

Industrialization: A Critical Analysis of Gender Inequality through the Anthropological Lens

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ABSTRACT: Living with the nature closely the indigenous women had acquired the knowledge of varied economic activities related to land and natural resources. Considering the participation of indigenous women in various economic activities they were regarded as economic backbone of family or centre of all economic activities. That was leading to hold a special position in the indigenous society. They were enjoying more social status and prestige in the society in comparison to their female counterpart of non-indigenous society. It was possible as long that the land and natural resources considered as community property and they had been enjoying the autonomy of use land and natural resources. Whenever the State, its policy and development strategies started to encroach their rights and interests and pushed them out from the resource based nature, they were pushed into the process of marginalization. The wiping out of indigenous women from the land and natural resources is pushing them into the force of prevalent gender inequality and anti-social botheration like dowry, domestic violence etc. The growing heavy investment on natural resources and establishment of natural resource based industries lead to making people out from home, land and natural resources. Displacement from those is a traumatic experience for anyone but indigenous women most vulnerable section because they are skilled in sustainable resource management system. Whatever the economic benefits are provided by the govt. or corporate goes to the male member of the family due to patriarchal form of society and faulty implementation of policy. All this has a direct impact on the food security of displaced women. Information was collected from the displaced as well as affected villages of Vedanta Aluminium of Jharsuguda district and Bhusan Steel Plant and Hindalco of Sambalpur District of Odisha.

Against this backdrop the paper tries to make a humble attempt to explore the economic marginalization of women in the path leading towards industrialization. It also highlights the social condition as well as growing gender inequality in the sample area.

Key words: economy, marginalization, indigenous, women, mega-development, displacement

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I. INTRODUCTION

Historically the indigenous people have been living with the nature. Their specific languages and distinct cultural identities are closely associated and co-existed with land and natural resources. The cultural practices are linked with nature and ties with their lands and agricultural operations. The economic activities of the people are revolved around the land and natural resources. Because of those distinct cultures, identities and ways of life the indigenous people have been experiencing the consequences of historical colonization and invasion to their territories in India and also globe. The whole history of indigenous people is one of continuous process of exploitation and dispossession by the non-indigenous people of India. Jaipal Singh Munda former member of constituent assembly states that “as a Jungli, as an Adibasi, I am not expected to understand the legal intricacies of the Resolution. But my common sense tells me that every one of us should march in that road to freedom and fight together. Sir, if there is any group of Indian people that has been shabbily treated it is my people. They have been disgracefully treated, neglected for the last 6,000 years. The history of the Indus Valley civilization, a child of which I am, shows quite clearly that it is the newcomers — most of you here are intruders as far as I am concerned — it is the new comers who have driven away my people from the Indus Valley to the jungle fastness ... The whole history of my people is one of continuous exploitation and dispossession by the non-aboriginals of India punctuated by rebellions and disorder, and yet I take Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru at his word. I take you all at your word that now we are going to start a new chapter, a new chapter of independent India where there is equality of opportunity, where no one would be neglected” (Guha; 2008). Truly that process is also continuing in post independent era under the banner of economic reform and developmental strategies. They have been slaughtered in this process of national development; this is clearly evident from the *Kasipur* Movement, *Maikanj* and *Kalingnagar* firing. The encroachment state into the habitation and interests of the

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indigenous people is the results of driving out the people from their means of livelihood. Displacement from the land and natural resources is shocking experience for anyone indigenous communities but the indigenous women and children are the most vulnerable section of the society. Women are considered as central part of indigenous economy as well as sustainable natural resource management systems. Particularly the indigenous women live close to nature and they have deep association with land and natural resources. They draw support and subsistence from land and forests and in turn learn to take care and conserve them for future generations.

Even in modern civilization, the indigenous women are victims of illiteracy and poverty more viciously than other women in the country and are additionally vulnerable to family alienation due to migration, exploitation in the labour market and social evils like polygamy, alcoholism and domestic violence. Wiping out the indigenous woman from the land and forest is pushing them into the prevalent gender inequality.

