potential, and speeding production

through greater efficiency all leads to a development process, which eliminates three large groups of textile producers: those working in the cottage woolen sector, the handloom sector and the handloom printing trade (Alvares, 1992: 9-10). The idea of modern technology, growth and progress, all associated with development is so profound and strong that nothing, not even a threat to and a loss of people's lives, is considered to be more important than development.

This type of 'development' becomes an ideology, which is based on a presumption: 'the replicability of situations or events from one part of the world in another' (Alvares, 1992: 93). Alvares in his book *Science Development and Violence* describes the violence (*himsa*) of development (and of science) on people. He concludes:

Development, as currently understood and executed, must remain directed against people, and therefore must inevitably increase poverty and unhappiness under the guise of eliminating them. It seems obvious now that the idea of development has been used to induce people to accept not only enormous sacrifices ('in the national interest'), but also mutilation and destruction of their cultural endowments and their physical and moral environments. (Alvares, 1992: 94)

Since development is so closely associated with modern science and technology, it is supposed that transfer of technology from the first world is the only way to develop the third world's poor, undeveloped, least developed and developing societies. With this transfer of technology come tied and conditional aids and loans, as without capital development is not possible in a capitalist world. These loans coming from developed countries and their institutions earn huge returns for the developed countries. "The World Bank generates \$3 of business for every dollar it lends to the Third World for 'development'. 'Development' allows \$500 billion to flow out from the Third World to the rich West in interest and debt payments and low prices for Third World products, While \$50 billion goes in the opposite direction as development aid" (Shiva 1997: 12).

Another problem with the present development model is that it has a clear gendered, patriarchal bias. 'Modern science was a consciously gendered, patriarchal activity. Science as male venture, based on the subjugation of female nature, and female sex provided support for the polarization of gender. Patriarchy as the new scientific and

technological power was a political need of emerging industrial capitalism' (Basu, 2000: 16). Based on science and technology, development has gendered implications. Also, male bias in development policy is encouraged by male bias in everyday attitudes and actions, conscious and unconscious (Basu 2000: 16). Mining in India can be taken as one of the examples of the male biases in development and technology. Kuntula Lahiri-Dutt (2001: 4213) in her study of Raniganj collieries in West Bengal, shows how with the technological improvement as well as the so called protectionist measures and acts (for women) taken by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Government of India (GOI), women found themselves thrown out from the mining activities. During the initial years of mining in the country, women labourers were very much equal partners of their men counterparts.

Sustainability of development is another important issue. The large scale unbridled exploitation of natural resources poses a threat to the sustainability of the development process we have adopted. Forests are disappearing, lands are being degraded, water and air are getting polluted, animals and plants face extinction and all this has direct linkages with the kind of development we have espoused. And again, the ecological destruction too hits the poor and marginalized section of the society the most. Because, they are the people who are dependent largely on the natural resources.

The present development process impoverishes people, creates unemployment, increases inequality, and destroys the environment. Forced displacement by the development projects is only one among the fall-outs.

However, globalization has replaced now development as the focal point of dominant world thinking and the unofficial obituary for development has been written (Alvares 1997: 10), but what is important here is that globalization is essentially the same project of development with even more ruthless rules. Now even the token reference to people's welfare is dropped and everything from water to food, to clothes and to computers is left for the free markets and transnational companies to take care of. Free trade and foreign investment are still necessary as life veins for the 'globalized' world,

and international finance organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and organizations like the World Trade Organization ensure that the project of globalization goes on.

Displacement in India

In India the development process adopted after the Independence was that of rapid economic growth based on massive industrialization. The thrust of rapid economic growth and massive industrialization led to the construction of big power and irrigation projects, big industries, large-scale mining and construction of roads and railways. All this requires land and government acquired land for the development projects, mainly, through the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (amended in 1984). Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act, 1957 is another act which is used to acquire land for coal mining. The land acquired for development projects are of all types i.e. forest land, agriculture land, villages, ponds, etc. In order to 'develop' the nation and the region, people living on and dependent on these lands are forced to get displaced.

The total number of the displaced population in the country is an issue of confusion and debate. The government has had no records of the displaced population due to its development activities. Even if in some cases it is available it's considered to be an under-estimation of the true figures. In the absence of any exact official project-wise record of displaced population, different studies and estimates suggest alarming figures. According to rough estimates, the total number of people displaced by development projects in India can be anywhere between two to twenty million (Pandey, 1998:3). According to an estimate the number of those displaced by dams alone is 216 lakhs (Pranjpey, 1988: 8 cited in Pandey, 1998: 4). In the absence of firm project wise data it has been speculated that 213 lakhs persons have been displaced by the development projects in the country during 1951-1990. This estimate is higher than the figure suggested by the same author in earlier studies (Fernandes, 1998: 250). This estimation is still a conservative estimate. The table below gives the number of displaced people in the country according to this study.

**Table 1.1 : Persons Displaced by various categories of Projects
1951-1990.**

S. No.	Type of Project	Total DPs	No. of Rehabilitated	Backlog
01.	Mines	25,50,000	6,30,000	19,20,000
02.	Dams	1,64,00,000	41,00,000	1,23,00,000
03.	Industries	12,50,000	3,75,000	8,75,000
04.	Wildlife	6,00,000	1,25,000	4,75,000
05.	Others	5,00,000	1,50,000	3,50,000
Total		2,13,00,000	53,80,000	1,59,20,000

Source: Fernandes, 1998: 251

Note: The number of rehabilitated persons has been calculated accepting the conclusion of many studies that not more than 25% have been resettled.

A major characteristic of the displaced population is that most of them are assetless, landless, poor families of SC and ST communities. Development projects displacing people are generally located in areas where natural resources are found abundantly. And these are the areas where tribal populations reside. According to an estimate by the Commissioner of ST and SC, even though the tribal people are 7.5% of the total Indian population, over 40% of those displaced till 1990 came from these communities (Kothari 1996: 1477). What is worse, this ratio seems to be increasing. A recent official report based on a comprehensive study of 110 projects concludes that of the 16.94 lakh people displaced by these projects, almost 50% (8.14 lakhs) were tribals (Pandey, 1998: 4). Another study of 20 representative dams finds that 59% of the total displaced by these dams were tribals (Kothari, 1996:1477). 'The Central Water Commission's *Register for Large Dams 1990* is also suggestive. Of the 32 dams of more than 50 meters height completed between 1951 and 1970, only nine (22.13%) were in tribal areas. Between 1971 and 1990, 85 additional dams of similar sizes were either completed or under construction. However, by now not only were they taller and more sophisticated, around 60% of them were in tribal region' (Kothari, 1996: 1477).

People have been displaced by all sorts of development projects. While displacement caused by dams has been a matter of concern in development debates, 'little attention is given to another sector

(mining) which causes heavy displacement of tribal people' (Bhenagra, 1996: 647).

Mining: Major Cause of Displacement in Jharkhand

Mining is one of the major economic activities in the state of Jharkhand. Jharkhand is estimated to have more than a third of the country's mineral wealth. The state has more than one third of coal deposits of the country and is the only region where coking coal is mined. It has half of the country's known reserves of mica, 23 percent iron ore, and 34 percent of copper reserves (Ekka and Asif, 2000: 36). A number of other major minerals are also abundantly found in the region. Coalmines in Bihar contributed approximately 60 percent of the country's 200 Mts. coal production at the beginning of the 1990's (BJA & NBJK, 1993: 1). In 1998, however, total coal production of Bihar mines was 76.51 Mts., 26 percent of total national coal production (276.93 Mts.) (Prasad and Tiwary 2001: 220).

Because of abundant availability of natural resources, the newly created state of Jharkhand is probably one of the most rapidly developing regions of the country. Industrialization began in the region with the establishment of the first coal mining industry in Raniganj. In the year 1843 the first joint stock Company M/s Bengal Coal Company was formed. The working of Jharia, Bokaro and Karanpura coalfields started in 1856. The opening of coal mining in Dhanbad area during the second half of the 19th century and the establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in Jamshedpur in Singhbhum district in 1907 marked the beginning of the large scale exploitation of minerals and other industrial resources in this area (Arecparampil, 1995: 6). After Independence, the region remained one of the favorite destinations of the mining, power and irrigation projects. Prior to 1970-71, coal was mined in a haphazard manner by private mine owners. After nationalization of coking coal in 1971 and non- coking coal in 1973 the entire coal industry was entrusted to the Coal India Limited (CIL), a public sector enterprise. Three of the eight subsidiaries of Coal India (i.e. Bharat Coking Coal Limited - BCCL, Eastern Coalfields Limited - ECL, and Central Coalfields Limited - CCL) are actively working in the state

of Jharkhand. Another subsidiary, Central Mine Planning and Institute Limited (CMPDIL) is also headquartered in Ranchi.

CCL is located in Jharkhand, Orissa, UP and MP. In Jharkhnad, the company's operations spread over Palamu, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, and Bokaro and Giridih districts. The command area of CCL comprises of 11 coalfields: Giridih, East Bokaro, West Bokaro, Ramgarh, North Karanpur, South Karanpura, Dalttonganj, Auranga, Hutar, Jyanti and Sherghati. The total area of these coalfields is approximately 2,700 sq. Km, however, only 1,750 sq. Km is amenable for coal mining (information gathered by local NGOs). CCL has 69 coaleries, and 5 coal washeries under revenue production, 30 mining projects, 20 non-mining projects and one washery under development construction (FIAN, 2001: 6).

After nationalization, coal mining grew at a much higher rate. Coal production in the country increased from 56.9 Mts. in 1971-72 to 299 Mt. in 1995-96. The method of mining has also undergone major changes, with most of the mining now done through open cast mining instead of underground mining. Coal production through open cast mining increased from 19.8 Mt. in 1973-74 to 225 Mt. in 1996-97. Whereas, the production through underground mining increased from 58.4 Mt to 74 Mt during the same period (Das and Parikh, 1999:126). The open cast mining requires land on a much larger scale than the underground mining and, thus, displaces more people from their lands. Environmental concerns are greater since "open cast mining operations lead to deforestation and devegetation of the area where they take place. Such operations are the most damaging for forests and water resources" (Pandey, 1998:7).

All the development projects including mining acquire land on very large scale. A characteristic feature of the industrial units opened during 1950-70 in the Jharkhand region was that they were large both in terms of investment and their land requirement (Ekka and Asif, 2000: 56). They have all acquired land and have displaced people. The total land acquired for development projects in Jharkhand during 1951-90 is 1495947.04 acres (Ekka and Asif, 2000: 67). This figure, the study believes, is an underestimation and a conservative one. The population displaced by the development

projects during the period, as estimated by the study, is 1,503,017, in which 41% are ST, 14% are SC, and the rest are of other communities. About one third of the total land acquired is being used for mining, and mining has displaced about 27% (coal mining 18% and non-coal mining 9%) of the total displaced population in the state of Jharkhand (Ekka and Asif, 2000: 95).

Recent Changes in Mining Policy

The mining policy of the government has also changed with the introduction of the new economic policy during the early 1990's. The Coal Mines (Nationalisation) Act, 1973 was amended in 1993 to allow captive operations for the private sector. This was in addition to the already existing provision for iron and steel companies. Washing operations were also privatized and the import of coking coal was put on the open general license list. Foreign participation was also allowed. In 1997, major policy changes were also announced by the government. Now coal mining has become open for private companies not only for captive consumption but also for sale. Other policy changes like decontrolling of prices and reduction of import duties were also introduced (Das and Parikh, 1999: 128).

With the opening up of the Indian economy during the late 1980s, the entry of private companies and multinationals has taken place mainly as collaboration between CIL and different multinationals (See BJA & NBJK, 1993: 2) also (FIAN 2000: 7), like the Piparwar Open Cast Project started in collaboration with an Australian company, White Industries Australia Limited and is funded by the Australian government. India Coal Sector Rehabilitation Project¹

Box - 1

Upcoming mining projects in Jharkhand and Hazaribagh

23 projects are planned in the North Karanpura valley, of which,
6 are at approval stage
10 are under formulation
7 are on the opening stage

A dossier on mining in Hazaribagh by FIAN gives a list of 17 new mining blocks, including Piparwar and Ashoka, which have already started, in the North Karanpura mining fields. Every so-called mining block may eventually have up to five projects (FIAN, 2000: 13).

funded by the World Bank and others strives for better efficiency, lowering costs and reduction of surplus staff and closure of loss making mines. It also favours eliminating import duties and qualitative value pricing of coal (Bhengra, 1996: 647).

All these developments are bound to have far reaching consequences. The improved technical efficiency with the entry of MNCs will acquire land and displace people at increasing pace on one hand and the reduction of surplus staff would mean fewer jobs for people. The CIL's much hyped policy of 'one job per family' (subject to conditions) was a good strategy to obtain people's consent. However, government's own data suggests that this policy was never implemented with its full spell, and CIL gave jobs to only a fraction of the displaced families. According to the committee on rehabilitation of displaced tribals due to development, CIL could employ persons only from 30.33 percent of the displaced families, during 1981-85 (see table below).

Table – 1.2 : Employment given to the DPs by the CIL's subsidiaries

Sl. No.	Name of Company	Number of displaced family	Number of displaced persons*	Job given to one member of family	% of family
1.	Eastern Coalfields Ltd.	14,750	81,100	4,915	33.32
2.	Central Coalfields Ltd.	7,928	43,600	3,984	50.25
3.	Western Coalfields Ltd.	6,232	34,300	2,250	36.10
4.	Bharat Coking Coal Ltd	3,841	21,100	752	19.58
Total		32,751	180,100	11,901	30.33

Source: MoHA, GOI, 1985, cited in Fernandes, 1998:231

* Calculated as 5.5 persons per family.

After the new policy, percentage of the families getting job is likely to decrease further as retrenchment of old workers and employing new workers can not go together. CCL has already started cutting its workforce in as early as 1988-89. 1,800 workers during 1988-89 and 2,550 more during the next year were removed from the company's workforce (BJA and NBJK, 1993: 9-10). A critique of the draft rehabilitation policy of Coal India (1994) by Jarkhand Janadikar Andolan (JJA) observed that CIL in so many words declared that there were 'no jobs' and 'no land' for the displaced

population. All these indicate a further misery of the displaced people (Bhengra, 1996: 648).

The advent of liberalization is also marked with easing up the environmental norms and rules. In 1997 a committee was set up by the Ministry of Mines for monitoring and reviewing the environmental aspects of mining activities. The proposed changes put before the committee for its considerations are clearly to undermine the environmental concerns (Kothari, Ashish 2000: 47-48). The Ministry of Mines suggested that no environmental clearance be required for mining areas up to 50 ha. (which is currently required for mines above 5ha.).

Land Acquisition, Compensation and Rehabilitation

India has no national rehabilitation policy. Some of the state governments and some of the public sector companies, whose operations displace people at very large scale, e.g. CIL (CIL 1994: 345), NTPC (NTPC 1993: 331) etc. do have their own rehabilitation policies. In the early 1994 some social activists (NGOs) secured copies of draft rehabilitation policies being formulated by the Ministries of Water Resource Development and Rural Development. But these are still in the draft form. The laws which are instrumental in acquiring land like the Land Acquisition Act and Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act, have no provisions for rehabilitation and only compensation for land is considered enough in those acts. Even the rehabilitation policies formulated by the CIL and NTPC are not much concerned about the rights of DPs to be rehabilitated. They declared their policies either under the pressure from the external funding agency like the World Bank (as in case of CIL) or their concern was to complete the project on time (as in the case of NTPC) as protests by the DPs delayed the projects (the project is important and not the people).

*Both the legislations seek to acquire land and provide for cash-compensation to those whose lands are acquired at market value. Although through amendments to the Land Acquisition Act, there has been some increase in the amount of compensation to those whose lands are acquired under this act, the Coal Bearing Areas Act has undergone practically no change since its coming into force.

But the basic inadequacy or weakness of these land acquisition legislations is their total indifference to, and ignorance of economic and socio-cultural implications that follow from land acquisition and its impact on those whose lands are acquired.' (Pandey 1998: 7)

'Provision of cash compensation for the land and structure on it, through these legislations, legitimises the gross injustice and social violence by reducing the due rights and interests of the oustees into claims, and turning their eternal losses into temporary compensation. Both the Acts recognise only the individuals, and not collective or community rights and traditional usufruct rights. Again the Acts recognize only the legal record of rights. Thus, those who have encroached upon government land for generations but do not have any records of right, or have traditionally depended on the common property resources (CPR), or have survived by rendering services to the village community as a whole, are not entitled to get any compensation according to the present legislation.' (Pandey 1998: 7-8)

'The situation of rehabilitation and resettlement is such that, as a number of studies suggest, only about 25% of the total DPs have been rehabilitated (Fernandes, 1998: 250). Many studies have focused on inappropriate payment of compensation by the project authorities. There are cases of inadequate compensation, disparities in fixation of compensation, cheating in payment – especially to tribals – and many instances of exploitation by land owners, money lenders and lawyers.' (Pandey, 1998: 8)

Looking into the problems of development induced displacement; we find some studies on the impact of displacement on people in general. However, women, considering their status in society and also the fact that they are even more dependent on and close to natural resources, suffer more. Their right over land is not recognized and in compensation they are not considered as equal partners. Most of the policies and laws related to rehabilitation have no provision for female headed households or widows without adult sons or daughters. Compensatory jobs also go mainly to men, and women have to go back to homes or look for wage labour work outside (Ganguly Thukral, 1996: 1502, Fernandes, 1998: 290-91).

Displaced women who earlier used to fetch water, collect fodder and fuel-wood from nearby places now have to cover longer distances. Sometimes some or all of these resources are not available near the host place, and women have to suffer because these are considered to be their responsibilities. In some cases the DPs/PAPs are forced to sell their cattle because grazing land is not available near the new place (Ganguly Thukral, 1996: 1501, Fernandes, 1998: 89-90).

Given the high mortality rates among women, it is likely that they will be worst affected by displacement induced morbidity. Similarly, the nutritional health status of women, which is lower than that of men even under normal circumstances, is bound to proportionately go down in the event of an overall decrease in health status caused by displacement. In some of the resettled villages of Sardar Sarover Project the per capita intake of calories has shown a fairly significant drop. (Ganguly Thukral, 1996: 1502)

The disintegration of the community network caused by displacement affect the women more severely than men. It is reported that there was a sudden increase in breaking of marriages because of unemployment and other problems. Tribal women who generally enjoy a better social status in their communities are now treated according to the status of women in host villages. They in some cases find themselves pushed into their homes falling into *purdah* system that did not exist earlier (Ganguly Thukral, 1996:1503). Studies find an enormous increase in alcoholism as a coping mechanism. As a result quarrels and wife beating increase. Besides because of their exposure to external world men, and even some women, internalize the value systems of other communities, to whom women subordination is basic (Fernandes, 1998:290).

