“Displacement, migration and occupational change among the project displaced tribal communities in India: a study of peddagadda reservoir”

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Abstract: Due to construction of Peddagedda Reservoir in the agency area of Vizianagaram district about 184 tribal families from seven tribal villages were affected and displaced. The project affected tribal families were rehabilitated in colonies at five different places, located nearer to the reservoir. After displacement, about 14 families were migrated to other places in search of livelihood. Displaced tribal people were forced to change their traditional occupation, basically for survival and subsistence. This research paper presents a case study of displaced tribal people of the Peddagedda reservoir, who belong to Konda dora, Manne dora, and Nooka dora tribes. It is an anthropological holistic study, employed Anthropological Ethnographic Methodology for collection of empirical data. The research article is mostly descriptive in nature and comprises of both semantic and scientific explanations.

The research paper forms the part of the major research project titled “Displacement, marginalization and exclusion of tribes due to construction of dams and reservoirs in Andhra Pradesh” sponsored by University Grants Commission, New Delhi. It highlights the problems of displaced tribal people, specifically forced migration and occupational change. It also reveals that, how the enforced and involuntary displacement leads to social exclusion, in addition to various impoverishment risks such as landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of common resources and social disarticulation. All these factors coincide with the Michael Cernea’s observations on the issue of human displacement on the name of development projects.

Key Words: Displacement, Project Affected Families, Occupational Change, Migration, Livelihood.

I. Introduction

Several developmental projects have been causing for the displacement of people at enormous numbers in many parts of the world, including India. Moreover, most of the development projects such as irrigation projects, mining, national parks, and power projects etc, being constructed in tribal pockets, mountain valleys, forest and remote areas, which are fully crammed with natural resources, a huge amount of rich minerals along with flora and fauna in which many of the tribal groups living generations together for their survival and sustenance.

Since Independence, Indian government has focused great amount of attention on the construction of irrigation projects to increase the agricultural input by which tribals are pulling out from their original habitats to other places, further that leads to loss of livelihoods, food insecurity, landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, and marginalization.

Displacement is the act of displacing or the state of being displaced. Displaced person is one who forced to leave his/her own territory or natural place. This is non-voluntary mobility of communities by an outsider or by outside force. Involuntary displacement, ecological changes and environmental degradation have been a companion of development. And this forced displacement or forced migration accompanies far reaching consequences, leading to deep rooted disturbances and de-arrangements in the habits and life patterns of the people concerned (Kanthi B. Pakrasi, 1971). India is the third largest country in building dams and reservoirs in the world. It now has over 3,600 large dams and over 700 more under construction (Rambabu Mallavarapu, 2006). It has been estimated that over 10 million people are displaced annually from their homes to make way for development projects. These resettlers forced to establish a new life in an unfamiliar and usually in unwelcoming host location (Robinson 2004).

The vulnerable tribal communities living with indigenous knowledge and with simple technology, among these more than 90% people depend on shifting cultivation and collecting Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) for their subsistence. Forests and forest resources, primarily minor forest products (MFP) or NWFPs (non-wood forest products), play an important role in the viability and survival of tribal households in
Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere in India, because of the importance of forests in their social, cultural and economic survival (Tewari, 1989).

The tribal people, displaced by construction of development projects and shifted to R&R colonies, where the displaced have unfavorable new environment. Due to displacement tribal communities have lost their villages, houses, cattle and sacred places, which are closely connecting to heart of the aboriginal people. In changing circumstances, displaced tribal people have been facing problems towards livelihood due to inability to do works other than cultivation and skilled labor works in their surroundings. Exposing to rural and urban areas bring many changes in their life styles with regard to socio-cultural aspects.

According to Michael Cernea’s (1991) “Impoverishment risk and Reconstruction model”, displacement leads to wide range of impoverishment risks that includes landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of common resources and social disarticulation.

According to an estimate, each year between 1.2 million to 2.1 million people are displaced world wide because of new dam construction alone (Cernea, 1991). In India alone, an estimated 25 million were displaced from 1947 to 1997 (Fernandes, 1991). In some studies the number of displaced is doubled the above figure.

There is thus huge variation in estimates of the numbers of the IDS in India. The latest World Refugee Survey put the total number of IDPs in India as 507,000; the Indian Social Institute in Delhi and the Global IDP Project place it at 21.3 million. (World Refugee Survey, Washington, 2000).