II. METHODOLOGY

The study is conducted among the indigenous women of nine (9) affected villages and two (2) rehabilitation colonies of three mega-industries such as Vedanta Aluminum & Power, Bhusan Steel & Power and HINDAL CO. The affected villages and rehabilitation colonies are Bhagipali, Bhurkamunda and Maa Rehabilitation Colonies of Vedanta Aluminum and Power of Jharsuguda district; Khadiapada, Dhubenchapal, Thelkoli and Thelkoli Rehabilitation Colony of Bhusan steel and Power and Nuajamda, Nuagujatal, Muhammadpur and Dengimacha of HINDAL CO of Sambalpur district. The women candidates from 312 households are selected through stratified sampling method. The data are collected from the respondents through both qualitative interview techniques. Focused group discussion and case study methods have been followed in order to get more valuable information from the sample women. Related information are collected from the secondary sources like journals, books, magazine, news paper etc. in order to supplement the study.

The study tries an attempt to investigate the ill impact of industrialization on indigenous women. The indigenous women once who were considered as food producer and central of all indigenous economic activities became unemployed. Taking part in the all economic activities was bringing them a special social position in the society in pre-industrial era. The halt of all traditional patterns economic activities in the post-industrial era pushed them into the process of marginalization and declining position in the society. Again the study tries an humble attempt to explore the imposition of different social taboo on the indigenous women when the industrialization exposed the sample area into the attention non-indigenous people through the urbanization.

III. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Now a day the scholars/academia of social sciences and social activists have explored so much of issues connected with the establishment of mega development projects. Those mega development projects need large scale of land acquisition and population displacement. The alienation of land pushes oustees into the process marginalization and impoverishment (Thukral, 1992; Kothari, 1996; Fernandez and Thukral, 1989). Michael Cernea (2000) explores multi-facet impact of population displacement and resettlement. He explains displacement and resettlement due to establishment development projects brings a traumatic experience among the oustees and pushes them into the highly risk zone of becoming poorer than before. Cernea's impoverishment risk and reconstruction model explains eight interlinked potential risks inherent to displacement. Those are identified as landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property and social integration.

The new policy of economic reform allows mining and mining based industrial development in the country. Many changes have been made in economic reform policy to attract the national and overseas corporate, result many those are interested to invest in the mining and mining based industries in India and Odisha as well. It requires a large scale of land acquisition in order to establish industrial infrastructure. The places close to the natural resources such as water, land, minerals and forest are selected where mostly inhabited by indigenous people. The indigenous people who had been living for generation in those areas are forced to uproot from the land and resources. This involuntary displacement uproots the people from their own pattern of establishment and traditional sources of livelihood. The economy, culture, social and political structure of indigenous people gradually decline and they became more vulnerable section of new economic reform policy. Particularly the indigenous women are the most vulnerable segment of the society because once they were considered as the centre of all economic activities in traditional pattern of economy and part and parcel of cultural, social, political structure of indigenous society. They had been monitoring and using the resources as long those were considered as community assets. In post industrialization era the entire traditional livelihood pattern became halt and only option open to them is low paid unskilled jobs in the industries. Earlier they were considering as centre and shareholders all family economic activities as they were contributing a lot to the family income from different sources. Now they no more play a significant economic role, hence their position started to decline in family as well as society level (Kumar and Gupta: 2006).

Indra (1999) explores an extensive and systematic range of interdisciplinary study with reference to gender. He portrays the historicity and cultural and social disarticulation of people due to involuntary displacement and resettlement. He explains that “how and why women are often more vulnerable segment to force displacement and resettlement than men. The issues explained by the scholars of different disciplines who study on gender and forced displacement are hardly ever reflected in bureaucratic structures and relief against programme”.

Thukral (1992) highlights case studies of the mega-development of four different geographical locations in India. The case studies of mega-development projects located in four different geographical regions reveals that the resettlement and relocation facilities provided to the displaced people are not to the level of satisfactory. It is ad hoc in nature. The people are pushed into the pauperization. The resettlement facilities provided in case of Baliraja Dam in Maharashtra has done without the participation of affected people. The dislocation is distressing experience for everyone undergoing it; however the degree of impact of dislocation is different. Particularly the indigenous people experience it very differently as their livelihood pattern and cultural practices are revolved around land and natural resources and the indigenous women most vulnerable segment. The existing literature on displacement and rehabilitation hardly provides information regarding gender dimension and gender related impact of displacement. Most of the earlier literature analyze regarding the rehabilitation and resettlement policies displacement and policies on relocation suppose the household or the family to be the smallest unit of convergent interest where the benefit and burdens policies are shared by all members of the family. But little literatures express about the sharing burden of women is far greater than that of the man. They have even less access to the benefit of the development than men (Thukral,1996).