A problem highlighted by women, time and again, which has not received much attention is the problem of bathing, defecating etc., in the absence of a pond or forest close to the village due to land acquisition. Women have often complained that the project has rarely kept these problems of women in mind while acquiring the land or even when planning to resettle communities in different places. (Basu, 2000: 27, Ganguly Thukral, 1996: 1501).

However, the full picture of the impact and misery of women because of displacement has not yet been gauged. Studies till now have focused on displacement in general or on the marginalized groups like tribals, but we could not come across any study, which address the plight of women in detail. In this pilot study we try to understand the impact of displacement due to mining on women in Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand State.

Chapter Two

Methodology

Understanding the impact of displacement on women is a dual process of understanding the status of women in the society and the impact of displacement on their lives. In our society, women occupy a secondary status. They do not enjoy property rights. Their work is often not counted as productive or earning. They are rarely consulted in the family or society before taking decisions. Their needs and problems are largely ignored. In this situation, when a development project displaces people from their original habitations, every member of the displaced community suffers, but women suffer the most. Because of the male biases of the development project itself and also because of the biases in the rehabilitation programme.

In this study we have tried to develop a model to understand the impact of displacement on people in general and women in particular. This model is based on various available studies on the impact of displacement and our field experience. Michel M Cernea has developed an eight points risk model (Cernea 2000: 3659). The risks identified by him are 1. Landlessness, 2. Joblessness, 3. Homelessness, 4. Marginalisation, 5. Food Insecurity, 6. Increased Morbidity and Mortality, 7. Lack of Access to Common Properties, and 8. Social Disarticulation. Most of the risks identified by us are same as Cernea's model. We have discussed 'landlessness', 'joblessness' and 'lack of access to common properties' in one broader category of 'Loss of livelihood'. In the same way, marginalisation and food insecurity are taken together. Based on our field observations and collected data, we have taken psychological risks which are not mentioned in the Cernea model. Involuntary displacement creates mental and psychological pressures on people, which are supported by the data we collected. Besides, with the social risks, we also found it important to add cultural risks. Majority

of the people displaced in Jharkhand (and in the country) had their distinct cultural identity before being displaced, which is being lost with displacement. The model we are presenting here may have its own limitations. One possible limitation of this model may be that it focuses on mining induced displacement and on the situation in Jharkhand State in India.

Understanding the Trauma of Displacement: A Possible Model

Displacement caused by development projects has traumatic effects on the displaced people. The displacement often tends to increase the risks and pose new risks on the population, which is displaced involuntarily. The populations displaced from their homes, villages, lands and forests are left with no resources or means of livelihood. Lack of proper rehabilitation forces them into a situation of perpetual impoverishment and misery. Thus displacement results in increasing people's risks. Some of the examples of those risks may be the following. Here we have also discussed the measures taken by the displacing agency (Central Coalfields Limited of the Coal India Limited) in one particular case i.e. displacement due to mining in Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand.

1. Homelessness:

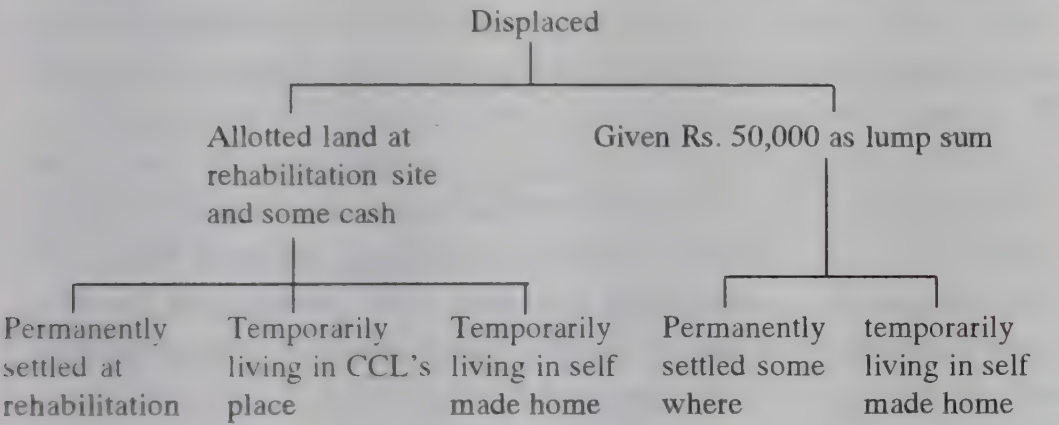
Once displaced, people have lost their homes. This homelessness gives rise to risks like:

- ♦ They often live in temporary small homes with insufficient space and lack of basic amenities.
- ♦ Particularly women and children have to face uncomfortable situation of presence of strange men.
- ♦ The period of staying in temporary homes is often so long that it sometimes becomes a permanent settlement for them.

The measures taken by the company:

The oustees are given money as compensation for the land on which the house of the DP was built and also some amount for the construction cost. Some of the DPs have been allotted land at the rehabilitation centre of the company and given some amount for

house construction. But not all of them have built their homes at the rehabilitation centre or the land of their choice. They are living in temporary homes like company’s laboures quarter or the security guards’ rooms or in the temporary homes made by them. The chart below suggests the possible places they can be living after displacement. Lately the company has introduced a new scheme of giving Rs. 50,000 to those families who do not want to settle on the land provided at the rehabilitation site. The figure given below presents the compensation options available for displaced families.



2. Loss of livelihood:

With displacement, people lose their land, become far from the forest, lose grazing land etc. This makes them particularly vulnerable as they loose their means of livelihood.

With displacement :

- They are pushed into a new formal economy, which they are largely unfamiliar with.
- Even if, they try to find a way out and get employment in the new economy, they are left with no options. Jobs are not available or are not adequately available.
- Those who had no land earlier and were dependent mainly on share cropping or rendering services to the community and/or were dependent on common property resources, also lose their market and their access to the common property resources.
- Women face a new situation where jobs, if there are any, generally go to men of the family, the compensation amount goes to men, and they are left with no work, find themselves pushed into their homes and have nothing else to do.

Measures taken by the company:

The DPs/PAPs are given cash compensation for the land acquired from them according to the existing legal provisions. The company's Rehabilitation Policy (CIL, 1994: 345) has provisions to give one job for every three acres of unirrigated land without matriculation or two acres of unirrigated land with matriculation or two acres of irrigated land. CIL's rehabilitation policy also has provisions of non-farm self-employment through the provisions of infrastructures, petty contracts or formation of cooperatives. Company's rehabilitation policy says that the contractors would be persuaded to give employment to the PAPs on a preferential basis where ever possible. They are sometimes given some contract jobs like cleaning bushes or leveling the land, or some wage employment at the coal depot. Women are also given jobs like making baskets for the mines through contractors. The company has given training to some of the women through income generating schemes like Indigenous People's Development Programme (IPDP). Very few have got a chance to get a permanent job with the company.

3. Marginalization and food insecurity:

- ♦ Loss of assets like land, home, and less or no access to common property lead to further marginalization of those communities.
- ♦ Landlessness and long distance from the forest produce may lead to food insecurity.

4. Psychological pressure

The involuntary displacement and relocation is not something planned or well designed. The people have to face it without any preparation as it is forced displacement. Some of the dilemmas which can be observed easily are:

- ♦ Where to go to live permanently? This dilemma is always there with them. Where to go? To the rehabilitation site? Or to the village where some relatives are living or where some of the villagers have gone or where there are possibilities of getting employment?

- ♦ What to do? May be the displacing agency has promised to give them a permanent job but in fact it does not give. The expectation however of getting a job in the company would not let the person leave the area in search for another job.
- ♦ Psychological stress, especially among women, because of idleness, increased drinking by husbands and subsequent increase in abuses and beating and the shock of losing everything they had.

5. Health risks:

The health status of the displaced families generally goes down. Improper and inadequate housing, lack of basic amenities and increased impoverishment is likely to affect their health status negatively. Given the high mortality rates among women, it is likely that they will be the worst affected by displacement induced morbidity. Similarly, the nutritional health status of women, which is lower than that of men even under normal circumstances, is likely to decline further on account of economic uncertainties

6. Social and cultural risks:

- ♦ The social and cultural web or network gets dismantled after displacement and so does the support system the community has developed for years. The loss of land negatively contributes in the disruptions of family bonds. The support and help the families provide to each other is not available after displacement. Vulnerable people like widows and elderly are left without any social support. Landless poor families also lose any kind of support they might be getting from the communities.
- ♦ Women are more likely to suffer because of the breaking down of social network, given their status in society. Men start drinking or increase drinking as coping mechanism and violence at home may increase.
- ♦ The influx of so many outsiders in the area affects their cultural and social values. Also the value system of the host villages are likely to get mixed with theirs. This changes the priorities and introduces new social ills like dowry and *purdah* among women.

In its 24 mining project areas CCL has a World Bank supported project, Indigenous People Development Programme (IPDP), which is being implemented by Xavier Institute of Social Service (XISS), Ranchi in the Parej East Open Cast Project area. This project is open for other communities also. The programme seeks to generate employment by developing community assets and also by income generation programmes

We have tried to analyse the primary data collected from the field according to the above model or scheme.

Instruments of Data Collection

We used the following three instruments for data collection:

1. **Structured Schedule** – A scheduled questionnaire was prepared which included questions related to the six risks suggested in the above model. Forty Six women were interviewed.
2. **Interviews** – We interviewed seven displaced men and women, asking detailed questions about their life, displacement and other aspects. However only six of them could be taken here because one was not complete. One woman we interviewed was also included in the forty six women selected for schedule questions.
3. **Group Discussion:** We also held group discussions with two women groups one displaced and other not displaced but living near the mines.

Sample Selection

As a pilot project this study could cover only a small sample. Forty six women were included in the study for scheduled questionnaires. Prerna Resource Centre and Chotanagpur Adivasi Seva Samiti (CASS), working with the displaced people in Hazaribagh and Chatra districts helped us in identifying the displaced women. Selection of women for scheduled questionnaire and for interviews (three men also, were done randomly with the help of the workers of these two organisations. The women included in the study are displaced by three projects of CCL – East Parej Open Cast Project and Piparwar and Ashoka Open Cast Projects. East Parej OCP is situated in

Hazaribagh district and Ashoka – Piparwar OCPs is in Chatra districts. Both districts were part of a united Hazaribagh district till 1993. For group discussion we interacted with two groups of women in Parej East area. One group consisted of the women displaced by this project and those temporarily living at CCL's guards' rooms, known as Barracks. The other group was from Ulahara village near to the mine. These women are not displaced, but have many problems because of mines.

To collect the data, I spent one month in the field. I myself filled in the schedules, interviewed men and women, and facilitated group discussions. Workers of the two organisations were always there to help in identifying displaced people and explaining the words and expressions used in the local language. One of the benefits of staying in the field for long time was that I could make many observations besides conducting the formal interviews and discussions.

A problem with the data analysis we faced was of individual women vs. their families. The objective of this study is to see the impact of displacement on women. In our society, however, family is an important institution, especially in rural and tribal areas. Often, the whole family works together on lands or to collect forest produces and benefits are shared in the family. Though there are, inequalities in the contribution to work and sharing of benefits in the family e.g. women and children of the family might have to work harder and end up with getting less benefit of the collective efforts. But the reality is that the family has many things in common and the loss of such properties e.g. agricultural land or access to common properties hit all the members. In this study we have taken individual woman as a unit of the study and not a family. So, loss of family property is mentioned as told by women themselves and efforts are made to see the impact of the loss on women.

Chapter Three

Hazaribagh and Chatra: Demographic and Social Features and Status of Displacement

Hazaribagh and Chatra districts are situated in the North Chotanagpur division of the newly created Jharkhand state. Before 1993, these two districts, together with Kodarma made one district namely Hazaribagh. Hazaribagh district has 12 community development (CD) blocks and Chatara has 6 CD blocks.

In 1991, the total population of the Jharkhand region in south Bihar was 21,843,911 of which 11,365,453 were males and 10,478,498 were females. The Census further shows that the members from the Scheduled Caste communities (SC) numbered 2,589,252 or 11.85%. The Scheduled Tribe (ST) communities had 6,044,010 persons or 27.67% of the total population, while other social groups and communities had 13,210,649 persons or 60.48% representation in Jharkhand. In 2001 the population of Jharkhand increased to 26,909,428, according to the provisional total, showing an increase of 23.19% over the 1991 population. The table below shows some statistics related to the state and the districts of Hazaribagh and Chatra.

According to the 2001 Census, provisional data, the total population of Hazaribagh district is 2,277,108, i.e 8.46% of the total state population (26,909,428) (Table – 3.1). The population of the district showed a slightly higher decadal growth rate of 24.02 percent compared to the state's 23.19% during 1991-2001. In 1991 the total population of the district was 1,836,068 persons out of which 21,812 (13.62%) belonged to scheduled tribes and 23,430 (14.63%) the schedule caste communities.

Table 3.1 : Statistics on Population and Literacy 1991 and 2001

	Jharkhand			Hazaribagh			Chatra		
	1991	2001		1991	2001		1991	2001	
Population	21,843,911	26,909,428		1,836,068	2,277,108		612,713	790,680	
Male	11,365,453	13,861,277			1,167,526			402,565	
Female	10,478,498	13,048,151			1,109,582			388,115	
ST	6,044,010 (27.67%)	NA		218,121 (13.62%)	NA		23,487 (3.83%)	NA	
SC	2,589,252 (11.85%)	NA		234,303 (14.63%)	NA		198,668 (32.42%)	NA	
Sex Ratio	922	941		932	950		952	964	
Literacy Ratio	41.39%	54.13%		41.21%	58.05%		27.84%	43.53%	
Male literacy	55.80%	67.94%		56.54%	72.16%		40.45%	55.67%	
Female literacy	25.52%	39.38%		24.13%	43.15%		14.39%	30.50%	
Literacy ST	27.52%	NA		23.65%	NA		#	NA	
Literacy ST (M)		NA		34.81%	NA		#	NA	
Literacy ST (F)	15.41%	NA		11.52%	NA		#	NA	
Literacy SC		NA		18.47%	NA		#	NA	
Literacy SC (M)		NA		29.66%	NA		#	NA	
Literacy SC (F)		NA		6.42%	NA		#	NA	

Sources: Census of India, 2001 and Peter and Praveen Peter (ed.), 2000

NA – Not Available

Included in Hazaribagh

Note: 1. Statistics related the Census 2001 is provisional.

2. During the Census 1991 Hazaribagh and Chatra, along with Kodarma made one district namely Hazaribagh.

Total population of Chatra district is 790,680 persons, i.e. 2.94 percent of the total state population, in 2001. According to the 1991 Census, district population was 612,713 persons. District population grew by 29.05 percent during 1991-2001 compared to 23.19 percent increase in the state population during the same period.

The sex ratio in the two districts is higher than that of the state. There are 950 women per 1,000 men in Hazaribagh district and 964 women per 1,000 men in Chatra district compared to 941 women per 1,000 men in the state, according to the 2001 Census. Another important note about the sex ratio in the districts and the state is that it has improved for the first time since 1951. In 1991 the sex ratio was 932 women per 1,000 men in Hazaribagh, 952 women per 1000 men in Chatra, and 922 women per 1,000 men in the Jharkhand region.

According to the 2001 Census, the literacy rate in Hazaribagh district is 58.05 percent, which is better than the state average of 54.13 percent. Male literacy is 72.16 percent and female literacy is 43.15 percent. Whereas, in Chatra the literacy rate is 43.53 percent, male literacy being 55.67 percent and female literacy 30.50 percent. The literacy rates in the districts and the state have increased by more than 10 percent during 1991-2001. Female literacy rate almost doubled during the period, from 24.13 percent in 1991 to 43.15 percent in 2001 in Hazaribagh and from 14.39 percent to 30.50 percent in Chatra. The increase in female literacy in the state, from 25.25 percent in 1991 to 39.38 percent in 2001 is also remarkable.

Separate data on ST and SC literacy and urban-rural literacy rates is not available for the year 2001. We have data on ST and SC literacy ratios of the former united Hazaribagh district for the year 1991. According to the 1991 Census, 23.65 percent of ST population and 18.47 percent of SC population was literate. Male literacy rates among ST and SC communities were 34.81% and 18.47% respectively and female literacy rates were 11.52% and 6.42% respectively among the ST and SC communities (Table 3.1).

As the two districts are mostly covered by hills and forests, only some parts near the river beds have alluvial Soil. According to Bihar government data only 15.54% area is cultivable in the former

united Hazaribagh district compared to 22.54% in the state of Bihar (cited in Singh et al, 2000: 91). Rice is the main crop in the two districts. Other important crops are *bajra*, maize and pulses (mainly *arhar*). Oil seeds and sugar cane are also grown as cash crops (Bhatt 1997: 194).

Hazaribagh is a predominantly forest district and nearly half (43.67%) of its total area is covered by forests, distributed almost uniformly throughout the district (Bhatt 1997: 192).

According to the 1991 Census, 28.52 percent of the population of the former united Hazaribagh district is main workers, of which 83.15 percent are men and rest of them are women. While 16.42 percent are marginal workers, among the main workers 49.33 percent are cultivators and 20.17 percent are agricultural labourers. Of the main workers 0.84 percent are engaged in livestock, forestry, fishing and other allied sectors. Thus more than 70 percent of the main workers are engaged in agriculture and allied sectors. Mining and quarrying employ just 7.82 percent of the main workers and only 4.80 percent of them are in manufacturing and 1.32 percent of the main workers are in construction. The rest of them are in services (trade and commerce, transportation, storage and communication, and other services). The distribution of workers suggests that the district has primarily an agrarian economy. But agriculture is poor in the district. Only 15 percent of the total land in the district is net sown area, compared to 22 percent of the state of Jharkhand. The ratio of irrigated land to total land sown in the district is just 10.51 percent. Eighteen percent of the sown area is sown more than once. Per capita food production in the district is 53 kg annually compared to 118 Kg in the state of Bihar ('Janahul', *Tritiya Parichhan Ank*, 2000: 27).

Manufacturing employs just about 5 percent of the main workers and mining just about 8 percent of the workers. The two sectors which are supposed to transform the economy from a 'backward' agrarian state to a 'developed' industrialized one are able to employ only about 13 percent of the main workers in a district, which is supposed to be very industrialized. This ratio is even lower at the state level. In Jharkhand state, only 4.55 percent of the main workers

are employed in mining and quarrying and 2 percent are in manufacturing.

The Census data of 1991 shows that 32.33 percent of the total SC population and 31.77 percent of the total ST population are main workers. If we look at the sectoral distribution of SC and ST main workers, about 30 percent of SC main workers are cultivators in contrast to 50 percent of the ST main workers. Most (about 50%) of the SC main workers are agricultural labourers and only 20 percent of the ST main workers are agricultural labourers. 5.5 percent of SC main workers and 4 percent of ST main workers are in manufacturing. About 16 percent of ST main workers are engaged in mining as compared to 6.51% of SC main workers.