Poverty, unemployment and inaccessibility to the resources are one of the factors for migration. Migration in India is not new and historical accounts show that people have moved in search of work, in response to environmental changes, construction of development projects and natural calamities. However, improved technological revolution in industrialization, communications, transport networks, conflicts over natural resources and new economic opportunities have created unprecedented levels of mobility. Loss of resources and inaccessibility to the resources availing in surrounding, causing for the migration in general.

Migration often leads to change of traditional occupation to other. Rural to urban migration is the fastest growing kind of migration as more migrants have chosen to work in better paying non-farm occupations in urban areas and industrial zones.

Migrant labour makes enormous contributions to the Indian economy through major sectors such as construction, textiles, small industries, brick-making, stone quarries, mines, fish and prawn processing and hospitality services. But migrants remain on the periphery of society, with few citizen rights and no political voice in shaping decisions that impact their lives (Kabeer 2006).

About 27 per cent of the Indian population was migrants. The proportion of migrants to the total population was higher (33 per cent) in urban areas than that (24 per cent) in the rural areas. The proportion was the lowest among rural males. Among the male migrants, 30 per cent in rural areas and 52 per cent in urban areas migrated due to reasons related to employment. Internal migrants represented about 99 per cent of the total migrants it added further. (NSS Report, 1999-2000).

In fact migrants are poorly endowed all-round: they come from poor families where access to physical, financial and human capital is limited and where prospects for improving living standards are constrained by their inferior social and political status. Historically disadvantaged communities such as the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Castes are heavily represented in migration. Poor migrants are absorbed in informal sector jobs, much maligned for being insecure, poorly paid and unproductive but offering the only option for laborers to improve their capabilities. (Migration and Human Development in India, 2009).

Involuntary displacement and forced migration causing to occupational change for the marginalized tribal people. The displaced tribal people forced to change their traditional occupation in order to survive in the new environment. There is interconnectedness in between displacement, migration and occupational changes among the project affected people in the name of various development projects. After displacement into the Rehabilitation and Resettlement centers, some of the project affected families used to migrate to near by urban towns and industrial areas in search of livelihood, due to lack of sufficient resources for their sustenance in the R&R colonies. The immigrant tribal people change their occupation from agriculture or agricultural labour to industrial labour or some menial jobs. Occupational mobility or change of displaced migrant people resulting to cultural changes among them.

**Tribal population**

India has the second largest tribal population in the world, next to Africa. Our country represents 635 tribal groups (including sub-groups) with a population of 84.3 million (8.2%) population in almost all states except in Haryana and Punjab. In the state of Andhra Pradesh there are 35 tribes with a population of 50, 24,009 (6.59%) living in different parts of the state. The district vizianagaram represents the tribal population of 2, 14,839, which constitute 9.55% to total population of the district as per 2001 census. Tribal regions are abode for natural resources, rich minerals, flora and fauna. Most of the Indian tribes are concentrated in the dense
forested areas that combine inaccessibility with limited political or economic significance. The tribes are one of the neglected sections of our country.

**Objectives and Methodology:**

The basic objective of the study is to examine the various problems of tribal project affected families who displaced due to construction of medium irrigation project of Peddagedda reservoir, near to Kesali village, pachipenta mandal, located in Vizianagaram district, Andhra Pradesh state. Further, it also tries to examine the occupation change, role of women in economic activities at present in Rehabilitation and Resettlement colonies. In addition to that, due to living in colonies, many changes that have taken place in their lifestyles were examined in this study. It also investigates the role of ITDA, as well as NGOs in tribal development.

For this study empirical data was collected by employing anthropological ethnographic methods and techniques such as observation (participant and non-participant), schedule, interview and case study. Anthropological holistic, etic and emic approaches were employed to collect the primary data from the project affected tribal families of Peddagedda reservoir. Focus Group Discussions were conducted with the key informants and personnel connected with the displacement and rehabilitation of project affected tribal people. Secondary data were collected from ITDA, Parvathipuram and Mandal Revenue Office, Pachipenta, Vizianagaram district. All project affected tribal families of Peddagedda reservoir were covered under the research study.