Dislocation together with migration and trafficking has become a major cause of enormous raise and influx in more number of women and girls into the sexual exploitation and harassment. Acharya (2009:161-170) refers that the people in general and the women in particular are dictated for migration and making them vulnerable towards trafficking due to internal displacement in Chiapas state of Mexico. Again he analyzes the demographic profile of the displaced trafficked women as well as their pattern of trafficking and consequences on health.

Miller (1984:153-160) investigate the impact of industrialization on attitudes of men toward extended-family authority and women's rights. He points out by recognizing two empirically different but inter-connected ideologies—belief and practice in independence from the extended family, and the belief family members regarding the right of women outside of the family but not necessarily inside the home. In regards to his multiple regression analysis different aspects of industrialization have direct impacts on each of the two ideologies; but when the effects as whole are considered, educational status and standard of living are the primary determinants of both across several cultures.

Jacob (2010:361-380) points out the significance of traditional culture within indigenous society and health status as a human rights of every individual. At present era of hi-tech economic development in the process of establishing heavy industries based on natural resources, the traditional cultural practices have been undermined. In the context of neo-colonialism the health and wellbeing of indigenous women are deteriorating day by day. The children are also adversely affected due to the establishment of mega development project.

Dwivedi (2002) points out about the discourse of displacement. According to him the discourse of development may be categorized into two viz the reformist managerial and the radical movement. According to the managerial approach displacement is considered as a consequence of past and future development of the nation. Again it focuses to deal with the shortages and failures of resettlement through providing such amenities and to reduce harmful effects of displacement. But on the other hand the followers of radical movement school of thought take care about the result of development which is based on unequal distribution of wealth and cost and benefits are borne disproportionately. They challenge the concept of development that is associated with economic growth. Growth or development that cannot be just, fair and equitable cannot bring social or economic justice for men and women. They raise concerns of fundamental political nature like rights and governance. They advocate for a paradigm shift to poverty reduction, environmental protection, social justice and human rights.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gender Inequality in R & R Policies

Earlier to 2003 there was no national rehabilitation and resettlement policy rather there were many draft policies. In fact each and every project had its own rehabilitation and resettlement policy. The Narmada Water Dispute Tribunal's (NWDT) award which governs rehabilitation of the people displaced by the SardarSarovar Project defines a family to include "husband and wife with their minor children and other persons dependent on the head of the household for example, widowed mother" I (3) (i), p 126). It adds in sub-clause I (3) (ii), that every major son will be treated as a separate family. It has been left to the three states concerned, to re-interpret this as they deem fit (Thukral: 1996).

To begin with, Maharashtra has clearly stated that daughters of none of the oustees shall be considered as separate families (Revenue and Forest Department, Resolution No. RPN 3188/CR/30/88/R-5 dated June 29, 1989, Clause V.). They have however modified it subsequently to add "major unmarried daughters" as project affected persons (PAPs) [TISS 1993: 5].

Though Gujarat also defines the family in the same way as does the Award, it has decided to include all women widowed after 1980 as separate family. However, the women widowed prior to 1980 will continue to be 'dependents' of the head of the family. Gujarat, however, categorically leaves out major unmarried daughters.

Madhya Pradesh does not mention women at all. Though its interpretation of the Award reflects a lack of gender sensitivity, the Madhya Pradesh Rehabilitation Act (Madhya Pradesh Pariyojana Ke Karan Visthapit Vyakti (Punasthapan) Adhinyam 1985) is more gender sensitive, at least to begin with. While defining 'family' the Madhya Pradesh Rehabilitation Act refers, "family relating to displaced or project affected persons means the family of displaced persons consisting of such persons or his or her spouse, minor son, unmarried daughter, minor brother or unmarried sister, father or mother and other members residing with him and dependent on him for livelihood" (Section 2 (9), emphasis added). Even they seem to slip up towards the end of the sentence and forget that they had included women! However, the definition of a 'displaced person' in the same act reveals a gender bias. A displaced person is defined as "any tenure holder, tenant, government leaser or owner of other property who on account of acquisition of his land ... has been displaced from such land or other property" (Section 2 (8)) (Thukral: 1996).