The data presented here suggest that Hazaribagh and Chatra districts have predominantly agrarian economies. Most of the people are dependent on agriculture. This is more so in the case of SC / ST families. In this situation, when people have to face displacement, the impact is traumatic, as their main sources of livelihood i.e. agriculture and forest are lost.

Mining and Displacement in Hazaribagh District

Development induced displacement is one of the miseries the district has to suffer. Much of the displacement in the state of Jharkhand has taken place in the district of Hazaribagh. Mines, industries, dams, defense establishments, national parks and all sorts of development/ defense projects have displaced/affected people in the district. The four main coalfields of the total eleven coalfields of CCL are in the district. The district falls in the famous Damodar valley and north and south Karanpura coalfields are located in the district. Two other coalfields in the district are west Bokaro and Ramgarh. Mining of coal started in the district in 1915 in West Bokaro coalfields and in 1925 in South Karanpura coalfields (Baliga 1993:55) . As everywhere in the country, before 1973 coal mining was done by private owners. After nationalization CIL took over the mining operations. As mentioned above mining grew rapidly after the Coal India and its subsidiaries started and so did the displacement of people.

A study conducted by Ekka and Asif (2000) to assess the extent of displacement in Jharkhand gives an idea of number of displaced people in the district. The study look at the different projects individually under the different categories e.g. Mining, Industry, Wildlife Projects, Defense Establishments, Irrigation Projects etc. Many of these projects cover more than one district. Lets first see those projects, which are in Hazaribagh district.

Table – 3.2 : Number of DPs/PAPs in Hazaribagh District

Project	STs	SCs	Others	Total
<i>Water Resources</i>				
Panchet Dam	35,242	2,073	4,146	41,461
Konar Dam	5,747	0	0	5,747
Ghanghra IP	250	990	260	1,500
Bhairwa Resr	50	0	320	370
<i>Industrial and Thermal Projects</i>				
PTPS Patrātu	164	354	1,356	1,874
<i>Mining</i>				
Piparwar	1,358	2,901	11,174	15,433
<i>Defense Projects</i>				
Hazaribagh	40	65	395	500
BSF Maru	40	65	395	500
<i>Wildlife / National Park</i>				
Hazaribagh	4,179	6,174	37,140	47,493
Total	47,070 (40.97%)	12,622 (10.98%)	55,186 (48.04%)	114,878 (100%)

Note: Projects taken here are of united Hazaribagh dist.

Source: Ekka and Asif, 2000: 90-95.

Thus we see that 114,878 persons have been displaced/affected during 1951-95 in the district by the above projects only. About 41 percent of those displaced are tribals and 11 percent belong to various SC communities. According to the 1991 Census, the share of STs in the total population of the former united Hazaribagh district is 8.81 percent and that of SCs is 18.89 percent. The projects which are not limited to the district boundary have also displaced and affected people in the district. Mining projects of Central Coalfields Limited (CCL), a subsidiary of the CIL, are also among such projects. According to the Ekka and Asif (2000: 93) 24 projects of this company have displaced/affected 28,335 people in

Hazaribagh, Raniganj and Palamu districts of Jharkhand. In this, 6,630 (23.4%) persons are of ST communities, and 4,675 (16.15%) persons are of SC communities.

In the chapter to follow, we are going to discuss the impact of displacement on people in general and women in particular.

Chapter Four

Impact of Displacement

The projects

The women included in this study are displaced/affected by three projects mainly: Parej East Open Cast Project and Ashoka and Piparwar Open Cast Projects of Central Coalfield Limited. One woman interviewed was displaced by Tata's Tisco project. Table below shows the number of selected women displaced by the various projects.

Table 4.1 : Project wise distribution of Selected women

Projects	Number of Women
Parej East OCP	24
Ashoka OCP	6
Piparwar OCP	15
Tisco	1
Total	46

Source: ??????

It would be worthwhile to look at some brief details of these projects. Here we discuss some of the features of two projects: Parej East OCP and Piparwar. Both the projects were started with external financial support – Parej East OCP was funded by the World Bank and Piparwar OCP by the Australian government. Some of the features of the projects are as follows:

The Parej East Open Cast Project is located in the West Bokaro Coalfields, where a total of 4.6 billion tonnes of coal reserves has been estimated, of which about 4.4 billion tonnes are coking coal.

The coal reserves are confined upto a depth of 300 meters. The 19 mines, which are in operation at present, produce around 3.5 million tonnes of coal per annum. The major portion of it (2.6 million tonnes) comes from the open cast mines.

The Parej East Open Cast Project was being financed by the World Bank². It carries a coal reserve of 41.45 million tonnes with a life span of 27 years. The Project has grade IV washery coal. It is an open cast mine with an output of 1.75 million tonnes per year. (Mullik and Chatterji, 1997: 32)

The Piparwar project lies in the Tandwa Development Block of Chatra District. It is in the North Karanpura coalfields in the upper Damodar River Valley, lying between the Ranchi plateau in the south, and the Hazaribagh plateau in the north. It is the first mine of the North Karanpura coalfields being opened north of the Damodar river.

The estimated reserves of Piparwar are 244 million tonnes, of which 197 million tonnes are mineable. The coal is lying at a comparatively shallow depth, enabling it to be extracted by means of open cut mining. The coal is extracted by an in-pit crusher arrangement and matching conveyor transport system to the attached pitched washery, giving a targeted production of 4.5 million tons of raw coal, and 5.5 million tonnes of power grade coal. The mine has a life span of 35 years.

The project was started under a bilateral agreement with the Government of Australia on a turnkey basis, which was completed in five years. It was reported to be the single largest foreign aid project sponsored by the Australian government anywhere. The contract partner was White Industries Australia Limited. The initial total costs were estimated to be Rs 542 crore (\$ 500m), with Rs 224 crore (\$206.6m) coming from Australia in a mixed credit scheme: \$61m from the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau, and \$145 from the Export Finance Insurance Corporation. A condition of the concessional loan package was that the Indian Government used the funds to buy Australian equipment and expertise. (BJA & NBJK, 1993: 4)

A coal washery is also part of the project. Infrastructure to be constructed includes a railway line and a bridge over the Damodar linking with the main line at Mc Lucksiganj, and joining the arterial railway line linking other projects in the area. Work on this railway project is now going on. This also is displacing people, taking their lands.

The coal from Piparwar is earmarked for two thermal power stations, in Dadri (Uttar Pradesh) and Yamunanagar (Haryana). Financed by the World Bank, both are of 4 units of 210 MWS each. The demand of coal for Dadri and Yamuna Nagar, according to 1994-95 estimate were 2.98 million tonnes, and 1.90 million tonnes respectively (BJA & NBJK, 1993: 4).

Process of Displacement and the People³

The process of displacement by mining is different than that of other development projects. Unlike the other projects it is a long slow process in which people loose their forest, land, and home one by one, bit by bit. Total land required for the project is acquired by the company of course at once. But the people to be displaced generally, at the time of acquirement, do not see any problem except that some notice from CCL might have been served to them concerning land acquisition. And the company starts work on government land or forest land in the project area. Slowly they reach the agriculture land and ask people to give them the land. Then the measurement starts and the compensation money and compensatory jobs are given but it is not easy or smooth. People have to go to revenue officers, the CCL officers, BDO, and so many other offices many times. Some of the villagers are given jobs, many are not given, and the company starts taking their agricultural land. People even continue to cultivate those lands, which are not yet taken for mining. And this way the mines come closer to the residence, the village. They now face problems because their forest is gone, water sources are gone, and agricultural land is going. Also because of the strong blasts in the mines the vibrations shake the house, the thatches fall, walls crack and even collapse. Worst the stone pieces fall in their homes and streets and literally any one can get hurt by them. There have been incidents of people getting injured by those boulders, and by falling of walls and thatches. By this time people also face other problems like shortage of water, as wells and other sources dry up.

Then the company asks them to leave their place, take compensation for the homestead and accept the plot being given at rehabilitation sites. But those who are not given jobs or those who are not satisfied

with the compensation try to bargain. The company employs all sorts of techniques make them evacuate their village. Company officials go to any extent to get them out of their villages. Treatment of the CCL officials with the families taken into the study provides many examples. The villagers are made to suffer everything from police cases against them to raids by the excise officials to forced eviction of the families by the police.

Generally the tribal people do not take care of the documents of their lands. They do not have documents of the 'ghair majarua' lands they are working on for generations. The revenue lands continue to be in the name of grand fathers. They may divide the land for practical purposes, but the documents of their lands are still in the names of the older ones. There are Bhagat tribal families, followers of Tana Bhagat, a famous reformer of 20th century among Jharkhand tribals, who had stopped giving land revenue and did not do anything to get documents of the ghair majarua land they had been working on for centuries, because of their ideological stand. In this situation when CCL comes and starts taking their lands, this had both positive and negative implications for them. Considering the total land as of one unit the company gives jobs to the family members as per their norm of one job for three acres (unirrigated) and two acres (irrigated) or two acres with a matriculation certificate. But the jobs go to the adults of the family members at the time of taking the land. In the process some brothers or cousins who are not adult at the time may have to suffer. Some times when the amount of land is not sufficient according to the company's norms to give jobs to all the adult members of the family, there is tension among the kin. Some influential people of the village and some CCL officials even try to get benefit of the situation. Like, if the land is sufficient for the four members of the family, they would say that the fifth adult member can also be taken in the company and ask for money from the fifth member. People have paid such bribes without any results. And when they try to resist and say that they would not vacate their homes until given a job, the company uses many tactics and pressures to get them out of their homes. The company also takes steps like suspending those who have been given job by the company, saying that unless all the families of the village leave their homes they

would not be taken back at work. This is a very common practice by the company, among many others, to get people out of their homes. Those who are suspended by the company pressurize their cousins and other villagers to leave the village. As the agricultural land is taken first and only after three - four years of the possession of agricultural land and when compensatory jobs are given to some of the villagers, they are asked to leave their homes, this tactics always works.

Sending police to the village regularly, and getting excise department officers to raid the village are also the ways to terrify people. Since almost every family in the area makes liquor for their own use and in few cases, to sell also, police is so efficient in implicating anyone in some sort of criminal offence, and these atrocities have their impacts on people. The people of Turi tola are still facing trials of the cases filed against them by the company. However, it was clearly written in the agreement, which was signed between the company and the families of Turi tola, that the company would withdraw the case once they leave their village. The company accused almost all the adult males of the tola, of beating a company employee. They were arrested and one old man died in police custody. It was also agreed that Bhola Turi, son of the deceased would be given a permanent job with the company. Turi tola families, all belonging to the Turi caste, which comes in SC category, left their homes and shifted to the miners' quarters of the company. They were allotted plots near the miner's quarters, as they refused to go to Pindra rehabilitation site. But most of them have not yet shifted to the rehabilitation site.

The families of Turi tola had reasons to refuse to go to the Pindra rehabilitation centre. Families of some other tola of the same Parej village were taken to the rehabilitation site forcibly, and dumped in the school and hospital buildings of the Pindra rehabilitation centre, some 10 Km away from Parej. Once put there by the company with the help of police, they did not have any option but to build homes at the plots given to them. 5 people died in the first year of their forced rehabilitation at this place. Pindra rehabilitation site became notorious.

Women are the ignored lots in the whole process. The officials come and talk to men in the village. Women only get to know about what is happening from the male members of the family. They generally do not know the details of compensation for land. They just know that who is given job, and what sum is paid to the family. Compensation money is given to men. Also, jobs usually go to men. And women suffer the uncertainty about where to go, what to do, and how to earn the living.

Profile of the Selected Women: Marginalisation of the Marginalised

Women selected for the study are from two districts: Hazaribagh and Chatra. All of them except one are displaced by three mining projects of CCL – Parej East, Ashoka and Piparwar. Selected women belong to age group of 16 to 60 years. Their average age is 35 years. All these women except two are illiterate and most of them belong to SC/ST category. Table below gives data on women's social categories:

Table 4.2 : Selected Women: Social Status

Social Group	Number of women	Percentage
SC	26	57
ST	15	33
OBC	3	7
Muslims	2	3
Total	46	100

More than half of the women are from SC or Dalit groups. However, we must mention that many women in SC group are of Ganjhu (Bhogta) caste, which was earlier listed in the ST category in the Census. Very interestingly, during the fieldwork we saw youths of Ganjhu community organising meeting in the Ashoka-Piparwar area¹ to demand their ST status back. It was this very time when reservations for various categories in the state government jobs were to be announced. The identity of the original habitants of Jharkhand is politically decided and listed (see Kadwar and Ekka, 2000: 15-16). Many castes, which were in the Tribal list in the

1931 Census were later excluded from ST list and were listed in SC and other (caste Hindu) lists.

Table 4.3 : Selected Women: Marital Status

Social Group	Number of women	Percentage
Married	37	81
Unmarried	1	2
Widow	8	17
Total	46	100

As for the marital status of women, 81% of selected women are married, one of them is unmarried and rest of them are widows (Table 4.3).

Impact on Women

In this section we are going to discuss the impact of displacement and mining particularly on women. We will take the indicators developed in the model we have proposed in the Methodology chapter.

Homelessness: With displacement, people become homeless. Our data suggests that 30% of selected women are living in the temporary homes, like the CCL guardrooms or miners' quarters or with relatives or neighbours. Some of the families are living in those temporary homes for as long as 5 to 10 years. Only a few of those living in temporary settlements know where would they move from there. The money they received from CCL as compensation is spent. Some of the families are living at the rehabilitation centres of CCL. The company has allotted them plots on the rehabilitation centre but none of them are given pattas of the land they are living on. That means they have no legal right over the lands they are living at the rehabilitation centres.

However, all women included in the study have not lost their houses. Women from Benti and Hadgadi villages for instance, have lost their agricultural land, forests, water sources to Ashoka-Piparwar⁵ projects but their village is not taken over. Nobody till now knows whether the villages are going to be taken or not. Our sample included 6 women from these two villages.

Drinking Water

Related problems to homelessness are availability of drinking water and sanitation facilities. Sources of drinking water for these women or their families have not changed much. Table 4.4 shows the sources of water before and after displacement. As the table suggests, wells are the main source of drinking water for the women and families before and after displacement. The supposed 'development' brought about by the mines in the area has had no impact on this. Only two women take water from handpumps and five from pipes. Women who have reported to take water from pipes are those who live in the Barracks or those who are at Pindra rehabilitation site, displaced by Parej East OCP. The pipes, taking water to the CCL officers' colony runs through these places, that is why they are able to get water. People living at Pindra rehabilitation centre made a hole in the pipe running through near the rehabilitation centre and use the water. The water flowing in the pipe is not treated, as it is treated near the officer's colony only and families living in the Barracks and at Pindra Rehabilitation site get untreated water only. The wells, from which these women take water now, are dug by CCL in some cases. At some of the rehabilitation sites CCL has dug wells. Also some of the families have dug their own wells.

Table 4.4 : Sources of Drinking Water

Sources of water	Number of Women	
	Before	After
Well	31	24
Pond	1	0
Dadi ⁶	9	0
Jharna (stream)	11	7
River	3	4
Handpump	0	2
Pipe	0	5
Other	0	1

Note: Before displacement families had access to more than one source of drinking water, so the total may add up to more than 46

A difference, which the displacement has made, is that of decline in the access of women to the various sources of drinking water. Before displacement most of the families had access to more than

one source. They could take water from a well, or a *dadi* or a *jharna* (stream), or nearby river. So if in summer one or two sources would dry up they would continue to get water from other sources. But now many women say that they have problems in getting water in summer, when their sole source of water dries up. The falling water level due to mining makes this happen more often.

Another issue of concern is distance covered by women to fetch water. For most women, drinking water was available in the village before displacement and usually they did not walk more than one km to fetch water. This situation is same for most women, except for a few, have to walk about 2 to 3 kms to get water. Women of Benti village, for instance have to walk about two kms. Some women told that in summer they have to go even farther to get water.

Sanitation

Women included in the study also told about the problems in bathing and defecating. All women said that earlier there were ponds or *jharna* in their villages. Now only about 55 percent of women say that there is pond or *jharna* in their village. These traditional and natural sources of water are gone as the villages are mined. A woman in Barracks said that she now takes bath after ten days, because she has to go to river for this, which is far away from their place. Men, she said, go there more often, but women had so many things to do.

Similarly, about 60 percent of women say that they have now problems in finding a place for defecation as forests are disappearing fast and becoming thinner. Some of them also said that now there are men everywhere. These are the problems which only women have to face.

That displacement creates homelessness and other related problems tend to increase with displacement, is evident from the data analyzed in this section. People have to live in small temporary homes, which lack basic amenities like water and sanitation and, as we have seen in this section, women have to suffer more severely in such situation.

Livelihood and Employment: Displacement affects people's livelihood and employment immensely. So much so that it changes the

production relations in a society. The earlier production relations based on land i.e. agriculture and forest based activities are changed and new employment is to be looked for. Most of our sample families were dependent mainly on agriculture and forest produces. But displacement took them all away. The families lose their land and there are no common property resources to have access to. We have 'little' details of the land they have lost.

Table 4.5 : Awareness about the Land Lost

Awareness about the land lost	No. of Women	Percentage
Had no land	4	9
Had land but do not know how much	21	45
Know how much land was lost	17	37
Not Available	4	9
Total	46	100

Source

We write 'little' because, as far as land is concerned, these women worked on their land but they did not know how much land they had (Table 4.5). We have 42 responses, and we see that only 17 (37%) women knew how much land their families had. This in itself is an indicator of the status of women in family and the society. However, as many as 38 out of 42 women reported that they had land before displacement.

**Table 4.6 : Amount of land lost
(of those women who knew)**

Type of land	Number of families	Average land per family (in acre)
Revenue Land	17	5.30
Ghairmajarua-Khas	9	7.30
Ghairmajarua-Aam	4	9.60

As most of the women do not know what amount of land they lost, we do not have any idea about the total land lost by the families. Here we present the amount of land lost, as told by the women who knew how much land they had (Table 4.6). We can see that on an average they have lost 5.30 acres of revenue land, 7.30 acre of Gharmajarua-Khas land and 9.60 acre of Gharmajarua-Aam land. Some families were having more than one type of land. However,

most of the families actually had land less than the average. This indicates the inequality in land holding among the families. Most of the families, the women belonged to, were small and marginal farmers before displacement.

Employment as Compensation

As far as compensation for land is concerned, the compensatory amount goes to the male members as the land is in their names only. Though women also work on the land, they are never considered a party while giving compensation, as they have no legal rights over the land. The compensatory jobs given by the company according to the CIL's Rehabilitation and Resettlement policy also go mainly to men. Table 4.7 shows that who have been the beneficiaries of the jobs given by the company.