**Field Area and People:**

The study was conducted in the Rehabilitation centers of Peddagedda reservoir. The project affected tribal families of this reservoir belong to Manne dora, Konda dora and Nooka dora tribes which are inhabitants of Madavalasa, Turaiapudu, Kesali, Yerredla valasa, Kodikallavalasa, Eguva kummarivalasa and Diguva kummarivalasa were covered under the study.

**Cultural background of Tribes:**

All these tribes were basically shifting cultivators for generations together in remote and hilly areas of Vizianagaram district. These tribes are predominantly found in Salur, Pachipenta mandals of this district. The economy of these tribes is agro-forest based and largely considered as subsistence economy. All the tribal families rear the cattle and collect the Non-timber forest produce in addition to farming. Brief ethnographic account of these tribes as follows:

**Konda dora:**

The Konda dora, a scheduled tribe is distributed in the agency area of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, Srikakulam and East Godavari districts. Etymologically, konda means hill, dora means headman or chieftain, hence the word konda dora means hill chieftain. Kubi or Konda is the language of konda dora. Many of the people in this tribe have forgotten their mother tongue and speak the regional language ‘Telugu’. Traditionally, the male used to wear gochi (loincloth) and the women wear a sari, without blouse. The staple food of Konda dora is ambali (gruel) made with finger millet flour. They are non vegetarians, consume beef and pork also. Both men and women take alcoholic drinks like maddi (rice beer), kallu (toddy) and sarai (arrack). They chew and smoke tobacco.

This tribe professes both tribal religion and Hinduism. Now a day, the impact of Christianity also found. They worship their dead ancestors, and believe that disease and ailments are caused by malevolent spirits. They have clan, village and regional deities. They traditionally accept food and water from the higher communities and do not accept food and water from lower communities. They belong to patriarchal society. Cross-cousin marriages are common among the konda dora. Polygyny is practicing, in rare cases with the consent of first wife. Bride-price (oli) is given in cash and kind. However, dowry system is practiced among educated konda dora.

**Manne dora:**

The Manne dora are one of the scheduled tribes living in the agency areas of Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and East Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. It is learnt, that they were originally Doras (landlords) and inhabitants of an area of known as Manyam (chintapalli and Narsipatnam area) and hence they are called Manne dora. Rag, maize are staple food grains and use variety of pulses and ground nut oil for cooking medium. They also consume roots and tubers collected from the forest. They eat all available vegetables and fruits. Men occasionally take alcoholic drinks like Jeelugu kalhu (date palm toddy) and sarai (arrak). They smoke beedis, cigarettes and indigenous cheroot and some chew tobacco and chew betel. Manne dora claim superior to the other tribes, in mixed villages they are on par with cultivating communities like kapu and velama. Manne dora observe endogamy at community level. Marriage is contracted between people of two

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different surnames. Cross-cousin marriages are widely practiced. Monogamy is the norm, but a few cases ofpolygyny are seen. Male equigenature is the rule of inheritance of ancestral property. They also collect firewood and minor forest produce like jack fruits, honey and tamarind, and sell them in the weekly shandies. The manne dora have their own traditional tribal panchayat known as kula panchayat for social control. They are Hindus.

They also have village and regional deities. They do not accept cooked food from the other tribes but accept such food from the neighboring caste communities.

Nooka dora:
The Nooka dora is also otherwise referred as Mukha dora. They are distributed in Visakapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts of Andhra Pradesh. They believed to be the offspring of “Jerrasobaru” who lived in forest caves subsisting on hunting wild animals. The Nooka dora are non vegetarian, who also take pork. Ragi (choddlu), maize (gantlu), and samalu are their staple food grains. They take variety of pulses, apart from red gram(kandulu). They occasionally use groundnut oil or castor oil in their food preparations. They consume all available vegetables, fruits, wild roots and tubers. Men regularly take alcoholic drinks like Jeelugu Kallu (caryota palm toddy), Mahua liquor and sarai(arrack), while women consume alcoholic drinks occasionally. Some men smoke beedis and indigenous cheroot(chutta). Women chew betel with tobacco.