The law of rehabilitation of project affected persons in Maharashtra, 'Maharashtra Project Affected Persons Rehabilitation Act, 1986', defines an affected person as an occupant whose land in the affected zone including land in the '*gaathan*' is acquired under section 14 for the purpose of the project. It is the explanation to this clause which is most significant. It points out, "for this purposes it has mention in sub-clause where any agricultural land is recorded in the name of one of the brothers as a '*karta*' in relevant village records, then all the brother (or sons or sons of deceased brother altogether as one unit) who are shareholder in the land whether their name are recorded in such village record or not does matter, but they shall be treated as project affected person". The above definition is not at all clear regarding the position of a daughter or a widow (especially if she has no sons) as project affected person. It has also been found in some cases, as in the case of the policy governing the *Tehri* dam oustees, even if the woman is a '*khata* holder' (owner) and she and her husband are together entitled to only one plot of land, compensation has gone to the husband. Thus, in the absence of any affirmative clauses including them, women are automatically left out, since they seldom possess ownership rights. (Thukral: 1996).

The first national rehabilitation and resettlement policy was made in 2003. The policy assure to provide assistance in chapter-I, section 1.4 to the assetless, resource poor sections such as SCs, STs and women who have been displaced. It emphasizes on the recognition of right over the land those do not possess *patta*. It also prescribes for the social impact assessment as mandatory. But the all sections of chapter VI. i.e. "Rehabilitation and Resettlement benefits for the project affected family" indicates nothing about the women. Nowhere the provision of assistance and R & R benefits have mentioned about women. However it indicates to provide the benefits to the family as a whole. As most of the indigenous societies are patriarchal in nature all R & R benefits goes to the male without saying.

The national R & R policy 2007 under section 7.4.1 indicates that each affected owning agricultural land in the affected area and whose entire land has been acquired or lost may be allotted in the name of the *khatedar*² of the displaced or affected family, farm land or cultivable wasteland (grazing land) to the extent of actual land loss by the *khatedar* in the affected family subjected to a maximum of one hectare of irrigated or two hectare of un-irrigated land or cultivable wasteland. This is possible if government land is available in the resettlement vicinity. The benefit shall also be available to the affected families who have lost land or been reduced to the status or marginal farmers. Under section 7.13.1 indicates that in case of project involving land acquisition on behalf of a requiring body: (a) the requiring body shall give preference to the affected families at least one person per nuclear family in providing job opportunity in the project, based on the availability of vacancies and suitability of the candidate of displaced or affected person for the employment; (b) Wherever necessary the requiring body shall arrange for training of the affected person so as to enable such person for the employment to take on suitable jobs; there is no reservation for the women.

Under section 7.19 discusses that in case of linear acquisitions in project relating to the railway lines, highways, transition lines, laying of pipelines other such projects wherein only a narrow stretch of line is acquired for the purpose of the project or it utilized for right of way, each *khatedar* of the affected families shall be offered by the requiring on ex-gratia payment of such amount as the appropriate may decide, but not less than twenty thousand rupees in addition to the compensation or any other benefits due the act or programme or scheme under which the land house or other property is acquired.

² *patta* holder

The Odisha R & R 2006 under section 2.6 indicates that each of the following categories will be treated as a separate family for the purposes of extending rehabilitation benefits:

- (i) A major son irrespective of his marital status.
- (ii) Unmarried daughter or sister more than 30 years of age.

It has been observed from the R & R policy that women have neither been consulted nor their participation ensured in the R & R processes. The R & R aspect should be an integral part of the development inducing displacement in which both women and men should be equal partners. So women participation in the entire processes of resettlement planning and implementation should be ensured.