Table 4.7 : Compensatory jobs given to...

Compensatory jobs given to	Number of Cases	Percentage
None	15	33
Husband	17	37
Son	7	15
Other	7	15
Total	46	100

Though the Rehabilitation Policy of CIL does not restrict women from getting the compensatory jobs, because of the male dominance in society, it is obvious that only men should take employment, which the company gives, according to its policy. (Men, whom we interviewed, stated it very clearly, that as long as men are there women should not join CCL work. Interestingly, this patriarchic restriction on women in working with CCL was not applied for the other work, which they did before displacement and continue to do even now.) Having said this, it must be mentioned that the CIL's policy is also not very encouraging for women. The technological upgradations and mechanization of the mines help only in throwing women out of the mine industry in India (see Lahiri-Dutt, 2001: 4213 for a detailed discussion).

Another important note from the table (4.7) is according to 33 percent of women, none of their family members was given any job

with the company. Practically this means that CCL was able to give job only to two third of the displaced families. However, as we have seen above that as many as 90% of women have lost land to mining. But since the CIL's rehabilitation policy has provision to give jobs only to those families who have lost atleast 2 acres of irrigated land or 3 acres of unirrigated land or 2 acres of unirrigated land but have a matriculation certificate, many of the families do not qualify to get. In the initial years, in Parej area, the company had given jobs to few such families who had even less than the required land; however, they had to fulfill the requirement by taking land from families of the village who had extra land. Also, those families who had extra land than required for the jobs of their male members would get jobs for their close relatives like son-in-laws or brother-in-laws or cousins. But later the company officials stopped this practice. They now say that jobs would be given to those families, that have land or to their sons/daughters. The provision of fulfilling the requirement of sufficient land by taking land from some other family is also abolished. Is this being done to ensure less recruitment in the company. It is quite possible. The Parej East OCP was, till the last year, part of the World Bank funded India Coal Sector Rehabilitation Project, which insisted on downsizing and retrenchment of the surplus staff.

Another reason may be a tactical one. Earlier in Parej village people's discontent and anger was very high. They had resisted the company's activities vehemently. In such a situation, giving them job was like a 'price' to win their consent. But later, as some of the villagers left the village after getting jobs with the company, their unity was broken and their resistance weakened. And then may be the company officials no longer felt a need to give jobs to more people.

Work done by Women

Now we have a look at the type of work done by the women before and after displacement. The table (4.8) below gives an idea.

Table 4.8 : Work done by women

Work	Before Displacement				After Displacement			
	1st	2nd	3rd	Total	1st	2nd	3rd	Total
Agriculture	30	5	6	41	6	3	3	12
Forest	9	29	1	39	13	9	3	25
Wage Labour /								
Ag. Labour	1	2	6	9	1	3	2	6
Liquor Making	0	4	1	5	1	0	1	2
Coal Collection	0	1	1	2	4	2	0	6
Other	1	0	12	13	4	4	2	10
Total	41	39	27	—	29	21	11	—

Note: 1st, 2nd and 3rd indicate the first, second and third occupation of the person, as told by women.

Table – 4.8 shows that 41 (90%) women out of the total 46 selected for the study were working before being displaced. Thirty (more than two-third) of them reported agriculture as their primary work. All these women did more than one work. Thirty-one women reported collection of the forest produces as their secondary work. Since most of the women had their own land, forest produce collection was a secondary work for them. After displacement only twenty nine (63%) women reported to be engaged in any productive work. The decline in the percentage of working women occupation from 90 percent to 63 percent is drastic. Thirteen of them say forest produce collection is their primary work and only six of them say agriculture is their primary work. Those who do agriculture work now, do it on the land bought by the family (only in two cases, with much less land than what they had earlier) or on the small part of the land they have bought or been given for making house.

Forest is far from their present habitat. This explains why few women go for forest work now. Before displacement *mahua* collection was a very important work for these women and their families. This was not only a source of food security but also a means of income, whenever they sold the collected and processed *mahua*. But now since no *mahua* trees are left, this work is not at all available for these women. Besides this, even those women who go to forest collect firewood mainly. Now women do not get time or chances to

collect many seasonal products for eating or medicinal and other uses (see Box 4).

If we look at the other work done by women, we see a clear decline in the wage labour and liquor making work. Due to the scarcity of work, it is men who are first ones to get the available wage employment, if they are not working in CCL. But if they are working with CCL, the family becomes much like such family where men work outside and women do household chores, fetch water and collect fuel (wood or coal). Decline in liquor making is quite obvious, as now *mahua* is not available. Coal collection is also mentioned by the women, which means collecting coal from the mines illegally. In the coal areas, selling coal collected illegally from the mines is one sort of employment which mining has created (see Box 2).

Work done by the husbands

Let us now have a look at the work done by the husbands of the women included in the study. Table below gives an idea:

Table 4.9 : Husbands' work

Work	Before Displacement				After Displacement			
	1st	2nd	3rd	Total	1st	2nd	3rd	Total
Agriculture	12	9	0	21	3	1	1	5
Forest	3	2	1	6	1	1	0	2
Wage Labour/ Ag. Labour	9	4	1	14	5	0	0	5
Liquor Making	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Coal Collection	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Other	7	3	3	13	3	1	1	5
CCL*	5	0	0	5	15	0	0	15
Tata**	5	0	0	5	4	0	0	4
Total	41	17	5	—	34	3	2	—

Note: 1st, 2nd and 3rd indicate the first, second and third occupation of the person told by women.

* Some people working with CCL now are those, who worked in the mine since earlier times when mining was in private hands. They were taken as permanent workers when mining operations were nationalised.

** Some of the families of Parej village had lost their land (and home also in few cases) to the Tisco mining project near their village, about 20 years ago. Men of those families had got job in the Tisco mines.

As Table 4.9 shows, as far as employment is concerned men, though better than women, are also not in very good position. Out of 46 women, 37 women are married so the data we have after displacement is about employment status of the husbands of those 37 women. Of which 34 are working and 19 of them with CCL or Tata's on a permanent basis. Rest of them is in wage labour, agriculture or coal collection. We also have data on employment status of 41 men (husbands of selected women) before displacement. We see that earlier most of them were in agriculture or wage labor. Now (after displacement) most of them are working with CCL and the Tata's.

Box - 2

Mining creates employment too!

If you are in any of the towns in any mining area, just move along any of the roads approaching the town in the morning hour. You will find a series of cyclists moving towards the town, but they are not on the cycles. They are just rolling their cycles towards the urban center. These are the cyclists taking coal from the different mines of CCL and selling them in the town illegally. They either buy the coal from the people living near the coalmines or they themselves scavenge coal from the mines. They have to go to the mines early in the morning, as the company's guards would not allow them to take coal in broad daylight. Generally coal collection from the mines is done by the whole family or by all adult men and women. Then the coal has to be carried to the nearby town. Normally one cyclist takes about 200 kgs of coal on his cycle and pulls it up to 15-20 kms. or even to 50 kms. in that hilly region, where you have to cross many ups and downs on the road. It is such a hard and tiring job that normally, the cyclists work on alternative days only. And what do they earn at the end of the day? Somewhere between Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 or may be Rs. 200. In some cases this 'employment opportunity' created by mining also has its links with the (in) famous coal mafia in the region.

In some of the villages or tolas in the region almost all the families are involved in this work. Apart from selling coal to 'cycle walas' they also sell their coal to the truckers passing by their villages. The truckers take this to distant places.

Sources: Vinod Kumar in Prabhat Khabar, Ranchi, 29. 04. 2001, P. Sainath in Everybody Loves a Good Drought and our observation in the field.

Other provisions in CIL's R and R Policy

The company's rehabilitation policy, for those who cannot be given job in the mines, states that they would be given contract jobs, if feasible and also contractors would be persuaded to employ the

Box - 3**Employment is an issue**

Durukasmar, a village soon to be displaced by the East Parej OCP of CCL. In a sunny day of December the youth of a tola of Drukasmar (the lower part of village) were meeting in the fields outside the village. We saw them from some distance. The participants would stand up one by one and speak their view about the problem. One man, who was coordinating the meeting, had a notebook in his hands and was calling the participants one by one to tell their view to the group. The worker from CASS suggested not to go in the meeting, as they might not like a stranger to attend their meeting. But what was the meeting about? CASS worker called one of the boys sitting in the meeting and he told us that a road is being constructed by CCL, as the present road near their village was to be taken into the mines soon. A person from the same village had been given contract. He was, as the boy told, keeping only people from the other tola as labourers on the roadwork. These youths were feeling that they should also be employed on the roadwork. The meeting was to find a way out to get employment. We do not know what did they decide in the meeting or what happened after they took a decision, because this was our last day in the area and we had to move to Chatra district for collecting data in that area. But this event suggests how important the issue of employment is for the youths in rural areas.

oustees on preference. The dump yards (known as local sell in Ashoka-Piperwar area) of the company, where coal is stored for sale by some authorized sellers, had also for some period become a source of job for the local people, who did the loading and unloading of trucks. This had once become a political issue in spite of the fact that this job was available only twice or thrice a month for a person. But this proved to be a temporary arrangement. Almost for one year now these dumping yards are empty in Parej area. In Ashoka-Piperwar area some people continue to get some job at the local sell. People, mainly women of Turi tola (of Parej village) living in miners' quarters and who are supposed to move to Premnagar rehabilitation site, were promised to be given work to make cane baskets for the mines. In the first two to three months they were given canes through a contractor, and could earn Rs. 1,000 to 1,500 per month. But then this job was not adequately available and now they have not been given this job at all for last one year. Ironically the company has built a tank in which people would soak the canes before making baskets and a shade under which they would sit and work at Premnagar rehabilitation centre.

But the job is stopped. The company in its rehabilitation policy also asserts that the DPs would be given contract jobs of the company if feasible but this does not work as CCL’s contract works involve a lot of money and bribes too.

Special ‘efforts’ for Women

The CIL’s Rehabilitation Policy devotes one sentence to women: “Special attempts would be made to ensure that women will be given adequate access to income generating opportunities offered under this policy.” (CIL, 1994: 351) The income generating opportunities include giving women training for making carpet (*dari*) and animal rearing etc., at least in the two areas our study. In the Parej area the company is implementing Indigenous People’s Development Programme (IPDP) funded by the World Bank. IPDP is a special programme being implemented in the 24 mining project areas of CIL subsidiaries. The programme is being implemented by Xavier Institute of Social Services (XISS), Ranchi in the Parej project area. We asked women about the training taken by them after and before displacement but no one had taken any training before displacement. The table below gives an idea about the training received by the women after displacement:

Table 4.10 : Training received by women after displacement

Type of Training	Number of women	Percentage to total (46)
Livestock and poultry	5	11
Carpet making	7	15
Total	12	36
No training received	34	64

As the table shows, only 36% of total women got some training for income generation. They were given a stipend for six months of training, and after the training they were given money (or goats) to start their business. We asked the women who received training whether they benefited out of the training. 7 (about 60%) out of 12 women said they had some sort of benefit. Three of them got goats or chickens and 4 other women got some other benefits.

These women displaced by the mines, perhaps do not need training for animal husbandry. Most of these women had many animals

before displacement. But after displacement, both the number of families having animals and average number of animals declined sharply (Table 4.12). Lack of space in their homes, as some of them are living in small temporary homes and homes built at rehabilitation centres are not as spacious as the earlier ones and lack of places for grazing their animals, as forest is disappearing, are and the reasons of less animals with the families.

Table 4.11 : Average number of animals per women/family

Animals	Before Displacement		After Displacement	
	Total no. of Women/Families having animal	Average animal per Women/Family	Total no. of Women/Families having animals	Average animal per Women/Family
Cow	27	9	17	5
Buffalo	10	6	4	3
Ox	25	3	9	3
Goat	36	9	20	4
Chickens	30	14	13	8
Pigs	18	9	9	5
Others	4	4	1	6

However, the carpet making work for which some women are given training is new for them. We talked to the trainer in Durukasmar village where a training centre is run under IPDP. He said that women were interested only in the stipend given and did not want to learn. However, buying the raw material for weaving carpets and then marketing of carpets produced (both can be done in Ranchi only) also seems to be one of the problems.

The data gathered about employment status of the displaced women suggests that displacement has created unemployment for most of the women as well as many of the men. Percentage of women engaged in any productive work declined drastically. People in the area used to have many sources of livelihood agriculture, forest, wage labour, *mahua*, liquor making etc., which they used in many different ways. But with displacement those sources have disappeared. Now they have to depend either on CCL or on the so-called free market to earn their livelihood. The most important

impact of displacement on people's lives especially on women's lives is the loss of various sources of livelihood. They become more helpless as they have less skill, know-how, exposure and experience to deal with the new situation.

Marginalisation and Food Insecurity

Displacement further marginalises the people who were marginalised even before the displacement. These women were all from the poor SC/ST farmer families, dependent mainly on agriculture and forest. After displacement their economic status deteriorated much more. From small farmers they become wage labourers. We have only two examples of such families, which could buy agricultural land after displacement. But again the situation is not the same for men and women in the family. Men are given permanent jobs in some cases and those who are not given jobs are able to grab the little employment opportunities that are available in the area.

Impoverishment

Families have lost their land, and there is a sharp decline in the number of animals owned by the families after the displacement (Table 4.11). Similarly the trees they owned, are all felled. According to the data collected, 37 families had mahua trees and 14 families had other trees before displacement. Each family on an average lost 37 mahua trees and 15 other trees. Thirty seven seems to be a big number. Once again the inequality is striking. As many as 26 women said they had 25 or less than 25 trees and 10 women had 10 or less than 10 trees. Those who claimed to have 100 or more trees were generally Muslims or upper caste Hindu families. However, the highest figure was 200, as claimed by a tribal woman of Parej village, now living at Pindra rehabilitation centre. This was the family who lost the highest amount of land also.

The compensation for trees given by the company is included in the compensation given for land, and is a very small amount (around Rs. 500 for a big mahua tree!). However, the process of calculating the compensation is never explained to the people. The trees owned by families included both the trees on their own land and the trees in the forest which they 'owned' just for collecting mahua or other products. (We do not have segregated data on the privately owned

trees and the forest trees 'owned' by the families.) The company does not give any compensation for those forest trees. Those families, which did not have *mahua* trees, would also get many things to do in the *mahua* season, like collecting and processing the *mahua* and get their due share.

Table 4.13 : Spending the compensation amount

Money spent on	No. of women	Percentage to total (46)
Land	2	4
House	22	48
Consumer goods	5	11
Saving	4	8
Marriage	2	4
Others	23	50

Note: More than one response in some cases.

In any case the compensation given by the company for the land or for the trees lost by the families, do not help them in retaining the same economic status they had before displacement. The pattern of spending the compensation amount suggests that the money they received was spent generally on non-productive purposes. Table 4.13 summarizes the findings on the patterns of spending the compensation money.

As seen in the table, only two families (4%) could purchase land with the compensation money. In both cases the area of land bought was much less than the area of land lost. About half (48%) of the women said that money was spent on building houses. Since CCL gives compensation for the houses and also a plot at the rehabilitation site, it was possible for these families to build houses for them. Only about eight percent of women said that some money was saved in a bank. Fifty percent of the women said money was spent for 'other' purposes, meaning on health and consumption needs. The situation after the displacement, for most of the families was not conducive that they could think and plan for productive use of compensation money nor they had sufficient exposure or experience in dealing with cash economy.

Inequality

Apart from impoverishment, displacement intensifies inequality in

society. The inequality between the beneficiaries of development projects and victims of the project is likely to increase. Chris de Wet puts this as a 'contradictory tendency' of the development projects, which involve involuntary displacement. He writes: 'Development is presumably about increasing people's options, well-being, and control over their circumstances, whereas involuntary relocatees, moved in the interest of such an option-increasing initiative, find their autonomy, and very often their options and well-being, decreased.' (de Wet 2001: 4637)

Not only this, displacement also intensifies the inequality among those who have to relocate. The very compensation and rehabilitation policy of Coal India tends to increase the inequality among the displaced families. The families, for instance, which had land, are given both monetary compensation and jobs for every three acres or two acres of land. But those families, which had no land or had land less than what the company's rehabilitation policy required to get a job are left with a meager amount to survive. Even in the same family, where land is not enough to get jobs for all male adults or all brothers, those who do not get jobs are left far behind those who are working with CCL.

The data, available on the compensation received by the families, supports this apprehension. First of, all most women do not know how much money their family received as compensation for the land. Only fourteen women knew how much money their husband or other male members (father in law, or husband's elder brother) received in compensation. According to those fourteen women, every family got about Rs. 68,000 for compensation, on an average. But the difference between the maximum and the minimum amounts received is striking. One family reported to have received Rs. 5 lakh for land and another one received just Rs. 4,500. Those who received big amounts are also given two, three or four jobs per family. The family, which got Rs. 5 lakhs as compensation is a tribal family and is considered to be the richest tribal family in Parej village. However, most of those who received big amounts were not of SC/ST category but mostly outsiders. Their fathers or grand fathers came from somewhere to live there and almost all of them sided with CCL at the high time of confrontation and negotiations.

Food Insecurity

Increased food insecurity is another reason of concern for the displaced families. To understand this we have to look at the changes in the food habit of the people, the displacement has brought about. Earlier, their food included a variety of agricultural and forest products. We have given list of the agricultural products they have grown in their lands and the forest products they used to collect, in Boxes 4 and 5 respectively. Table 4.13a below gives an idea about the change in eating habits.

Table 4.13a : Changes in eating habits – a

Food items	Same as earlier	Less than earlier	Do not eat now	Total
<i>Madua</i>	13	11	15	39
Maze	11	20	8	39
Bajra	12	10	17	39
Pulses	14	19	6	39

We have also asked how frequently they used to eat before displacement and how frequently they eat now the food items like pulses, vegetables, and egg/meat/fish after the displacement. Table 4.13b below summarizes the information.

Table 4.13b : Changes in eating habits – b

Food items	How many times in a week	Before Displacement	After Displacement
Pulses	Never or rare	10 (22%)	11 (24%)
	Up to 3 days	10 (22%)	27 (59%)
	4-6 days	2 (4%)	2 (4%)
	7 days	24 (52%)	6 (13%)
	Total	46 (100%)	46 (100%)
Vegetables	Never or rare	13 (28%)	15 (33%)
	Up to 3 days	5 (11%)	18 (39%)
	4-6 days	3 (6.5%)	4 (8%)
	7 days	25 (54.5%)	9 (20%)
	Total	46 (100%)	46 (100%)
Eggs / meat / fish	Never or rare	12 (26%)	18 (39%)
	Up to 3 days	20 (43.5%)	16 (35%)
	4-6 days	2 (4.5%)	12 (26%)
	7 days	12 (26%)	0 (0%)
Total		46 (100%)	46 (100%)

The two tables show the extent of food insecurity that displacement has created for the families. The first table (4.13a) gives data on the traditional agricultural products the families used to grow and eat when they had their own lands. Since they have lost their lands now the availability of these staple cereals has declined for the most of the families. Only about one third of those women, who responded, said that they ate these items 'same as earlier'. The rest of the families have either 'less than earlier' chances to eat these items or 'do not eat' these items now.