Consanguineous marriages are practiced by the Nooka dora. Marriages within close kin, especially niece, mother’s brother’s daughter and father’s sister’s daughter are preferred and encouraged. Inter-caste marriages are not permitted. The Nooka dora are patrilineal. Property inherited by the sons equally. The daughters, though never direct heirs of their father’s property, get a share in the form or gifts at the time of marriage. The Nooka dora eke out their livelihood by podu (shifting cultivation), collection of edible tubers, roots and the sale of minor forest produce. The Nooka dora worship local deities and also visit temples of Rama, Krishna, Ganesha etc.

Some salient features of displaced tribes:
Konda dora tribe is numerically and politically dominant in pachipenta mandal. Among these tribal groups, Manne dora claims superiority. Konda dora tribe occupies in middle followed by Nooka dora. Many changes have been taking place in their traditions and customs with regard to their cultural aspects. Political organization of these tribes is very simple; every village has a traditional village head and few other members in case of multi tribal village, one from each tribe (this position is achieved) act as traditional political body along with the village head whose position is ascribed. But these traditional bodies are not functioning strongly as they were prior to displacement. All these three tribal groups are consuming rice instead of millets and other foods. During performing life ceremonies, like puberty, marriage and death all three tribal groups participating more or less equally. Food is accepting from each other. Alcohol consuming of women are very low in displaced villages comparing to past. Consuming of alcohol of men is higher in displaced villages. Inter-caste marriages are accepting by the traditional bodies and communities. Now a day’s dowry is common at marriages for these tribal groups. Christianity impact is prevailing among these tribes after displacement, specifically among konda doras.

About Peddagedda Reservoir:
This reservoir was constructed on Peddagedda hill stream near kesali village of pachipenta mandal, in vizianagaram district, Andhra Pradesh state. The aim of the project is to stabilize 4,500 acres under the existing Karrivalasa Ayakut and create irrigation potential (IP) or irrigation development of 7500 acres in 33 villages of pachipenta, Salur and Ramabhatrapuram Mandals.

An extent of 902 acres of land (including 95 acres of forest land) has been acquired and an amount of Rs. 135 lakhs allocated for land acquisition. The total estimated amount for the construction of this reservoir project is Rs. 692 lakhs. The Chief Minister laid the foundation stone on 06-11-2003 for the Peddagedda irrigation scheme, costing Rs. 150 crore, but it was not initiated until March, 2004. A total of 184 tribal families and around 300 non-tribal families were affected under this project from seven tribal settlements. Due to construction of Peddagedda Reservoir seven tribal villages were affected namely, Madavalasa, Turaipadu, Diguvakummarivalasa, Eguvakummarivalasa, Yerredalavalsa, Kodikallavalsa and Kesali belong to Konda dora, Manne dora and Nooka dora tribes. Among the total affected villages five villages were submerged fully namely, Madavalasa, Turaipadu, Diguvakummarivalasa, Eguvakummarivalasa, Yerredalavalsa, remaining two villages Kodikallavalsa and Kesali were partially submerged and people of these two villages not yet shifted to R&R colony which is under construction. These project affected tribal people lost their cultivable lands, life supporting plants and natural forest wealth. A number of 64 tribal families were relocated in Turaipadu and Madavalasa, at a distance of 6km from the Reservoir. The residents of Yerredla valasa(16 families) and Diguvu kummari valasa(04 families) were relocated at a distance of 1 km to Reservoir, very nearer to pachipenta mandal head quarters. The project affected families of Eguva kummari valasa(22families) were relocated at a
distance of 5 km to the Reservoir (1km distance to their original habitat) and 46 families belong to kodikallavalasa were relocated at the distance of 2km to the Reservoir. (100 meters distance to their original habitat).