Marginalization of Indigenous Women due to Loosing Sources of Livelihood

In pre-industrialization the indigenous women were the centre of all economic activities. The economic activities of the women were running year round from the collection of minor forest products to agricultural labour. Collection of *mahua* flower and *kendu leave* was considered as the important economic activities in the lean season. By the second week of February the *mahua* flower starts falling. Women and female children were engaged for over a month to collect *mahua* flower. After that *tol* (*mahua* fruit) is collected. The collected *mahua* flowers were dried up under the sun and sold in the market. It was also playing a great value in barter system. The sample respondents were buying their needs in lieu of the dried *mahua* flowers. Felix Pedal (2010:28) states unadulterated *mahua* liquor is better than scotch for its better taste and kick. The plucking of *kendu* leaves was also source of livelihood of the displaced and affected people of Vedanta Aluminum Ltd. of Bhurkamunda and Bhusan Steel of Thekoli when all the means of agricultural livelihood or other wage earning activities were halted. The leaves pluckers treated it as a main source of livelihood after agriculture. The leaves are used mainly for making *bidi* (local cigarette). Of the 208 households, 206 of the sample villages of Aluminum Ltd. of Bhurkamunda and Bhusan Steel of Thekoli agreed that plucking of *kendu leave* was one of the major sources of economic activities. The people of sample area engaged them in plucking of *kendu* leaves from second half of April to first half of June, which is called as lean season in the traditional village economic calendar. The *kendu* plants are cut in the month of *Faguna* (March), which is called as “cutting of bushes”, for which the labour are paid 100/day. After the 45 days of bush cutting the new *kendu* plants mature with full of new leaves. Then pluckers are allowed to collect the green leaves in the month of *Baisakha* (April) and it continues up to first half of June. 25 leaves are tied in a bundle which costs 50 *paise*. Indigenous people of the sample areas were pushed off from that economic activity after the establishment of the industries resulting in their further marginalization. Many traditional occupations like agriculture, porter, fishing, basket weaving, blacksmith etc. become not viable in the resettlement or after establishment of industries due to unavailability of raw materials. The traditional folk practices are no longer visible. The traditional barter system in the region is almost non-existent. As a result of all these major changes; women have lost their importance in the family. In the changing scenario, they just maintain the role of house wife from home manager. Many of them have joined the labour market as marginal workers.

The economic and social vulnerability of indigenous women starts in post-industrialization era due to three interrelated process such as;

- Alienation from the natural resources like land and forest which consider as the very identity of economy, culture, social and political structure of indigenous people.
- Alienation from common property resources such as village forest, burial ground, grazing ground etc.
- Contact with hardcore patriarchal society.

The loss of land and forest are the main reasons of the impoverishment of indigenous people. To the indigenous people the land and forest is the centre of culture rather than an economic commodity. The people have built their economic, social, cultural and political systems centering to the land and forest. They have developed sustainable management systems and more particularly the indigenous women are considered as natural resource manager as because they have close association with nature. Basic to their culture is equity which ensuring that every family gets enough for its needs. Secondly, the natural resources are considered as renewable resources which can be used according to need and preserved for the future. Thirdly, as long as land and forests are community owned, the indigenous people and more particularly the woman look after its management. Most of the indigenous communities are patriarchal. But their relatively high status depends on community ownership of their resources. These values are basic to indigenous identity. The improvement and adaption of plant genetic material to local environmental conditions and social requirements has created a wealth of diverse varieties over thousands of years (Brush: 2000). The interaction of men and women with plants has increased the diversity of food crops, widening the base for human nutrition. Women have played and continue to play a key role as indigenous breeders, knowledge managers and seed distributors (Inhetveen: 1998). Reflecting on the gender dimension of environmental collective action, Agarwal (2000) draws attention to the distinctness of women’s social networks, their higher dependence on these networks and the commons in general. Yet, faced with improved seed material and commodity oriented logic, traditional varieties with lesser

yields face extinction. This decrease of seed diversity goes hand in hand with the erosion of complementary gender roles and knowledge systems of indigenous women in agricultural production, lowering their economic and social position (Pieroni and Price: 2006).