The second table (4.13b) presents how frequently these families eat certain food items now and how frequently they did so before the displacement. Earlier all these families did farming and so they were in better position to have some food items, which may not be available now, like they used to grow, pulses like *kurthi* and *urad*. Similarly since they had land and their own homes they grew vegetables on the land or at home (in rural areas some vegetables are grown on the thatched roof-tops). We have seen the decline in the number of animals and chickens etc. these families used to have. Obviously these would affect their meat and eggs consumption. The table (4.13b) above shows the decline in the consumption of these items. Women reported that they consumed pulses, vegetables and eggs/meat/fish respectively, 7 days a week, before displacement were 52%, 54% and 26% respectively, which fell to 4%, 13% and 0% respectively after displacement. But the percentages of those rarely consumed these items increased from 22% to 24%, 28% to 33% and 23% to 39% respectively after displacement.

Before displacement, most of these items were produced at home but now these have to be bought from the market. Those families, whose male members are with CCL may be earning more but now the priorities are changed, like almost every CCL employee has a motorcycle at-least in the Ashoka-Piparwar area. Then their lifestyle has changed. New garments, fashion, TV, cinema etc. are the priorities now. Also drinking goes up of those who have a salaried job with CCL. NGO workers of the area, tell that shopkeepers are more generous towards those who work with CCL and give them things on credit. The families are indebted as all this increases their expenditure.

The declined access to the forest produce is another major reason of increasing food insecurity. *Mahua* was one important source of food security. 'If we did not have anything to eat, we would fry *mahua* and fill our stomach' was a statement we often heard during our fieldwork. A number of other forest products were used for human consumption. Women say that these products are less available now compared to earlier, and are available on far away from home (see Box 5).

Box - 4

Agricultural produces grown by families

Gondli	Madua	Kurthi	Sarguja
Makai (Maiz)	Dhan (Paddy)	Goda	Urad

Box - 5

Forest produces collected by the women

The women included in the study are all from those families which dependent mainly on agriculture and forest produce collection. The women listed as many as 25 to 30 items they collect from forest before they were displaced. Women of all social categories collected most of these items from forest. Some might not be collecting one or two items depending on their social background (upper caste Hindu and Muslim women said that they would not collect produces like phutka or khukhdi). Here is the list of those items told by women:

Phutka	Both are mushrooms found in rainy season. Used as vegetable.
<i>Khukhdi</i> Mauna sag Sarla sag Konar sag Gurman saag	Leaves of different trees. Used as vegetable.
<i>Kachnar phool</i> Jirhul phool Huter	Flowers of different trees, used as vegetable.
Mahua	Mahua is a big tree. Its flowers are used for various purposes. People eat mahua in many ways. The dried mahua is eaten after frying, or boiling and in other ways. It is also used to make country liquor. In the mahua season (February to April) when flowers come on the trees people's lives in villages revolve around it. Collection work starts early in the morning

	and then people are busy processing and storing the mahua. Mahua trees were important property the families had before displacement. Also common mahua trees were found and distributed among villagers according to some traditional norms.
Dori	This is fruit of the mahua tree and is crushed for making oil. Its remains are used for manure.
Bel Kend Piyar Jamun Aam (Mango) Dumar	All these are fruits and are found in forest. Some people own them privately too.
Gainthi	It is root of some plant, which is used as vegetable. Also useful to relive pain in the bone-joints.
Chiraita	This plant is used for fever. The plant is soaked in water at night and in morning the water is taken after filtering it.
Kareel	The bamboo shoots. Used as vegetable, and also to make pickle.
Bhelwa	Seed of some tree. Crushed to make oil.
Kusum	Used to make oil
Agoye Bandar loyeri	
Tona or teni	
Ban bhedi	
Jhadoo Lakdi	The sticks are used to make broom. Wood for fuel as well as for house hold uses.
Datoon	Sticks of many trees used as toothbrush.
Bamboo	Bamboo, many uses, including making basket, a traditional work done by Turis
Lives of the people selected for the study was dependent on the forest to a large extent, is very obvious from the list of produces suggested by the women. With displacement many lose their access to these resources. For many others, the access declines as forest is far from them. Even if there is forest in the vicinity of their new place they feel alien and unknown. Women told that they keep on going to their old forest, though, it is much far now, occasionally to get wood. But after displacement, now collecting food produces	

has become rare for most of them. There were also traditional systems, according to which families collected produces from certain trees, especially in case of mahua. So for displaced families it is not available even if there are trees in the vicinity. But what is disturbing is that no compensation is given for these common property. The World Bank, in its response to the complaints made to the Inspection Panel regarding improper compensation and inadequate rehabilitation of the families displaced by the Parej East OCP, says that these families were not dependent on the forest (Inspection Panel document). The Bank's claim is based on the base line survey done by prestigious XISS, Ranchi, in which no family was found to be dependent on forest. We do not know what evidences made XISS to conclude this, but the data collected by us suggests clearly that these families were dependent on forest and agriculture before displacement.

But do men and women in the family face this food insecurity equally? Answer to this question is certainly 'no'. Women and children are more likely to face this situation. Just because of secondary status of women in family, their access to food is less than that of men. Mainly, their access to food outside home is limited. In the mining areas there are *dhabas* (small hotels), so many things are sold to eat in the weekly *haats* (bazaar). In the every *haat* country liquor (*daru* and *handia*) is sold with cooked meat (pork or chicken), and access to all these items outside home is obviously more for men than for women and children, as they have money in their hands now.

We also asked questions about the functioning of public distribution system (PDS), as this is supposed to be an important mechanism to ensure food security of the poor families. More than 90 percent of the women said they do not have chances to buy anything from ration shops. Most of the displaced families have not been given new ration cards when they moved to new places. After displacement decline in the access to government programmes like PDS (which in any case is very low) is also a setback the families have to face.

Data presented in this section suggests further marginalisation and food insecurity the displaced families are facing. Again because of their secondary status, women in the society are the worst affected. They are not given the compensation money, as they are generally not considered eligible for jobs. The increased food insecurity increases their hardships even more.

Health Risks: With displacement, the health status of the displaced families goes down. Sudden outbreak of epidemics like malaria and water born diseases are most likely to occur. Moreover, non-availability or inadequate availability of the health services is another reason of deteriorating health status of the displaced families. However, women selected for this study said that there has been no change in the availability of health facilities after the displacement. Their responses about the availability of a hospital in village are more or less the same, after and before displacement. About 60 percent women say that there was a health facility available in their village before displacement as compared to 55 percent women asserting its availability at present.

Increasing dependency on Private Doctors

Before going to talk about the health status of women and their family members, we would talk a little about the health facilities available in the study areas. We tried to ascertain the place of women’s health treatment before and after displacement. Table 4.14 illustrates the findings as follows:

Table 4.14 : Place of treatment

Place of treatment	Before displacement	After displacement
Govt. Doctor	5 (11%)	4 (9%)
Private Doctor	30 (65%)	34 (74%)
Company Hospital	13 (28%)	6 (13%)
Vaid-ojha	24 (52%)	8 (18%)
Others	5 (11%)	6 (13%)

- Note: 1. Percentages in brackets are percentage to the total sample (46).
2. Families would go to more than one place for treatment. So the total is more than 46.

We can see from the above table that private doctors are the main service providers for these families. These doctors, mainly untrained or semi-trained, dominate the health scenario in rural India. In the field we saw ‘doctors’ moving on bicycles from one village to another, catering to people’s health needs. But displacement has increased people’s dependency on those *jhola* doctors (as they are called). As we see in the table 4.14, people’s access to all the places of treatment declined except the ‘private doctors’. Now 74 percent

of women say they go to private doctors for treatment compared to 65 percent of them saying so for before displacement.

Number of families going to the company's health centres (CCL or Tisco, in a few cases) has declined after displacement. Considering the number of men working with these companies, the number of families going to the company health centre should have increased, as both the companies provide free treatment to their employees. But barring a few complicated cases, generally families do not go to the companies' hospitals. One reason for many is distance of the hospital from their new place. Earlier for families of Parej village the CCL's hospital was near their village, at Parej Bungalow. Another reason is that now the CCL health centres do not give (or do not have) the proper medicines. People say that they give the same medicines for all the problems. They think that if they have to buy medicine from outside only, they will go to the private doctors (Same is the case with the government hospitals).

Another major change is the dramatic decline in visiting an *ojha* or *vaid* for treatment. Now only 18 percent of the women avail these traditional medicinal services compared to 52 percent women doing so before displacement. This change can be taken as both positive and negative. Positive in the sense that now less families rely on exorcism and witchcraft called the "*jhad-phoonk*", and *mati ojhas*. But in the region often the same person doing the '*ojha*' work also knows about the herbs and plants found in forest and their medicinal use. But now with displacement and uprooting of the villages, there is no scope for people to go for traditional medicines. This way the traditional medicinal system is now out of use. People say that '*jungli*' medicines do not cure now. The reason they believe is use of fertilizers in agriculture. Another reason of declining belief in traditional medicine is cultural. With mining so many people from outside come to the area. The local people are influenced by outsiders, who believe in allopathy.

The medical facilities available at the rehabilitation centres are also suggestive. At Pindra rehabilitation centre, where families from Parej village were dumped forcibly by police, has buildings for school and hospital, but even after four years, there are neither doctors nor teachers. CCL says that they have built the building and now it is

the government's responsibility to provide doctors and other facilities there. The need of a health centre at the rehabilitation centre can be understood by the fact that 5 people died there in the very first year of the forced rehabilitation. The Premnagar rehabilitation centre where Turi families are given plots, has no health facility, however there is one CCL health centre close by. In the Chirayatand rehabilitation centre, where families displaced by Ashoka and Piperwar projects are rehabilitated, there is a health centre, where a doctor comes. But there is no health centre at New Mangardaha (Benti Rehabilitation Centre -1), where families displaced by the same projects are rehabilitated. Here a private practitioner is working.

The bad state of medical facilities at the rehabilitation centres, and non availability of medicines at the CCL medicine centres and government hospitals, besides the breaking down of traditional medicinal system after the displacement can explain well the increasing dependency of people on private doctors. Though we do not have data on the families' expenditure pattern, yet it is quite obvious that families' health expenditure increases with their increasing dependency on private doctors.

Health Status deteriorates

Now we will have a look at the health status of women and their family members, as perceived by them. We asked the women about their perception of their and their own family members' health status. The responses are given in the table below.

Table 4.15 : Status of Health: Women's Perception

Family members	Perception of women about status of health	Before Displacement	After Displacement
Woman*	Good	39 (85%)	12 (26%)
	Bad	5 (11%)	32 (70%)
Husband	Good	30 (65%)	10 (21%)
	Bad	7 (15%)	27 (59%)
Children	Good	33 (72%)	9 (19%)
	Bad	8 (17%)	32 (70%)

Note: Percentages in brackets are percentage to the total (46).

* Out of 46 respondents, 2 did not respond and thus the above data is of 44 respondents.

As seen in the table (4.15) most women feel that their health status has worsened after the displacement. They also feel the same about their husbands and children. The worsening health status is also evident from the fact that as many as 13 (about 30%) women said that they were suffering from some or the other sickness at the time of interview. This number can be even higher, because the perception about being sick is also determined by the level of over all health status in a society. If the overall health status is low, health related issues are not given due importance by the people. A woman, we were talking to, said that she was not having any problem. But only after five minutes of interview she started feeling severe cold and fever. Another woman present there said that she was suffering from malaria, and was feeling cold and feverish as this happened every alternative day to a malaria patient. 'She will be alright soon', she said who was also suffering from malaria, and had fever and cold the day before. That time malaria was prevalent all over the state of Jharkhand.

Common Diseases

We also asked questions regarding the kind of diseases women, children and men had after and before displacement. Table 4.16 presents the responses received.

Table 4.16 : Disease before and after displacement

Diseases	Women		Children		Men	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Cold cough fever	18 (39%)	17 (37%)	13 (28%)	12 (26%)	9 (20%)	10 (22%)
Malaria	5 (11%)	12 (26%)	3 (7%)	11 (24%)	3 (7%)	7 (15%)
Other water born diseases	3 (7%)	6 (13%)	2 (4%)	6 (13%)	1 (2%)	4 (4%)
Lung and respiratory	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	— (2%)	1 —	—	2 (2%)

Note: Percentages in the brackets are percentage to the total (46)

As we can see in the above table, common cold, cough and fever were mentioned by most of the women (more than one third in the case of 'women') for all three groups, both after and before displacement. Increase in malaria is noticed by about 25% of women for 'children' and 'women' and by 15 percent of women for 'men'. However, no major increase was mentioned in lung and respiratory diseases, which is expected to be the case, because of pollution caused by mines. Still, one woman in case of 'children' and two women in case of 'men' observed the presence of such diseases, which was mentioned by none for these two groups before displacement. A doctor (private) practicing in New Mangardaha, said that there was an increase in lung and respiratory diseases in the area. The cases of common-cold-fever, mentioned by most of the women for all three groups, both before and after displacement have to be understood in the background of low health status and poor health facilities in the areas, especially for the displaced families. Lack of health facilities and poor economic condition may prevent many cases of cold-cough-fever from further diagnosis and they remain to be a case of common cold-cough-fever only.

We also asked women if there was any change in the place of childbirth, after displacement. And for most of the women there was no change. Most of the babies were born at home, attended by the traditional *dayees* (nurses). However, some women (about 17%) have reported that after displacement they (or other women in the family) go to the hospitals.

Similarly no major change in family planning practices is observed. Only a small number of women (6 women) said that they took any measure of birth control. After displacement this number increased to 9. Most of them (5 women) have had vasectomy done. One or two women reported that earlier they used some traditional medicine.

Data presented in this section suggest the increasing health risks to families after displacement. Their dependence on private doctors increases and most of them, especially women and children, tend to fall sick more often than earlier. Malaria is a common disease. The supposed increase in health facilities with mining in the area also seems to be a myth. Families' access to all health facilities except

the private doctors has declined. Also, no major change in the place of childbirth or in family planning practices was noticed.

A psychological pressure: The displacement these families had to face was not planned or voluntary displacement. It was a forced relocation of families from their traditional ancestral villages. This displacement affects people's sources of livelihood, their land, their forest, their homes, and their age old social and cultural systems. This results in a kind of psychological pressure, which can be observed while interacting with these families. After ten years of displacement many families are not given compensation. Thirty percent of the women selected for the study are living in temporary homes, most of them living in those 'temporary' places for a long period (about 5 to 10 years), and most of them do not know where to go from there. The situation is the same with employment. People do not know where to go to get some job. The company has promised to give job to some people but has not given. These situations affect women more adversely. They feel tensed and become short-tempered. Where the husband or son is not getting a job or is not working properly, they feel frustrated. Like Sohari displaced from Malmahura by Piperwar project and now living at Chirayatand rehabilitation site, says that her husband drinks much more than earlier, and does not go to work regularly. This, she tells, gives her sleepless nights. Women, whose husbands work with CCL, complain that their husbands have increased drinking and engage in quarreling and beating. About one third of women said that their husbands now drink more than earlier. In some cases women also start drinking. This especially happens the time when people receive compensation money. The availability of cash in their hands and the psychological pressures they are facing at that time give rise the tendency of increased drinking.

Another tendency, however, is less drinking. For many, earlier *mahua* was easily available and they would make liquor at home. But now some families feel a crisis of money, 25 percent women say their husbands drink now less than earlier.

Shock and trauma of loosing everything they had has a frustrating impact on people's mental health. One woman who has lost about

10 acres of *ghair-majarua* land and is not given any compensation, as they did not have documents of those land on which they had been working for so many years. She has become short-tempered because of shock. She now gets angry so often to her children. This is a Bhagat tribal family who did not pay any taxes and did not care for any government documents.

Social and Cultural Risks: Displacement disrupts the social and cultural network or web of the communities, developed as a result of years of long social relationship. This disruption of social relationship after displacement has an impact on the people. The earlier support system breaks down. And it takes time to develop such a system again. One important reason of breaking down of this network is the loss of agricultural land. Earlier the land kept the family for generations. The land is often in the name of elders and new generation though living in a nuclear family work on the same lands. And this way land kept them together. Since families lost their land with displacement their bondage also gets weakened.

Social Disarticulation

The data collected during our study suggest that there is a break down of social and cultural network. For example, about 60 percent of the women said that their relatives and neighbors lived here and there. Generally, women say that people of the present village help them in any emergency and they come in occasions like marriage and death etc. Also, the relatives and neighbors of old places come on such occasions. However, the social intermixing with the people of the host village is not smooth. This depends on where the family is living. If they are living in a rehabilitation centre situation is different and if they are living in a relative's village their experience may differ. Those who went to their relative's village, made house there and were taken into social network of the village. But social ceremony of acceptance through a community meal was needed first. After giving a feast to people of the new village and performing some rituals at *Sarna* they are formally inducted in the social and cultural network of the village. They are now allowed to perform their rituals at the *Sarna* of the village.

Those living at a rehabilitation centre may be from the same village, so they have some extent of support system. However, because of complications involved in compensation the bond between the families gets weakened. But in some cases there is a single family or just two families from their old villages are present. Like Sohari, from Chirayatand rehabilitation site, is from one of the two families from Malmohura who are living at this rehabilitation centre but all others

Box - 6

Educational Status of Children

Here we discuss the status of education of children. There are 186 children of the women taken for the study. On an average every woman has 4.34 children. Out of total 186, 107 are male and 79 female. The sex ratio of the children is quite low. It comes to 739 female per 1000 male. Their age range from 0 to 30 years. The table below gives information about the status of their education:

Educational Status of Children

Educational level	Number of children		
	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	9 (12.67%)	22 (44%)	31 (25%)
Literate	13 (18.30%)	5 (10%)	18 (15%)
Primary	30 (42.25%)	15 (30%)	45 (37%)
Middle	10 (14.00%)	6 (12%)	16 (13%)
Higher school	6 (8.40%)	0 (0%)	6 (5%)
Higher education	4 (5.63%)	2 (4%)	6 (5%)
Total	71	50	121

We have information about 121 children of the total 186 children. We see a big gap between males and female literacy. About 45% females are illiterate compared to only 13% males. This is in accordance with the overall lower literacy among SC / ST categories in the area and differences between male female literacy rates, in our society. However, the facilities for education of the displaced families are miserable. The rehabilitation sites have school building but teachers are not appointed. The school and hospital building at Pindra rehabilitation centre is lying vacant (people have sown arhar in the ground). CCL says that it is the government's responsibility to depute teachers there and that they were corresponding with the concerned department. At New Mangardaha CCL had promised to pay half of the salary of teachers which they did not give. Some unemployed youths of the near by villages come and teach the children and charge fees. Sometimes CCL gives some money for maintenance of the school. There is one school at Chirayatand rehabilitation centre, which was earlier in one of the displaced villages and was located here after displacement.

are from some other villages. She has no social relationship with the other families living there. A few women living at rehabilitation centers grieved that now no one came at the time of emergency.