Table 1 PROJ ECT AFFECTED TRIBAL FAMILIES OF PEDDAGEDDA RESERVOIR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.n o</th>
<th>Name of the Village</th>
<th>Name of the Tribe</th>
<th>Total No of families</th>
<th>Project affected families</th>
<th>Actually shifted to R&amp;R colonies</th>
<th>Families Not shifted to R&amp;R colonies</th>
<th>% of not shifted families to Total PAF</th>
<th>% of rehabilitating families to Total projected affected families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Madavalasa</td>
<td>Manne dora</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Turaipadu</td>
<td>Konda dora</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kesali</td>
<td>Nooka dora</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Kodikalla valasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.41</td>
<td>5.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Yerreddla valasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Diguva kummari valasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Eguva kummari valasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.96</td>
<td>11.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>184</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17.39</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows village and tribe wise project affected families due to construction of peddagedda reservoir near kesali village, pachipenta mandal in vizzianagaram district. From the table it is noted that about 184 tribal families were affected in the tribal settlements like Madavalasa, Turaipadu, kesali, Kodikalla valasa, Yerreddla valasa, Diguva kummari valasa and Eguva Kummari valasa. Out of the total 184 project affected families 152 (82.61%) families were rehabilitated, and the remaining 32(17.39%) families are still residing in original habitats. Among the project affected families, 133 (72.29%) belong to Konda dora, 44(23.91%) families belong to Manne dora and the remaining 7 (3.80%) families belong to Nooka dora. Large majority project affected families belong to Konda dora tribe, which mainly subsist on “Podu” (shifting) cultivation. The project affected families of all these three tribes have established symbiotic relationship with the forest since age immemorial.

Lapses in Implementation of R&R policy:

It is observed that the authorities have not strictly followed the R&R policy guidelines in resettlement of displaced tribal families. Many displaced families not yet received the land in according to the policy.

Alternative livelihoods has not provided to many project affected tribal people. Incommensurate compensation was granted by the government for house construction. Several rules set by the government for releasing amount for houses also prevent them to construct houses. In releasing amount leads to incomplete of house constructions by the project affected tribal families. Delay in releasing amount leads to incomplete of house constructions by the project affected tribal families. In addition to that, hike in housing materials price could not allow these villagers to complete their houses in R&R colonies by which some of the project affected tribal families still living in their original habitats, which are practically submerged. Many project affected tribal families constructed the houses spending the total money that received as compensation under loss of livelihood (Rs. 92,300/- to each family) and further suffering with food insecurity and unemployment.
Displacement, migration and occupational change among the project displaced tribal communities

The table 2 shows that the village wise head of the households’ occupation of the project affected tribal families prior to displacement. From the table it is noticed that 64 families (42.10%) were engaged in agriculture, 50 (32.90%) of the head of the households involved in agricultural labourers for their subsistence. 2.63 percent (4 families) of the heads of the households depended on sheep rearing and 2.63 percent (4 families) of the family heads engaged in trade/employment. 14 members (9.21%) were facing problems of unemployment and depended on old age pensions for subsistence, 16 (10.52%) families subsisting on fire wood collection and selling. Not even a single family was engaged in fishing prior to displacement. After displacement there is drastic change took place at their occupation and many have changed to fishing.

Table 3: Occupational Background Of The Head Of The Households After Displacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Agricultural labour</th>
<th>Fishing</th>
<th>Trade/Employment</th>
<th>No work/Pension</th>
<th>Brick-making (migrate d)</th>
<th>Fire Wood collection</th>
<th>Total Number of families Shifted to R&amp;R colonies</th>
<th>% of families currently staying in R&amp;R colonies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eguva kummari valasa</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yerradla valasa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diguva kummari valasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodi kalla valasa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>31.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turaipadu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madavalasa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>25.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20 (13.15%)</td>
<td>22 (14.48%)</td>
<td>56 (36.84%)</td>
<td>10 (6.58%)</td>
<td>25 (16.44%)</td>
<td>14 (9.21%)</td>
<td>05 (3.29%)</td>
<td>152 (100%)</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table 3 explains about the occupational background of the project affected families of Peddagedda reservoir. From the table it is noticed that, 20 (13.15%) families heads are still pursuing agricultural occupation, 22 (14.48%) families heads pursuing on agricultural labour, 56 (36.84%) families heads at present engaged in fishing. 10 (6.58%) families heads depending on trade and employment profession for subsistence, 25 (16.44%) facing the problem of unemployment after displacement and exclusively depending on old age pension for subsistence, 5 (3.29%) families heads pursuing the occupation of fire wood collection and selling. Apart from that, 14 families (9.21%) were migrated from R&R colonies and involved in brick-making work in other parts of the state. The aged people in the rehabilitation center are mainly depending on old age pension of the government which is not sufficient to meet their basic primary needs also. Displacement is also causing for occupational mobility among majority of the tribal families. In addition to this it is also causing for forced migration of several displaced people to seek employment in order to sustain. Due to relocate the displaced have lost their cultivating lands and accessibility to forest resources on which they had lived for generations.
About 71 displaced tribal men are involved in fishing, specifically; belong to young and middle age group from the project affected tribal villages, including Kesali village project affected tribal families.