Inequality in Employment Opportunity

The indigenous people of sample area come under attack and a total crisis enters into their life when the resource gets alienated from them. They fall in the trap of marginalization. The beating drums of government as well as corporate of provision of employment opportunity to the DPs (Displaced Persons) and PAPs (Projected Affected Person) has failed in the sample area. The false promises made by government officials and officers of the companies regarding the employment have not translated into realities. From the sample households, only a woman of Bhagipali is found to be a contractual official employee of Vedanta Aluminum. The government as well as companies does not have any record of those DPs and PAPs indigenous women. Most of the indigenous women of Maa Samleswari Rehabilitation colony do not go for labour work in the industry rather they prefer to work as agricultural labourers in the nearby village Brundamal. Some of them do the construction work in Jharsuguda town. The women of villages Bhagipali and Bhurkamunda engage themselves in *bidi* making and labour work in the Vedanta Aluminum Ltd. The *bidi* making is an important source of income for many women of this region. The women of *Paulepada* and *Harijanpada* of village Dhubenchhapal are totally dependent on labour work at Bhusan Steel & Power but most of the women of *Kulatapada* go for agricultural labour work when that is available. The women of affected villages of HINDAL CO. are dependent on agricultural labour work as the area is irrigated with *Hirakud* reservoir water. Women of Dengimacha and *Mundapada* of *Nuajamda* are dependent on both agricultural labour and industrial labour depending on the availability of work.

Particularly the indigenous women are the first vulnerable section of the society due to industrialization. This is because of their lack of education, lack of skill and mostly to provide scope to their male counterpart of the family. The companies provide only one job on the basis of *patta*³ land. Mostly the indigenous people do not separate the *patta* on their own names. As a result the most eligible male person of the family is selected for the job. Some of the affected families of Bhusan Steel & Power had to choose a person among their 4/5 families because the *patta* remained on the name of grandfather or great grandfather. In this situation the other member of the families are forced to trap with the marginalization. After alienation from their traditional occupation the women are dictated to enter into other unfavourable works to maintain livelihood. In the *Korba* area as the men were not interested for daily wage labour, women got themselves engaged as unskilled daily wage labour, sometimes as hazardous as emptying cylinders of explosives for recycling. Other sought employment as domestic help or construction workers. The displaced women of the *SardarSarovar* Project too were forced to seek wage labour, following their resettlement (Thukral, 1996). According to Walter Fernandes (1996) “the marginalization of women is greater after displacement because the land and forests they lose were the sources of their nutrition and work outside. Women are, therefore, forced to remain at home and only look after the household, without any productive work outside”. Parasuraman (1993) in his study the impact of displacement on women in six projects has found that firstly, due to the loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood and the inability of the household to replace these sources, women get pushed into work in the most exploitative sectors. Modi (2004) stated that “the tribal oustees especially the displaced women of the *SardarSarovar* Project were pushed to the labour market after being dislodged from their ancestral lands and self-sufficient lifestyle”.

The information collected from the group discussion with regard to the occupation of the women reveal that only a woman of Bhagipali is holding a contractual clerical job in Vedanta Aluminum and three women work as Anganwadi workers. Most of the women are engaged in *Bidi* making. Many women are pushed into the marginal contract labour work under contractor and are forced to work in unhygienic condition. Government or Corporates have not taken any step for gender parity⁴ in accessing to the market. Women are spotted in selling rice beer at weekly market of *Katikela*, babies slung on their backs. Traditionally, indigenous women produce rice beer not for commercial use but to use during festivals as home drink. Now selling it seems to have become a new livelihood option for those women whose families have borne the brunt of aggressive development and loss of livelihood. *Handia* is found in almost each Oraon house of Maa Samaleswari Rehabilitation Colony but five Oraon women are found selling *handia* in their home, among them two are widows.

Case study of Talsa Oraon, woman of Oraon community narrates the vulnerability of women in post industrialization era. She narrated that she was the backbone of all economic activities of the family prior to the industrialization. She was helping her husband in agriculture and at the same time

³ Written deed of authority

⁴ Gender parity in accessing knowledge, technology finance and other resources necessary to participate in the local as well global market

she was collecting different minor forest produces from the nearby forest. She was engaged year round with the collection of different gifts from the nature. But after displaced she lost all the livelihood measures. Her husband also died due to heavy drinking. She has four children who are 8, 10, 12 and 16 years of age. It is difficult in her part to go for labour work in the industry. As a result she manages her livelihood by selling *handia*. She is known as *handiabali*⁵ in the area.