With displacement families' old system of conflict resolution, and coping with emergencies also breaks down. In about 60 percent cases women said that earlier conflicts were resolved by the caste panchayat or the village panchayat. This percentage now goes down to 50 percent. But what is important is that now increasing number of women say that they solve their problems themselves. It is all solved in the family now.

The break down of social bond has its impact on more vulnerable people like widows, elderly or the landless poor. They feel lonely and helpless. The compensatory job and money was given to a woman's step son, who lives somewhere else. She is now somehow making her life at the barracks. Similarly a woman living at Pindra rehabilitation centre said that in Parej village her brother had given her and her husband some land to cultivate. But now the land is lost and she has lost her support system. With the loss of agricultural land and access to the common property resources, the situation becomes more difficult for women, widows, the landless and the elderly people. Now everything is for money, and they are the ones who do not have money. Old parents would like their sons to get the job instead of themselves, so the dependence of such vulnerable people increases on those who are working.

Cultural Uprooting

Displacement culturally uproots the people. With the break down of social bondage and exposure to different cultural values, norms and traditions, people see a change in their culture. About 43% of selected women reported to notice some sort of change in the way their festivals were celebrated. Now *Karma* and *Sarahul* festivals are not celebrated as earlier. Changes are more visible for women. Earlier in the celebration of festivals in the region both men and women had equal roles and status. They would go to *Sarna* together, have food and drink together and dance together for whole nights. But now after displacement women lose their earlier roles and status. They are often just spectators. They are now living at the new

places without the *Sarnas*. Priorities have changed for children too. They are more interested in going to cinema (to a nearby town or market, where if there is no cinema hall there are video halls) or watching TV (if not at their homes at neighbors' homes). More than 50% women observed such changes in behavior of their children.

The influx of so many outsiders in the area is also responsible for the changes in the cultural norms and traditions of the people. With the mines the officials and laborers of the mining company come to the area. CCL has made its officers' colony and miners' quarters in the area. Many truckers and other people come to the region regularly. All this has impact on people's cultural and social lives. They celebrate their festivals (sometimes common to those of local population like Holi or Durgapuja) in very different manner like having big *pandals*, and high volume music at Durgapuja. Also, orchestra is hired and children are attracted more towards such items than towards the traditional ways.

The colonies, made here and there for CCL officers and other staff, affect the people, especially women, in other ways too. Women and young girls have told about the misbehavior by the youngsters living in those colonies. They tease the girls and women and make vulgar remarks. Some times women are raped and killed. Women in the group discussion told about two incidences of rape cases, in which nothing was done by the police. The trucks also line up in the villages and the truckers also find these women easy prey for sexual exploitation.

The status of women in the family has also changed with displacement. In most cases they live at home and do nothing, which can get some money. They do the household chores and collect fuel from forest. Their husbands now work in CCL or do some other work. Their role is now limited to the four walls of the house. As we have seen in the last section about 30% of women noticed an increase in drinking by their husbands. The drinking by husbands leads to quarrel, abuse and beatings. We ourselves observed such instances of drunken misbehaviour by husbands.

Box - 7**Women's view about mining**

We asked the women about their views on environmental destruction caused by mining, whether mining should be done or not. And if done who should do mining. 65 to 80 percent of women said mining is causing problems, with blasts, dust in atmosphere and deforestation. Water problems were also mentioned by more than 30 percent of the women.

27 women (60 %) feel that mining should be stopped. However, 35 percent women think that it should be done by local people. At present mining is done with all heavy machines, in technically sophisticated ways. So, it is not a wonder that women can not think about mining being done by local people.

We also wanted to know whether these women know where does the coal produced in their area go and is used for what purposes. Only 2 women said they knew about where the coal went and its uses.

Group Discussions and Interviews: Recounting the suffering

The quantitative data presented in the last section have their importance. But people's sufferings can not be expressed fully in numbers alone. Aware of this fact, we decided to hold group discussions with the women and to have long discussions with individuals – men and women. Here we are presenting the summaries of the discussions in the groups and the interviews with the individuals.

Group Discussion: Group One

Women of this group were from the barracks, the CCL guard rooms, where they are living for 5 to 10 years on temporary basis. Before the displacement all of them were living in Parej village, which was not so far from the barracks. Almost all of them have been allotted plots at rehabilitation sites or been given Rs. 50,000 as compensation for their home. But they are still living in the Barracks because they have no money to build their houses. Money received from CCL is all spent. Another reason is availability of some employment there. According to the woman in the group, here they can get something from forest, which can be sold (mainly wood), or some domestic job in the nearby CCL colonies. Some parts of forest is still nearer, and they feel it as 'their own' forest. Women now living at Pindra rehabilitation centre also come to this forest only, walking about 10 Kms., just because they feel its 'their' forest. There is forest near the Pindra rehabilitation centre but women feel alien there.

Though these women thought that this place was relatively better in terms of availability of employment, they could not find sufficient employment. For most of the displaced women whose husbands or other family members were not given a job with CCL, employment seemed to be the most important concern. The loss of all the means of livelihood, forest, *mahua* trees and agricultural land have left them in misery. We saw a lady cleaning some black rice to cook, which some woman of Muslim tola of Parej village had sent her, for working in their fields during the last season. This Muslim tola is going to be displaced mining.

Destruction of forest was an issue of concern for these women. Now they have to walk longer to get wood and other forest produces. There are fewer produces now available in forest and *mahua* is now not at all available for them. Earlier they had *mahua* trees both private and in forest. The *mahua* trees in forest were distributed only for the purpose of *mahua* collection among the families. Even if there are *mahua* trees in forest they are 'taken' by some other families of the near by village for generations to collect *mahua*. So even if displaced families are rehabilitated near the forest they can not have now any access to *mahua*, which earlier was a major source of livelihood and food security for them.

Water and sanitation was another issue bothering these women. They take water from the pipe which takes water to the CCL colony, or from the nearby Tata's Tisco OCP mine, or from the river. The pipe water is not treated and is being treated in the CCL colony only, so they get the untreated water. In mines, after mining is done to a certain level, water comes and this water is used by many people of the surrounding villages for taking bath, washing clothes, and for cattle etc. They prefer the river water for drinking. Since these sources are far from the barracks, the women have to spend longer time in fetching water. They remembered the wells and streams in their village (Parej). However, there also they used to go to the river sometimes but not very often. One woman told that she now takes bath only once in a week as the river is far. She said that men could get time to go there every day or alternative days but women are always held up with many things. Another problem they talked about was toilets. There are no places where they can go for

defecation. Because of disappearing forest and presence of so many people, they have this problem. They have to go farther and also early in the morning only, as there are now men everywhere.

Group Discussion: Group Two

Women of this group meeting were from a Village named Ulahara (Panchayat – Tapin) near Parej OCP. They were gathered in the school building of the village for the monthly meeting of their savings group. After the meeting we discussed with them about mining in the area.

These women, though not displaced themselves, were aware of the plight of people displaced. They said that people of Parej village had lost their land and forest and were now living at Pindra and other places. This fact led the discussion in revelation that they also might have to lose their agricultural lands for the proposed Tapin Underground Project. In total, 9 acre 76 decimal land of 4 or 5 families is to be taken into this project. But as per 2 acre and 3 acre norms of the CIL's Rehabilitation policy only 2 persons can be given job.

No activity related to this project is now taking place. CCL officials for some time are keeping quite about the project. Women said that people are never told about the upcoming projects. They had no idea about what CCL exactly is, and what do they do with the coal produced.

The women of this group discussed a different kind of problem. The staff quarters of CCL are near their agricultural lands. And waste water and garbage of those quarters are thrown in their fields. Their crops rot away because of this. This year also their rice crop was affected as the fields were filled with dirty water from the colony. Women often go to the colonies and fight the officials over this issue but the latter just do not listen.

And what about the CCL's claims of the 'development' which mining brings in the area? There is a CCL hospital in the colony people do not go there. They once had a fight with hospital people and they stopped going. This is a common complaint that CCL hospitals do not give medicine, like the government hospitals, and just prescribe

medicine and ask people to buy it from market. There is a water tank in the village made by CCL, which is often empty. Women said that they do not see any signs of development.

Women said that now they could not move as freely as they did earlier. Now the colony people are everywhere. They tease the girls and make absurd comments. About 6 years ago a girl was killed after rape, and no action was taken. A political leader came and gave her family Rs. 5000, for the last rituals and no action was taken against the culprit. The young men of colonies scare them and sometimes chase the girls. They said that they never went alone in forest or to their land, because of threat from colonies.

The disappearance of forest was an issue of concern for these women too. Deforestation caused by mining was always mentioned by women. They said that now the forest was far and was not dense. 'CCL sara jangal ujad raha hai', women complained.

Interviews:

Sohari Devi (32), Chiraytand rehabilitation centre

My name is Sohari Ganju. I was brought up by my grand parents (maternal) after the death of my parents. I was married at the age of 16 and came to live in Malmohura. In the new village my life was quite well. I was habituated to live this life, to work on the fields and going to forest, since the days I lived with my grandparents. Here also I would do the same work. My husband was working as a welder at nearby markets as well as he would work on the family land in agriculture season. Our family had 15 acres revenue land and 10 to 15 acres *ghair-majarua* land, jointly. It was a big family, my father-in-law's father had two brothers, my father-in-law also had two brothers and my husband has one brother. The land was to be distributed among my grand fathers-in-law and subsequently among my father-in-law and his brother and then between my husband and his brother. But still we would make life on their lands. We would live separately, yet we were together because of the land. My husband would work more seriously and regularly then and would not drink. But later after the death of an old lady in family he started drinking, but it was not too much. We also had

about 25-30 mahua trees. We would collect mahua in mahua season and sell it. We had 10-15 other trees also.

Then mining started in nearby Mangardaha village. The Piparwar project had come. Soon it moved to my own village, Malmohura and people's agricultural lands were being lost due to mines. The CCL officials would come to the village and talk to the men of the village. Compensation money was being given and people were given jobs with the company. My family got Rs. 92,000 in total for the revenue land and no money for the ghair majarua land. We were not given any compensation for the trees either. Out of this amount we got only Rs. 4,500, as it was distributed among the kin. Our family had 15 acres of revenue land so it was sufficient for compensation jobs to the five persons only. However, there were more than five adult males in the family. The Mukhiya of the village said that if we would give him Rs. 25,000, he would get a job for the sixth man (my husband) also. All the members contributed money and gave him Rs. 25,000. But, ultimately, only five men were given jobs. I think that Mukhiya, whose name is Sahdeva, and who lives now in Rai, did not give the money to the company officials and kept it with him only. Elder brother of my husband was one of the five men, who got jobs in the family. Others were my husband's cousins and uncles. As the families got the money and jobs for their land and homes they started moving out of the village and moved to one of the rehabilitation centres. We stayed there, with a hope that my husband would get a job. We would request the CCL officials to give him a job. But they did not listen. Finally ours was the only family of Malmahura living there, near the mines, between blasts and trucks and dumpers. The mine officials asked us to take the money for our home and leave but we insisted my husband to be taken in the company. Then the company officials expelled my husband's brother and cousins from the work, saying that they would be taken back only after we leave the place. Those who had been expelled, now, persuade us to leave our home. It gave rise to the tension among the cousins.

And then we gave up, one day in rainy season we left our home in Malmahura, to live in a home, made by the company at Chirayatand rehabilitation centre. The company generally does not build houses

for oustees. Displaced families are supposed to make their houses. But this was special case. Mining work was being disturbed because of us and company wanted us to leave as soon as possible. So they made our house, at Chiraiyatand rehabilitation centre. I now live at a relatively big plot. We were given three plots: one for me, another for my husband's brother and the third for my husband's sister who lived in Malmohura with us. We got a plot for her also. My brother-in-law and sister in law do not live here. So I have relatively big plot, where I grow vegetables. We have dug a well on the plot.

My husband now does not work very seriously, and drinks much more than earlier. Since he does not work regularly, there is always crisis. This gives me many sleepless nights. I stay at home, do household chorus and go to forest to collect fuel wood. I go to the old forest only, near our now uprooted village. Since that is far from here I do not go very often. There is forest near the rehabilitation centre also, but how can we go to the 'others' forest.' We feel alien there. But we (she and her husband's uncle's wife) go there sometimes to bring things like *datoon* and *jhadoo*. 'Jungle wale' (MCC people are known by this term among the locals) also prevent us from cutting trees. But they do not stop from taking dried up branches of trees. Now since we do not go to the forest near the rehabilitation centre and the forest near our old village is very far, now we do not collect the forest produces for eating and medicinal purposes. When in my old village, we had many animals – 6-7 cows, one pair of buffaloes, 15-16 goats, and many chickens – but now I have none, except for one or two goats and a few chickens. Where is a place for them to graze?

Here we feel alien because only two families from Malmahura are living in Chirayatand. All the other families of the village are at some other rehabilitation centres. I do not have relationship with the other families living here. There is no *Sarna* here. We go to the old *sarna* (still exists there) to perform our religious rituals. Since we are only two families here now we do not celebrate festivals like *Karama* and *Sarahul*.

At the rehabilitation centre there is a school where teachers come. My children go there only. There is a health centre also there, where

no doctors come. I have to spend so much money on private doctors whenever my children or I myself fall sick. Our health status has declined after we came to live here.

Now I am living here. What can be done about the things beyond one's control? This is not happened to me alone this has happened to ten other people too.

Mahilal (50), Chanaro

My name is Mahilal. We lived at Jogwa tola of Parej village before displacement. When I was a child I would work on fields with my parents and one brother in law. We had 15 acres of land in total. We would grow paddy, and on the upper land we would grow *gondli*, *madua*, *sarguja*, *urad*, *makka*, *bajra*, and *ghanghri* etc.

In my childhood, we did not have to buy many things from market. We would grow food in the fields, collect many forest produces make oil by crushing *dori* (*mahua* seeds) and use it in kitchen also, would go to *ojha*, whenever fall sick, and have forest medicines.

Tata's mines came 10 years before the CCL's Parej project. I lost 3.3 acres of land to the Tata's mines. In compensation, I got some money and employment with the company. My nephew (sister's son) was also given a job in the company's mines. Earlier I was a casual labour and worked for 5-6 years as a casual worker only. Then I got a permanent job with the company.

We would take water from a *dadi* and a stream. Tata's mines did not affect our water sources but it took one of the streams, which was a source of water for the families of other tolas, into it. Later the company dug a well for them.

The Tata's mines took our agricultural lands, some people's homes (some of the families had to relocate their homes within the village), one stream, one *dadi*, and uprooted the forest. The way to go to Ghato, which was the nearest Bazar, where we would go to look for daily wage employment there, was blocked because of Tata's mines and we had to walk longer now to reach Ghato.

Then CCL came with their Parej East OCP. They started mining in forest. CCL asked us to leave our lands and take money for the

land. We resisted but there was a person named Baijnath, who negotiated on behalf of CCL and persuaded us to leave the land and home. This ex-army man was an outsider and his father came to live in this village. He would also lend money and things to people on interest. My son and son-in-law got jobs with the company. Still the mining was being done in the forest. We lived in Parej village and worked on our fields, till the mines came to the fields. When the mines came nearer, we had to face many problems. Blasts in the mines would shake the houses, thatches would fall down, water became scare, a well in the village collapsed because of blasts i.e. all the bricks of its inner wall fell down in the well and well was no more of any use after that. Dust is always in the air because of many trucks on the road and frequent blasts. Everything was black, water would become dirty, and water in the wells would get polluted.

The company officials asked us to get the measurement of the houses done, take the compensation amount and leave the village. Then we asked the company to transfer the boys, (my son and son-in-law), who were posted in a distant mine of CCL.

But CCL officials somehow persuaded my son to do the measurement and it was done. We got Rs. 50,000 for there home. And then left Jogwa tola, and came to this new place. Here we take water from a stream, which dries up in summer. We do not know what are we going to do in summer. Now for everyone in the family the workplace is very far from here. Though forest is in vicinity, we do not have any mahua trees. And other forest produces are also not available in this forest.

I think that the earlier life, based on agriculture was better than this life. Now you have to work for whole of the year. If you are healthy and you can work only then you get to eat. Otherwise you can not earn. Earlier you had to work for six moths and rest of the time you could take rest. And after the initiation of mines health related problems occur more often than earlier. After joining the mine work in Tata's I also have health problems. Once I had lung related problem and got treatment from a CCL doctor who treated me privately and charged fees.

I do not know what do these companies do with the coal produced. People should be given full information about such projects.

Islam Ansari (30), New Mangradaha

My name is Islam Ansari. I lived in Mangardaha village. I have been given job in exchange of land. There was survey being conducted in 1984. Then we came to know that there was coal under our land and we would have to leave this village. Our first reaction to this was, all of us should be given job. Management assured that they would give employment to all of us. We filled in forms to get job, according to one job for per 3-acre land. And in the first round 65-66 people filled the form.

When they brought machines, we asked that give us the job first. We stopped work two three times. Then 65 people, including me, got job with many difficulties. Later, 90 more people filled the forms but they got job in 1996.

When they started doing blasting, the houses were started to collapse, walls cracked then we said that how could we live here with these blasts? Then they told us that they would rehabilitate all the villagers at one place, where water, electricity, school, and hospital, all the facilities would be given. All the houses were surveyed and we were displaced from there.

CCL told that there were two places one Chirayatand and second was this. We said that we all (Hindus and Muslims) would go to one place only. We selected this place. M N Jha was CGM, he took some of the Muslims and Hindus on his side, used them as *dalals*, and divided us in two three groups (Hindu-Muslims). All the non-Muslims were given place at Chirayatand, some of the Muslims are here, at Benti Rehabilitation Site – 1. Chirayatand is rehabilitation site – 2 and Kalyanpur is Rehabilitation site – 3.

We don't have any patta for the plots we are living on. We asked about the patta before we came to live here. They promised to the pattas later.