**Occupational Change:**

The project affected tribal families are not totally depended on the concern government agency in search of alternative livelihoods, which forced these families to evacuate from the original habitats and resettled in R&R colonies. However, these vulnerable tribal communities affecting to maladjustment, loss of livelihoods, psychological problems like alienation, and disintegration of social relations. All these adverse conditions are extremely common in R&R colonies. The productive skills of the displaced are less applicable and unable to compete with other rural and urban people, further that lead to migration. Prior to displacement except kesali and kodikallavalasa remaining five project affected tribal villagers were living nearer to forest and depended on cultivation, forest produce for their subsistence. There is a drastic change observed in head of the household’s occupation after displacement. About 14 families heads are unable to get suitable work and adjust to the new occupation, which led to migration of these families to other places in search of employment. About 22 families are engaged in agricultural laborers in nearer villages and 56 displaced tribal families have changed their occupation to fishing. Change of occupation to fishing, forced them to learn additional skills in it. Therefore, they learnt fishing skills from traditional fishing communities of Krishna district, who invited and provided them accommodation in the R&R colony for about six months. The traditional fishing communities’ people provided training for all the adult and youth of displaced tribal people.

Currently 71 tribal male persons are engaged in fishing activity from 56 project affected tribal families. Fishing is the main source of income to these families.

Fish and Prawn seed are grown in reservoir which supplied by the middlemen with a condition to sell the catch to him. The middle men have the leverage to fix the price of fish which is normally low price to that of existing market price. Due to this these vulnerable tribal communities are unable to get commensurate price their fish catch. They are exploiting by the middlemen in the area of fish marketing. Actually, the non-tribal middlemen are benefitting much by the fish catch of project affected tribal families. In order to breed fish and prawn these people avoid catching fish for about three months in a calendar year. During that period the tribal men who depend on fishing usually engaged in repairing of fishing nets and boats. In addition to this, some of them earn certain amount through in agricultural labor works and firewood collection for sustenance.

**Table: 4**

**Number Of Tribal Project Affected Families Currently Residing In R&R Colonies And Migrated To Other Places**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Name</th>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Name of the Village</th>
<th>Tribe wise No of Families Residing in R&amp;R colonies</th>
<th>Total number of families Shifted to R&amp;R colonies</th>
<th>% to total shifted project affected tribal families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manne dora And migrated</td>
<td>Konda dora And migrated</td>
<td>Nooka dora And migrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peddagedda</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Madavalasa</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Turupadu</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kodi kallavalasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yerredula Valasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Diguva Kummari Valasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Eguva Kummari Valasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>(81.82%)</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows that number of project affected tribal families shifted to R&R colonies and also number of families migrated to different places after resettlement. It is noted that from the table that, 44 families of Manne dora tribe, 101 families of Konda dora tribe and 07 families of Nooka dora tribe have been rehabilitated in the colonies. Out of the total rehabilitated tribal PAFs 8 (18.18%) families belong to Manne dora tribe and 06 (5.94%) families belong to Konda dora tribe have migrated to the urban towns of East Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts. There is no single family from Nooka dora tribe migrated to other places after.
resettlement. The reasons for migration of certain project affected tribal families are lack of sufficient resources in and around rehabilitation centers, alternative livelihood sources, and skills in fishing.

**Migration:**

Migration has multi facet and vary from one to another. Loss of resources, inaccessibility to the resources, and lack of employment in surroundings, where people living, causes for migration of communities from one place to another. Due to construction of medium irrigation project at their region, cultivable lands were submerged and have lost connectivity and accessibility to the forest resources on which they depended for their subsistence for years. In changing circumstances, some of the tribal project affected families could manage to adjust themselves to the new environment at R&R colonies and have changed to new occupation, fishing, that availing at their access. But, about 14 tribal project affected families could not adapt themselves to the new environment and new occupation, further that leads to migration. Unable to do fishing, which requires some knowledge for catching fish and in capability of spending money for purchasing fishing material is another factor of migration. 14 tribal project affected families belong to Manne dora, Konda dora and Nooka dora tribes from Madavalasa, Turaipadu and Kodikallavalasa were migrated to new places in search of employment. All of these migrated families settled as brick-making workers in East Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts, Andhra Pradesh. Nine months in a year from September to May these families engaged in brick making, during rainy season, return back to their respective R&R colonies. Usually the rainy season is not conducive for brick making task, hence the migrant families return back and now and then engaged in agricultural labour work of peasants in Kesali and Pachipenta villages.