They said that they would give 5 decimal for one unit (meaning one adult male) in the family, but actually they did not. Had they given, we should have got 20 decimal as we are four brothers but we were

given just 5 decimal land. My home was, in the earlier village, in 15 decimal land,

Later again we asked about the patta, then they said, the then revenue officer Shambhu Prasad did not give the patta, go to him get it in writing. When we went to him, he said go to the then CGM, M N Jha, get it in writing. Now all the officers are transferred here and there and some of them even retired. That is why we have now given up. We are living here but we have no proof that this land is ours.

We all were living together, fighting together when there was any problem, and talking to the management. Management, by dividing us weakened our strength. Now, if we put demand for something they get the others on their side and that is why we are not given any facilities.

Some more people (2-4 people) were given job later, some of the cases are still not cleared, and people are not given jobs. Many people's land is surplus than required for the job, and nothing happened to them.

Monetary compensation was given for our lands. But it was less than the government rate of that time. We fought in the Hazaribagh court and won the case also. After the decree payment was done to some people.

CCL made two buildings for school without windows, doors and boundary wall. They had said that CCL would pay half of the teachers' salary and the parents would give the other half. But now some private teachers are teaching here, and their salary comes from the fees taken from the students only.

There was a map of this rehabilitation site, according to which there had to be four roads, 26 (street) lights, it is written on the board (CCL has put a board in the village, stating what facilities are given at the rehabilitation site) and also on the CCL's register. There were 5 handpumps to be bored but only two handpumps were bored.

Out of four, one road was made by Bihar government. CCL did not construct any. We have to walk 4 Km to get a bus. There is no way, except the CCL's transporting road. (This road is just beside the

mines, to carry coal produced. It's a very busy road; trucks and dumpers run on the road continuously.) CCL had said that they would make a different road for the village. But they did not.

None of the two handpumps are giving water. There are two wells. We take water from the wells. CCL had promised to dig four wells but dug only two. We take water from those wells. In summer we buy water from tankers and pour it in the wells or take water from the river, which is one and a half km away from here.

They had promised to make a mosque, saying that the earlier mosque was demolished mistakenly by blasting. Though the agreement was done that CCL would not demolish any place of worship. But they blasted so much of explosive near the mosque, and mined 40-50 feet of coal around the mosque and mosque collapsed. When it collapsed we raised voice against it. They gave Rs. 80,000 only, after intervention of DC, Chatra and we made this mosque.

To suppress our voice the management would take administration and police in its control, and those who were a little vocal, they were put into some police case, were sent to jail, or beaten up by the police. I also had to go to jail for 11 months. There was one Rasan Paswan in Benti he was demanding for water for displaced people in Benti and was sent to jail. He was transferred and later he lost his job also. They harass the villagers and that's why nobody speaks out.

A few selected people like, Gobardhan Singh master, Abdullah Ansari, Yunus Ansari, one or two people from Kalyanpur, Bandev Ram, who is Mukhiya, and Pano Miya of Bahera would talk (to CCL) and decide. In meetings (of villagers) some decision was taken and those people would go and decide something else with the management. Women would not come to the meetings. Once an outside team had come. There were women also with them. They talked to women.

There was good health facility in the old village. There was a doctor (private, he is still working in New Mangradaha) there, and there were buses starting from the village, so if there were any problem we would go to Ranchi or Hazaribagh. But now from here it is very

difficult to take a patient to Ranchi or Hazaribagh, it takes three hours to go to the road only.

There is a regional CCL hospital at Bachra (10 Km away), but there also no drugs are available. They give same medicine in all diseases. There are one or two doctors. There is one government hospital at Tandwa (25Km).

In the village almost all of the families, except 2 or 4 had agricultural land. But only 50% of the families could get job (with CCL). Women of all castes would work on their lands. Those, who had less land, worked on others' farms, used to do share cropping, and make their life. And for one or two months would go to Khilari, Dakra and do wage labour.

We had 28 acres of land jointly. My mother would also work on the fields. But now she stays at home only. If we had land she would be working even today. With displacement women have lost their role in the economic activities of the family.

Most of those, who were not given a job died, they were running here and there to get their jobs. Those who didn't have even 2 acres died, running after the CCL officers. CCL officers would demand Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 50,000, as bribe. From where they could bring this money? Some people are died of illness; they lost their land and had no work, how could have they supported they family in Rs. 30 a day as wages, in this time of high expenditure. Some people fled from here.

All those who got job had to pay bribe. I myself paid Rs. 500 to a CCL doctor who gave me a fitness-certificate. He took Rs. 500 from everyone. CCL officers too took Rs. 1000 to Rs. 5000 per person from those 90 people, who were given job later.

About 8-10 women were given job. Women are generally given job like gardening or domestic maids in CCL officers' residences.

Laboures' condition is bad in CCL, not only in Piparwar but everywhere. Shoes supplied are of very inferior quality. They do not last more than one or two months and are supplied every six-month only. One can not work without shoes, so we buy it from market. Helmet is not given on time. Many other facilities are also not given.

to labourers, and we raise voices for that. But CCL does not listen. They say that government is not giving us money that's why we can not give these things.

There are problems because of blasting even here. Walls crack, thatches fall, wells dry up. School's walls are cracked. But management does not pay any attention. Here management is very corrupt. If blasting is done with proper safety measures, there will be no vibration. But management people save money for themselves.

They have done plantation after filling the pits after mining, in some cases. But at some places they don't do it, and animals fall into it and die. They have not even fenced.

Every year CD fund comes for 48 rehabilitated villages including ours. But they do not spend the money and distribute it among themselves. Many times we ask them to give money for the school's furniture but they do not.

No official of CCL ever comes to this village. For last two years we are giving application to the CGM office to make a boundary wall for this school but they are not doing it. They had said that it is a Muslim village and they would make a Madarsa here, but that is also not done. One more room was to be added to the school but not done.

Those families, who had ration cards there, have it now also. New cards were not issued. Ration is not available in the ration shop.

After displacement, we are in same Vidhan Sabha area (Simariya). But for parliamentary election we now come into Chatra parliamentary constituency. If we put demand for something before Chtara MP, he says that you voted for Yashawant Sinha (Finance Minister, Hazaribagh constituency) go to him. But now it's very difficult to meet him. He has won two times and is minister also, but our area is backward. We just see in newspapers that this and that projects like NTPC project is going to start. But we don't have much hope.

We have some hope (from NTPC project or any development project) because we think that those who are not given job, those educated unemployed youth, will at least start some shop, some self

employment as the outsiders, rich people would come, they can at least work for them.

Panodevi (50), Miners quarters, Premnagar

My name is Pano Devi. I lived at Turi tola (of Parej village) since my childhood. I was born there only. We had land 3.3 acres of land, which was taken by the Tata mines. We grew many things, paddy, potato, arhar etc. there. It was revenue land; my brother got a job with Tata's in compensation of this land.

I got married in early age only. My in-laws died soon. And we (she and her husband) lived there (Turi tola) only. So I do not know about the land at my in-law's house.

In Turi tola I worked on others' land and also did wage work. My husband worked on CMPDI camp. After that he worked in a hotel at Parej Bungalow. He worked on field also. We did share cropping.

We took *lakdi* (wood), *gainthi* (some root), *sag*, *patta* (leaves), *mahua* from the jungle. We did not count how many mahua trees we had, but there were many. We would eat mahua. Sometimes, when we felt like drinking we made liquor. Women would also drink occasionally. We would sell mahua too. Every year we would collect mahua between one half to two quintal. Some people would even collect 5 to 10 quintals.

We took drinking water from well. There was a pond in the village, which still exists. We would go to pond for washing cloths and taking bath. We would go to river when the pond dried up. We irrigated our fields with pond's water. We used to carry the water on our head. For paddy there was rainwater.

CCL came after a long time. They asked us to leave our village. They started mining in forest. They sent us notices. We lost sharecropping work as land was taken by them. Then I worked as wage labourer in the building being constructed by CCL in Parej. My husband still worked in the hotel. My son worked as *khalasi* on truck on 'dumps'. I used to work on the 'dumps' too.

We took coal from mines or the coal fallen on roads. They had cut forest, so what would we use to cook food, we took coal. We did not collect coal for selling.

In mines they would do blasts. Boulders fell on our thatches after the blasts. Once we went to complain that stones were falling on our homes, our children would die. But they accused us of beating Chaitu Mahato, a company employee. We still have not seen Chaitu. But they accused us of beating. The police arrested all the men, including my husband, son, son-in-law and brother. They took them to Hazaribagh jail. My husband was ill, he had filarial disease and could not get medicine. They put him in Bariyatu hospital, where he died. I was not in the hospital, and had come home only two days before he died, to take some money and other things. My youngest son was there. He came to village to give us the message. Then we all went there. We took bail for others. Then our advocate talked to CCL's advocate and a compromise was done.

They promised to give naukri to Bhola but he is still unemployed. In compromise they also said that they would give us canes to make cane-baskets and some other employment also. They gave the job through a contractor for one year. The contractor paid Rs. 10 for one basket. One person could make maximum 5 or 6 baskets, in a day. Now he does not give us any canes. Now I work as home maid in this colony. They pay Rs. 300 per month. I also collect wood, jhadoo etc. from forest. I collect coal too.

Those food items, which were earlier available because of agriculture like *mahua*, *gondli*, *urad* etc., are not available now. Now we do not get even *mahua*. Our trees are all gone and these trees are already taken by other families. They are collecting *mahua* from these trees from earlier time, so we can not collect from those trees.

Our children go to a private school. They charge Rs. 50 in the school. There is a DAV school here, but they don't take our children in DAV. That's only for those who are employed.

They have not given any job to Bhola till now. He just does some contract work for CCL. We had 1.5 acre *ghair-majarua* land and also about half acre *bhumidan* land. They did not give anything for trees or for these lands. For our house they gave us Rs. 30,000 and a plot at Premnagar. We had spent all the money. So how can we build a house on the plot. I will live in this room only until they give employment to Bhola. How can they ask us to go?

Bahiro Devi (50), Hadgadi

My name is Bahiro Devi. I am living here since after my marriage only. Before marriage I lived in Devgarh, with my parents. Devgarh is three stations away from here. I was quite grown up, when I got married, about 15-16. My father had land, which was all rocky and paddy would not grow on it. We would grow *Joar-bajra*, *makka* and *madua*. Those who had more land would grow paddy.

In Devgarh, Brahman would come in marriages, but here they don't come. There, Brahmin would come to receive donation. In *karma* and *sarahul* we would perform *jhumar* (dance) for whole night, in my old village. *Dussehra* was celebrated by all 5 *maujas* (village) together. We would cut *bakra* (male goat) at *sarna*. And perform *jhumar* (dance).

There women would also work in agriculture. People would also do wage labour, as agriculture was not very good. They would go to nearby places. I would also go to work. I work to load coal trucks in shading. There was no CCL then; it (mining) was done on *thekedari* (contract).

In my childhood we would not go to hospital, we would take forest medicine. We would not go to school. One my brothers would go to school, which was very far from my village. There we would take water from wells and in summer we would take water from Damodar River.

After my marriage, I came here. Here also I did agricultural work and also did wage labour. My husband also worked in agriculture and later he got employment in Bokaro mines, in place of his father. We had about 12 acres of land, including *ghair-majarua* land. We grew paddy, *makka*, *madua*, sufficient for six months. For the rest of the time we had to buy *makka* and rice.

From the forest we collected *gainthi-tena*, *khukhdi-phutka*, *kari-khukhdi*, *mona sag*, *jana sag*, *gandhari sag*, *kachnar phool*, *jirhul phool*, and *konar phool* etc. Kend piyar was not available here adequately. We also took *khijoor*, *jhadoo*, *datoon* etc.

When earlier I had come here, so much trees were there. Forest was large and dense. Now forest has gone (*ud gaya*). Government has taken it all. Earlier, we would take so much things from forest.

When my husband got a job in Bokaro (mines), he lived there and I lived here with my in-laws. We would do agriculture work. He used to come every 15 days to visit us, those days payment was done quarterly.

I had five children, three boys and two girls. But now I have only two sons. Two daughters and one son died. They all died of chest related problems. My son vomited blood before he died. They all died after coming of this mine (Piparwar mines). My husband died even before them, after four years of working in Bokaro mines.

I was given a job in Piparwar project as compensation for our land. I took this job, as my husband was already working in Bokaro. I had lost three acre of land to this mine. I have been working with CCL for last 11 years, now.

When CCL people came to our village, they talked to my husband about our land, when he came from Bokaro. He filled in the form for me. In the village they talked to men only. I got job after three years of losing my land. I worked as a wage labour, went to forest, and did household work during those three years.

Earlier we took water from a small river (stream) called Kharua. We would go there for washing cloths and taking bath also. Now this is mined by CCL. We now take water from the tank made by CCL. CCL constructed this, after village people put demand, only three years back. Before that we had to go to Jobia to fetch water. Sometimes when electricity goes, we still have to go to another stream to take water. It takes three hours to get water from there. Jabia was even farther (one would cook the fish and have it, yet you are not back with water from Jobia).

Earlier, we would perform *jhoomar* in our festivals. But now after CCL has come it does not happen. Young people do not know our songs. They now know film songs, TV songs. Now all this are sung in festivals.

Earlier in marriages only *Ganjhu* people would come and they would do all rituals. People would dance, sing, drink and eat. Now in marriages also new film songs are played. Still in our marriages only *Ganjhu* community people do all the rituals now other cast people are also invited in marriages.

Now drinking is increasing. I started drinking after joining this work, as I had to be in dust. Once I had fever, then the doctor (Private doctor) told me to take some liquor after dinner. Before I started drinking I had to go to hospital very frequently but now I forget my pain (*dukh-taklif bisra ja hai*).

Agriculture was better than the mine work. Earlier, you have to work for six months only but now you have to work for 12 months. In the mine I do blasting. The in-charge taught me how to use the electric equipment. Now I do not need any help and can do it myself. It took only about 3-4 days to learn. They give us helmet and shoes. I use them. I sold the heavy iron shoes they gave and bought another shoes.

I earn about Rs. 4000-5000. And we live here, mines are so close to our village. With every blasts our houses, walls and thatches shake because of the strong vibration.

Note: Bahiro Devi has lost her lands but she has not been displaced from her home. Their village Hadgadi is not displaced and is still there, only about a few hundred meters away from the Ashoka-Piparwar mines.

Babloo Manjhi (35), Barracks

My name is Babloo Manjhi. Earlier I lived at Sonughutu, in Parej village. About one year back I left my old place and came to live here.

My grand father had 12.63 acre land and this land was distributed among his 4 sons. When CCL came, it gave one job for each of 4 families. I got a job in August 1994.

My father worked with CMPD(I), a permanent job. He lived separately. When I grew up, we had three acre land, my father's share in total 12 acre. I and my two brothers did agriculture work. We grow *jonra*, *dhan*, *madua*, *sarguja* etc.

We had *Ghairmajarua* land also but father could not get papers for them. On that land we grew *janhe*, *madua*, *gondl* and *urad*. We did agriculture for consumption purposes only. We did not have water so there was no question of irrigation. We were dependent on

rainwater only. The whole family worked on the fields. What would we eat if we did not work? Some times we did wage labour also, when there was no agriculture work.

Not all our fields had gone into the mine once. We worked on the remaining agriculture land. But finally we had to leave, our house was also taken into mines.

My father got Rs. 1 lakh and 61 thousand as compensation for the land. I do not know what did he do with the money. My mother shall know. It was in a joint account of both of them. She also lives in Chanaro. In compensation of house we got Rs. 35,000. This money was given to me. Rs. 35,000 to each of us three brothers. I have saved it in a bank.

I am living in CCL's room. I will live here for some time and then move to Chanaro, where I have made a house. But I will have to come and go back from Chanaro. That's why I am here. It is near the Parej project. I went to PO sahib to ask for a miner's quarter for me. He said this time there is no empty quarter. They did not tell when are they going to give me one.

I hear that this strike⁷ is called on because our arrears are not being paid. I do not know anything about privatization of the company. One day a meeting was being held about the strike near our field office. I was late that day, so I could not attend.

There are very few women in mines. They work in daytime. They fetch water and fill in the pots, drums etc. They provide water in the mines and in the field offices. If they are in category one, they will get Rs. 5,000-6,000. I am also in one category one. I get Rs. 5,000 per month. After PF and other deductions, I get about Rs. 4,000.

There is less chance that women would be given compensatory jobs. May be they are given job after death of their husband or may be if they were working from earlier with the contractors before nationalization and were regularized later. I would have not let my wife work with CCL instead of me. When I will die she can go and work.

I had five children. Two of them died when they were very young. They died in Sonughotu only. Now I have three children.

I am feeling that it would have been good if I was in my old home. I would have not had this job. But earlier we were living there and working on our fields. How were making our lives then? That life was better, if we would do agriculture and even if we would fall ill, we had something to eat and live (*rozi-roti*). And in this *naukari*, ... if you are well you have this *naukari* otherwise you lose it.

In Sonughotu, some times we would go to Charhi for treatment. Sometimes we went to the private doctors. We used to go to ojha also. Some people would get well after ojha's rituals and some would not. He gave jungli medicine too. Earlier the forest herbs suited to us, but now because of use of sulphur (fertilizers) this does not suit to us. We never used any fertilizer in our lands.

There are many outside people now in this area. What help they would give, sir, can they give any comfort? They would think of taking more work from us. And what else they would think?

We celebrated all Hindu festivals like *Soharai* (*Dipawali*), *Karam*, *Durga puja*, *Sarahul*. In *Sarahul*, we would go to the *Sarna*, pluck flowers and worship the flowers. We would grow rice at home. Then would have meal, cooked of the especially grown rice, and come back, and when we enter the village we give flowers to everyone who come across in the village and then people would bring water from home and wash hands and feet of the *pahan* (priest) and take his flowers.

In evening, all of us, all men and women, would dance. People of one *basti* (tola) would come together. Every tola celebrate it on different days in the month of festival.

We would celebrate *Karma* with much festivity. In *Karma* we would bring the *Karam* tree. First we bring *Bala*, and sow mustered, paddy etc. in it. It would grow. Sometimes, it would be left to grow for 5 days, sometimes for 9 days. Then the *Karam* tree would be replanted, after the *Karam* tree was replanted we would sing and dance. We would be dancing for the whole night and the next day we would uproot the *Karam* and flow in into the water. There was a *nala* (a natural drain), which is now taken into the mine, we would flow *karam* tree in that.

Karama is celebrated in *Bhado* and *Sarahul* is *Fagin*, sometimes times after Holi and some times before. This year we will go to Chanaro to celebrate *Sarahul*. There is no holiday for *Sarahul* and *Krama* in CCL. Only two holidays for Durgapuja, one for Holi and one for Dipawali. There is no holiday for Chath either. I will take leave, when we go for *Sarahul*.

Initially, I was given job in Pindra underground mines. It was far from our village. I had to pay Rs. 13 as bus fair from one side to reach there. CCL provides buses for its employees. But where just one or two people are there, they would not provide buses. Neither they would pay our travel expenses.

I would go by bicycle and become very tired. Then we thought that CCL had taken our land here, and why we would go to do our duty to a distant place? We would not. So we closed work here (in Parej mines) for a month, regularly. We said, 'we would not go that far to work, transfer us here'. We were only two men. We would go there every day... we were given warning letter from Pindra UG. It was in English. We kept it our pocket.

We would block the way and say that we would not let you take the coal out. We were only two. We would take stick of *Sakhua* and go and stand there, in the mine. Work would stop for an hour. 'We stopped it. Lets go.'

Then sahib came and said, 'Ok I am trying to get your transfer done.' We said 'Ok you send documents to Ranchi (CCL's headquarter is in Ranchi) and give the paper in our hands. We would not go to Pindra.'

In Pindra we had to carry coal, inside the underground mine. We would carry *jhola* (the bag containing coal) on our back. Such was the mine that if you go from outside you go down like this (showing his hand vertically) and when you came back, carrying a *jhola*, you have to climb up like this (showing his hand vertically again). If you fall down you go to the bottom. The slope was almost vertical. Sometimes, people would defecate on the coal and we had to carry that, it would trickle down on our body. We thought we could not work. That is why we stopped work at Parej.

Then officers said, 'ok we would transfer you but let us make a drainage from near your house.' We refused to let them do this. They still did not transfer us.

Then one day we took our bow and arrow. We thought that what could they do? They would oust us from the job? So what? But we would not give them land. Same day they started paper work and gave us the paper within a month. Then we went to Pindra and made our signature, and reported in the head office here and then started working here.

I worked in Pindra UGP for four years. It was only then I fell sick. I would take *jhola* on my back and that's why back got stretched. I went to CCL hospital in Jogli for treatment.

Conclusion

The displacement caused by mining has traumatic effects on the displaced people, especially on women. The quantitative data and interviews and group discussions presented in this chapter are suggesting that with displacement, people lose their sources of livelihood, they have to go homeless, their health status deteriorates and they face social disarticulation and psychological stress. Women, because of their low status in family and society and because of their very limited exposure to the new situations and economy, find themselves pushed in situations where their status in society goes further down. They are now economically marginalized as their access to common resources decline significantly and also do not have a chance to take advantages of the new opportunities emerging, which are, in any case, very limited. The impact of cultural uprooting and social disarticulation is also felt more severely by women. The elderly, landless people, and widows etc. also have to suffer the hardship. Women also have to suffer because of the changes in economic and social status of their male relatives e.g. husbands, sons etc. If they have got a job with the company, the regular income can drag them into a trap of heavy drinking. Change in their expenditure behavior is also visible. Now motorcycle, TV, and fashion become the new priorities. This starts with the receiving of cash compensation for the land lost. All this has frustrating impact on women. Beating and abusing goes up and they are pushed into

the four walls of the house. But, on the other hand if no member of the family has got a permanent employment they face a perpetual lack of basic resources and are always in a crisis. The trauma of losing everything they had also gives rise of stress among the women. To conclude, the mining induced displacement has severe impact on people and implications of these impacts of displacement on women is highly discernible.

Chapter Five

Summary and Recommendations

Displacement caused by mining has traumatic effects on people especially on women. The study gives an account of those effects on displaced women in Hazaribagh and Chatra districts. Following is the summary of the major findings:

About the Women in the Study

- ♦ Most of the women selected for the study are poor SC/ST women, whose lives were based on agriculture and forest produces. All of the women except two are illiterate. Thirty seven out of 46 women are married, 8 are widows, and 1 is unmarried. They belong to 16-60 years age group and their average age is 35 years. These women are displaced by three mining projects: Parej East OCP, Ashoka OCP and Piparwar OCP.

Homelessness

- ♦ About 30% of the women included in the study are living in temporary homes for as long as ten years, in some cases. Like earlier times, they take drinking water from the wells mainly, but now they do not have access to more than one source of water as they had before displacement. Many of the women have to walk longer distances to fetch drinking water. Women also face problems in bathing and washing clothes as ponds and streams have disappeared due to mining. Women said that they have now problems in finding a place for defecation as forests are becoming thinner and there are men everywhere.
- ♦ Some of the women affected by Ashoka-Piparwar projects have not lost their homes. Their land, forest, water sources are gone but the villages are not uprooted. They live in their houses

in the village, but do not know what is going to happen to them. They say that since the mines are so close, every times after the blasts their houses shakes, walls crack and thatches fall down.

Livelihood

- Displacement has had impact on the people's livelihood. Their earlier sources of livelihood have gone and new sources of livelihood are to be looked for. Thirty-eight (90%) women have lost their agricultural lands to the mining projects. However, only 40% of them know about the amount of the land lost. This itself shows the status of women in the family and society.
- Women included in the study have not been given the compensatory jobs. In the case of one-third of selected women, no member of the family was given any compensatory job. However, two-third of the women said that compensatory job was given to their husband or son or some other relatives.
- Most of these women did agricultural work before displacement. They also worked in forests to collect forest produces. After displacement they have lost the earlier work on fields and in forests and now only 63 percent women reported to be working compared to 90 percent women, working earlier.
- Thirteen out of 29 women working now, do forest produce collection as their primary work and 12 other mentioned it as their secondary work, but they complained that now forest is farther and now they mainly collect fuelwood. Earlier they would collect as many as 25 to 30 items produced in the forests – fruits, leaves, flowers, branches, roots, etc. – for eating, for medicinal use, and for other uses at home. Now with displacement they have lost their access to those products. Firewood they still collect, as it is not possible to do without it.
- The women have no access to other employment like contract work or wage labour with the company's contractors, supposed to be generated by the company. The company's dump yards are lying empty for almost a year in the East Parej area. Turi,

families of Turi tola, Parej were promised basket-making job, but there is no job for more than one year.

- ♦ Twenty-six percent of the selected women were given training to make carpet or livestock and poultry work and half of them feel that they have benefited out of it.

Marginalisation and Food Insecurity

- ♦ The families certainly got further marginalised after displacement. Their land and trees are lost, average number of animals they used to rear has gone down, and number of families owning animals have declined sharply. Their access to common land and forest trees is lost as these resources are no more in existence or their availability is declining.
- ♦ Loss of *mahua* trees is a big setback for the families. *Mahua* flowers are used for many purposes. Families would eat dried up and processed *mahua* in many ways. *Mahua* is used to make liquor. The families would sell *mahua* and get money for their other needs. *Dori*, the seeds of *mahua* trees would be crushed to get oil, which is used in cooking and applying on body. Compensation given for the trees are nominal and there is no provision of compensation for trees on common lands or the trees in forest.
- ♦ Compensation given for the land is for revenue land only. In case of *ghairmajarua khas* land some families are given compensation and some are not. It involves lot of formalities and many displaced families find it difficult to get those documents from BDO and DCLR's offices.
- ♦ Many of the women do not know what amount of land they have lost to mining and how much money their families received as compensation. Only about 30% women know what amount their families received as compensation. This suggests the status of women in society.
- ♦ Generally men are given the compensatory amount. Women work on the fields but are not considered a party when compensation is given, as lands are in men's name.

- ♦ The disparities in compensation given to the families is also likely to increase inequality among the families. Those who have land are given both employment with CCL and monetary compensation. Those who have less land than required for compensatory jobs are given only monetary amount and those who do not have land are given nothing.
- ♦ The food security situation also deteriorates after displacement. Families have lost their land, and *mahua* flowers are now not available, as trees are cut. Families reported changes in their eating habits. The traditional agricultural produces like *madua*, maze, *bajra* and pulses are consumed less now. The consumption of these staple cereals have declined sharply for about two-third of the families. Rice and wheat are taking place of these cereals, as these are the food items available in the market.
- ♦ Families' consumption of vegetables, pulses and meat/egg/fish also declined sharply. Women reported that they consumed pulses, vegetables and eggs/meat/ fish 52%, 54% and 26% respectively, 7 days a week before displacement. After displacement these percentages fell to 4%, 13% and 0% respectively. Whereas, percentages of those who said that they rarely consume these items increased from 22% to 24%, 28% to 33% and 23% to 39% respectively.
- ♦ Declined access to the forest produces including *mahua* is another reason of deteriorating food security. Earlier women had access to as many as 25 to 30 produces – fruits, flowers, roots, leaves etc. – which were used as food. But now they are dependent mainly on market for the food items.
- ♦ The increase in food insecurity is likely to hit women more than men simply because of secondary status of women in family and society. Earlier they were dependent on the food produced at home or collected from forest, which was equally accessible for men and women. But now these families are dependent on market and it is the men who have money so it is now out of women's control.

- ♦ The families access to the Public Distribution System (PDS) declined after displacement. Most of the displaced families have not been given new ration cards after the displacement. Poor families access to PDS shops is in any case very low, which even further declines with displacement.

Health Status

- ♦ Displacement also deteriorates the health condition of the families in general and women and children in particular. We observed decline in people's access to all health facilities, except private doctors, which showed an increase. Families' access to government hospitals, traditional medicinal systems and company's health centres declined after displacement. And their visit to the untrained or semi trained health practitioners increased.
- ♦ The condition of health facilities at the rehabilitation centres is extremely low. There is no health centre at Pindra rehabilitation centre, where families were brought forcibly. A vacant building is lying there. There is no health centre at New Mangardaha (Senti Rehabilitation centre – 1) Rehabilitation Centre also. Families of Premnagar Rehabilitation Centre can go to the CCL's health centre at Premnagar colony. There is a health centre at Chirayatand Rehabilitation Centre where a doctor comes.
- ♦ More than 70% of women felt that their and their husband's health status worsened after displacement, whereas 80% women felt same about their children. In contrast, only 12% women thought that their health situation was 'bad' before displacement. Only 19% women thought their husband's health was 'bad' and only 20% of them reported their children's health to be 'bad' before displacement. As many as 13 women (30%) said that they were sick at the time of interview.
- ♦ Twenty-five percent of women observed an increase in occurrence of malaria after displacement, especially for children. However, common cold, cough and fever were mentioned by one third of women.

- ◆ No major changes in place of childbirth or in family planning practices were reported. Most of the babies are born at home, attended by traditional *dayees*. Only 17% women say that they now go to hospitals for childbirth. Same with family planning practices. Number of women using any precautionary measure was just 6 before displacement which increased to 9 after displacement.

Psychological pressure

- ◆ Women also feel psychological pressure after displacement because of many reasons. Uncertainty about where to live, what to do, increased joblessness, increased drinking by husbands, beating and quarreling, shock and trauma of losing everything they had, all this have frustrating impact. They feel sleeplessness, become short tempered, and feel tensed and sad.
- ◆ Thirty percent of selected women are living in temporary homes for as long as 5 to 10 years. Almost all women whose husbands work with CCL report that their husbands have increased drinking. They also complained about an increase in beating and quarreling.

Social and Cultural Risks

- ◆ Displacement also uproots people socially and culturally. The years old social and cultural network gets disrupted with displacement. Displaced families now live here and there, some at rehabilitation centres, some in a relative's place, some at CIL's miners' quarters or guards' rooms.
- ◆ Their old system of conflict resolution and coping with emergencies also breaks down. In about 60 percent cases women said that earlier conflicts would be resolved by the caste panchayat or village panchayat. This now goes down to 50 percent. But what is important is that now increasing number of women say that they solve their problems themselves. It is all solved in the family now.
- ◆ Vulnerable people like widows, elderly, landless people are hit more severely because of this social disarticulation. One woman

living at barracks said that compensatory job and money was given to her step-son, who lives at some other place. She is now all alone, somehow making her life. Older people are now dependent on their working sons. Landless people who might have some support system earlier are now left without any help. One woman living at Pindra rehabilitation centre said that her brother had given her land to cultivate on but now with displacement the land has gone and so has her support system.

- ◆ As the cultural impacts are concerned, 43% of women noticed changes in the way they celebrated their festivals like Karma and Sarahul. Now women's role and status during those celebrations are not as earlier. In the new places now they are just spectator and not participants. For the children orchestra, cinema and TV are now more important than the traditional tribal dances and songs. More than 50% of the women observed such changes in their children's behaviors.
- ◆ Influx of so many outsiders is also responsible for the changes in cultural norms. The outsiders celebrate their festivals (sometimes common to that of local population like Holi and Durgapuja), in very different manner. Big *pandals*, high volume music and hired orchestra and people, specially youths, are more interested in them.
- ◆ The colonies made for CCL officers and other staff affect peoples, especially women, in other ways too. Women and young girls told about the misbehavior by the youngsters living in those colonies. They tease girls and women, make vulgar remarks and some times women are raped and killed. Women in the group discussion told about two incidences of rape cases, in which police did nothing. Then the trucks lined up in the villages and people coming with the trucks are also find these women easy target for such things.
- ◆ One particular problem mentioned by women of Ulahara village was that the Premnagar colony (official name is 'Tapovan') is near their agricultural land. The residents of the colony throw their garbage in their land only. They flow dirty, waste water

in their land and the crops in the field get spoiled because of this. Women said that they have asked them so many times to stop this and flow the water into the river by making some drain. But they do not listen to them.

- ♦ The status of women in the family has also changed with displacement. In most of the cases they live at home and do not have anything to do, which fetches money. They do household chorus and collect fuel from forest. Their husbands now work in CCL or do some other work. Their role is now limited inside the four walls of the house. Those men, who work with CCL, usually start drinking more as they have regular income. As we have seen in the last section about 30% of women noticed an increase in drinking by their husbands. The drinking by husbands leads to quarrel, abusing and beating.

Recommendations

This pilot study was conducted in a short period of time, taking only a small number of women as sample. So it is probably not too fair to make recommendations based on its findings. Still we feel that some very obvious issues and concerns should be outlined. Following are the recommendations we would like to make.

- ♦ There is a need for a National Rehabilitation Policy for the persons displaced by the development projects.
- ♦ Alternatives to the projects, which involve displacement, must be looked for, and displacement should be taken as only the last resort.
- ♦ The population to be displaced must be given all information related to the project and their consent should be taken before displacement. Rehabilitation programme must be engineered and executed with their consent and active participation.
- ♦ Before going for any development project which involves involuntary displacement, it should be necessary to develop a well thought upon rehabilitation plan for the population to be displaced and all the necessary physical and social resources for rehabilitation should be made available before the displacement takes place.

- ◆ There must be some Act to ensure that displacing agencies are abided by the provisions made in the Rehabilitation Policy.

Some recommendations specific to the displacement caused by mining

- ◆ The base line survey is the most important estimation activity the company does or gets done by some agency and bases its rehabilitation and compensation package on the recommendations of the BL survey. So this survey should be done properly including every single means of the livelihood of the affected people. Work done by women must be considered. Also, both the private and common properties should be accounted.
- ◆ It is very important to fix the responsibility. The Rehabilitation Policy or Act should be clear about the agency responsible for rehabilitation, whether it is about is the mining company, or the government or the funding agencies like the World Bank.
- ◆ There is a need to have area master plans (AMP) of the mining areas. An environment master plan (EMP) should be made for the individual mines and it must also assess the other development projects (i.e. mines, dams etc.) in the area on their impact on environment.
- ◆ The company knows in advance, 10-15 years ago, that where it is going to mine. Their technical plans are professional and competent but they do not have a plan for the potential PAPs, neither there is any comprehensive plan to rehabilitate the PAPs.
- ◆ This time in advance before actual implementation of any mining project should be utilized to prepare the potential PAPs, giving them training, choosing the sites rehabilitation, looking for ways of economic rehabilitation etc. All this should be done with the consent and active participation of the people.
- ◆ The compensation for the land should be given according to the rates of land at the time of actual displacement and not according to the rates of the time of acquisition. The lands prices increase in this duration.

- ♦ The families in rural and tribal areas have more than one source of livelihood. Displacement takes it all. Especially women find themselves sitting idly at home. Therefore, the families should be given relatively big plots on the rehabilitation sites for building houses so that they can continue to have livestock and home vegetable garden. This will add to their income and women would have something to do.
- ♦ The local NGOs and people's organisations in Hazaribagh and Jharkhnad have developed, during the long period of their work with the DPs, a very comprehensive recommendation list. So it is important to have consultations with the all such groups working in the different parts of the country for formulating a good action plan for rehabilitation and resettlement.

Some recommendations for rehabilitation of women

- ♦ It is necessary to consider women of the displaced families as equal partners to their male counterparts at every level of displacement and rehabilitation.
- ♦ An adult woman (married, unmarried or widow) must be considered a unit as equal as the adult male members are considered. This will give a woman identity of a person, which in turn will prevent her status from further deteriorating in the family and society after displacement.
- ♦ A 'land for land' policy can go in favour of women as they can continue to do farming.
- ♦ Allotting bigger plots for houses also give the women chances to do gardening and livestock work.
- ♦ There should be toilets, separate for men and women on the rehabilitation centres.
- ♦ Health and education services must be provided on the rehabilitation centres. This is also related to fixing the responsibility. Generally company and government blame each other for the lack of these services.

NOTES

1. The World Bank has stopped its funding for the second phase of the project.
 2. This was being funded under the India Coal Sector Rehabilitation Project. In total 23 mining projects were the part of this project. The World Bank stopped funding of the second phase of the project (see footnote 1).
 3. This section is based on the group discussions, interviews (page 67-84) and informal discussions.
 4. In mining areas different vicinities are known according to the mining projects there.
 5. Ashoka and Piparwar are two different projects of CCL, adjacent to each other, being separated only by a *nala*. And many families displaced by the two projects have lost lands to both the projects. For people, the two projects are one and are called as Ashoka-Piparwar.
 6. Dadi is a traditional not so deep well, which is found in the lower land. It is full of water up to the upper part and sometimes to get water from it, people even do not have to use a rope. /
 7. A three-day strike was being called on by all major unions in all the CIL's subsidiaries those days.
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Women, Mining and Displacement

Nesar Ahmad

Though millions have been displaced during half a century of India's planned development, there is no national policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation. Almost all the displaced are tribals or indigenous people. In all the cases of displacement, people have to 'wait' and are still 'waiting' even for decades to be rehabilitated. People belonging to the tribal or Dalit communities suffer still more on account of social prejudices as they have been living in and around the forests for centuries and have a symbiotic relationship with the environment. They have protected forests, cultivated the lands, and adored the rivers, water falls etc. In this connection the Institute has been studying the impact of involuntary displacement, particularly on women. This book is a pilot study and an effort in that direction.

Nesar Ahmed obtained his M.A. in Economics from the Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai and MSW from Jamia Milia Islamia University, New Delhi. He worked as a researcher in the Department of Research, Indian Social Institute.

ISBN 81-87218-58-4

Rs.50.00 US\$ 5.95