**Social and Cultural Changes:**

Disintegration of social relations causing for alienation and loneliness that leaves a great amount of impact on elderly who can not do any work for their subsistence. The poor and elderly are neglected by their own family members and as well as government agencies like I.T.D.A. Joint and Extended families turns in to nuclear in colonies on which elderly were separated from their children. In this process, the children have left their parents to their fate. The condition of singles is worse than any other in colonies. These elderly are not in position to neither fishing nor agricultural labor works due to old age and health problems. No one is there to provide food and take care of their health. Only few of them are taking care of their elderly parents, but majority are not showing interest to look after their aged parents due to inadequate earnings. A lot of changes have been taken place in their day to day life specifically, in food habits, dressing pattern and economy.

Prior to displacement these tribal people grown and consume millets as their primary food. But after displacement they have changed their food habits, and now consuming rice instead of millets. Inter tribal marriages are also acceptable and practicing in the R&R colonies, such kind of marriages were barred prior to displacement. These kinds of changes have taken place due to cultural contact with neighboring caste communities and urban dwellers. Majority of the younger generation is not strict in observing their age old traditions and customs. Even, today the traditional political bodies are functioning in R&R colonies some extent but not fully as compare to prior to displacement. Alcoholism became very rampant and most of their earnings spending towards it, in turn they are effected with tuberculosis and liver disorders. Prior to displacement they used to brew their own liquor and trap the toddy from sago palm trees, now they are purchasing it in the local liquor shops with high cost.

Health is another major problem to the displaced tribal people, who frequently affecting to various diseases like as malaria, typhoid, viral fevers, diarrhea, cholera, skin diseases and jaundice. Ill health is also causing to spend most of their earnings towards allopathic medical treatment due to non availability of herbal medicine and abstaining the traditional medicinal practices. For curing of various diseases they are largely depending on the quacks (RMP) who regularly visit these colonies. Almost all the R&R colonies are lacking proper public health facilities, protected drinking water, marketing and transportation.

**Changes in gender roles:**

The role of women can not be ignored in any society in regard to social and economic aspects. Women in tribal societies, have equal status on par with their men when compare with neighboring caste societies. Prior to displacement women belong to this project affected villages were actively participating in household work, cooking, child rearing and collecting of NTFP and firewood. But in R&R colonies, the adverse conditions enforced, the adult and young women in search of labour works in outside with a view to earn and support their families due to loss of permanent income sources of land and forest. About 24 women belong to Madavalasa, Turaipadu and Kodikallavalasa Rehabilitation centers, are working in a jute factory located at jeegaram of Salur mandal, as industrial laborers. The working women are the daily commuters from their work spot to the current habitats or R&R colonies.
Role of ITDA/NGOs:

The role of ITDA is still very much essential to the displaced tribal families in regard to improve their economic conditions. ITDA has provided fishing nets to 10 families (for each family had received 6 kgs weight net, for that each paid Rs.750/- in cash to the ITDA where as the ITDA has met an amount of Rs.1750/- as subsidiary grant towards it). In addition to this, ITDA has distributed life jackets to the 40 men, who engaged in fishing, on subsidiary basis meeting an amount of Rs. 1350/- from the total cost of Rs. 2000/-. The remaining amount of Rs.650/- paid by each member. But, unfortunately instead of all, only few members were benefited under this scheme. Actually, the ITDA has given authority to all the displaced tribal people for fishing in Peddagedda Reservoir. Initially, about 121 tribal men formed in to a society and got approval from ITDA for fishing in Reservoir. But currently, only 71 tribal men are engaged in fishing, because of the remaining persons are not afford to buy fishing material i.e., nets, boats, prawn and ice boxes. Since their displacement ITDA have not provided fish and prawn seed but fishing material was given only to a few on subsidiary basis. Lack of commitment of ITDA in providing fish and prawn seed and also material to all the Project Affected Tribal Families, forced them to depend on the middlemen and fish traders to fulfill their requirements in respect of fishing. This kind of attitude of ITDA made a space for the middlemen to exploit the project affected tribal families in the area of fish market which are engaged in fishing. Due to this, the middlemen are benefitting much rather than the project affected tribal people. ITDA need to concentrate in providing fishing material at free of cost to all project affected tribal families those who involved in fishing. Old age people in R&R colonies are worse affected and unable to meet their prime basic need of food through out the year, because the amount that they get under the old age pension scheme is very meager.

No alternative livelihood programmes have been taken up by either ITDA or any other government development agencies for safeguarding the interest of project affected tribal families. A Non Governmental Organization namely, Kovel Foundation has been working since 10 years for the improving of the economic status of tribal people in this region. It has a role in providing alternative livelihoods to project affected tribal families specifically in Madavalasa and Turaipadu, recently training on honey processing was given to 15 members in these two colonies. In addition to that, required material for honey processing was also supplied to these beneficiaries. Further, it also encouraging tribal women, to collect non-timber forest produce and providing training to them to made value added products out of it and extending marketing facilities to those products. The help provided by the Kovel foundation definitely consider as a great relief measure to the project affected tribal families in these two colonies. Such kind of NGOs services to be extended to other Rehabilitation centers of Peddagedda Reservoir.

II. Conclusion:

The construction of Peddagedda medium irrigation project, resulted for the displacement of 152 tribal families, another 32 tribal families to be displaced in due course of time. Totally 184 tribal families were affected due to construction of this reservoir in the villages, Madavalasa,Turaipadu, Kesali, Yerredlavalasa, Eguva kummari valasa, Diguva kummari valasa and kodikalla valasa. Out of the 184 project affected tribal families 152 families were resettled in R&R colonies belong to all villages except Kesali and some families of Kodikalvalasa. Due to loss of land and have no connectivity to the forest, these vulnerable tribal communities have changed their primary occupation from farming to fishing. About 56 families at present depend on fishing for their livelihood. Despite of occupational change, these displaced vulnerable tribal communities unable to get sufficient amount of incomes. These fishing families are also exploiting by the middlemen and traders in fish trade. The amount which these families get through fishing is also not sufficient to meet the expenditure of their families through out the year. About 14 families were migrated from rehabilitation and resettlement colonies after displacement who are unable to adjust and to eke out their livelihoods in the new environment.

The aged people are not capable of doing fishing due to lack of skills, physical strength, ill health and fear towards sailing in water. The adverse conditions in rehabilitation centers, inadequate earnings and high consumption of alcohol by men invariably enforced women to take up employment elsewhere to support their families. Displacement has brought several changes related to socio-cultural aspects. Most of the men spending their earnings on drinking instead of look after other their family members in meeting thier basic primary needs. Addiction to alcoholism by the men leads to ill health and under development, among the tribal displaced families. The fishing tribal families in the R&R colonies are also facing subsistence problem during fishing lean period of three months (July to September). Generally, during this period few men engaged in repairing fish nets and boats, and some work as agricultural laborers and few collect firewood. The displaced tribal people are not much benefited with the developmental programmes of ITDA. The development among them is taking place in a slow pace manner. All the benefits of R&R policy are not reached to the project affected tribal families of Peddagedda reservoir. The compensation amount received by the tribal PAFs mostly spent for house construction and procurement of modern amenities. The government has not provided alternative livelihoods to
these tribal people and they themselves forced to change their occupation, some do fishing and some others as industrial labour, agricultural labour, and trade.

In sum displacement of project affected people leads to their seasonal and permanent migration, occupational change, exclusion, deprivation, marginalization and impoverishment. It also causing for the uprooting and structural change among the project affected people. In the case of Peddagedda reservoir displacement, majority of the poor tribal people belonging to Manne dora, Konda dora and Nooka dora are further experiencing much vulnerability and economic backwardness. The government should be implemented the R&R policy strictly in total for the benefit of the project affected tribal people with proper social impact assessment with the involvement of subject experts, before and after displacement. Alternative livelihoods to be provided to all the Project Affected Families as per the Policy Guidelines and Social Impact Assessment Report.

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