Apart from being impoverished they also absorb a new culture. For example, once land alienation or deforestation causes a shortage of resources they fall in the hands of moneylenders. For sheer survival they begin to destroy forests and other resources that they had preserved till then for posterity. That causes more shortages and individualism enters their communities. Equity that is central to their culture gets weak. A few of them take over the livelihood of other indigenous people and impoverish them further.

But for exceptions, women who want to work have to satisfy themselves with unskilled daily wage labour as majority of them are illiterate. They are forced to enter into the marginalized form of labours like maid servants, construction workers, etc. Those types of activities falling under unorganized sector are not very attractive to the men folk. In some cases they engage them in selling *handia*⁶ or other petty businesses. Fonjong, Fombe, and Sama-Lang (2013: 575-589) emphasizes women are playing an important role in the education of the children, provision of food to the family and taking care of medical services for the homes, still than their knowledge is undermined. However those professions and knowledge of the indigenous women of sample area do not fit to get employment opportunity in industries. Lack of formal and technical education as per the need of industries the fail to get any employment. In order to maintain the need of the family some of them pushed themselves into the marginal labour work in the industries. Some of them have been forced into the prostitution as a source of livelihood as many outsiders living here without their family.

No steps have been undertaken in order to provide justice to those women affected due to the establishment of various development projects in their ecological setting. The policy snatches the constitutional right of indigenous women. It violates the Article 15 (I) on the basis of non-discrimination against gender. It also violates Article 39 (a) of the directive principles of state policy which indicates of enjoying equal rights both for men and women on the grounds of adequate livelihoods.

The New Economic Policy (NEP) which the Government of India adopted in 1991 mainly focuses aggressive growth and development. It can be said as centralization of economy in the hands of few elite groups. In this process whatever control indigenous women had over traditional occupations and natural resources prior to introduction of such development projects have been lost and they are now in the trap of marginalization. The impoverishment of land and natural resources has led to increasing inequalities between poor and rich, region to region and between men and women. The alienation of land again led to ecological degradation and restricts indigenous women into common property resources which are the sole reason of increasing feminization of poverty. On the other hand the fallacy of companies or government pushes them into an uncertain future. While the access of the whole family declines, that of women declines more than that of other members of the family. Thekkekara (1993: 92) rightly observes that, if the project gives jobs, except in women-headed families they go almost exclusively to men considered heads of families. If they are rehabilitated, land is allotted to men. So the domestic power passes fully to the man and from him to his son.

Throughout my fieldwork, especially during in-depth interviews with the respondents and focus group discussion with the women, they reveal that the new employment opportunities in the form wage labourer for women in industry have many negative consequences. Still the people bemoan to their past, i.e. land and forest. They feel that though the menfolk get earn wage in lieu of their labour yet that earning is not sufficient to manage the family, because they have to buy everything from the market. The food materials they used to produce in their own land or collect from the village forest or common property resources are no longer available. They buy those from the market at a very high price.

Inequality in the Distribution of Compensation

Position of indigenous women in the present industrial society has been that of multiplication of exploitation and degradation. Historically the indigenous women have no legal rights over land. But they enjoy a greater social status as well as control over the land and natural resources and management. This ensures their active participation in economic activities related to land and natural resources. However they have been completely alienated to access from the land, natural resource after the establishment of industries in this area. This alienation has resulted in an uncertain future of landlessness, joblessness and social insecurity to the women. Earlier I have mentioned that in indigenous community women have no legal rights over land as a result whatever rehabilitation opportunities are available from the corporate or government, those always go to men. It has also mentioned in national Rehabilitation and Resettlement policy in case of allotment of agricultural land in

⁵ The woman who sell *handia*

⁶ Local alcohol made on rice, called as rice beer

lieu of acquired land, each *khatedar* of the project affected family shall get a onetime financial assistance of such amount as the appropriate government may decide but not less than ten thousand rupees for agricultural development. As the indigenous women of sample area are not the legal holders they got nothing of compensating money. It went to the male member of the family. Fonjong, Fombe, and Sama-Lang (2013: 575-589) rightly refer, women as the centre of all economic activities of indigenous households and key fighters against poverty. All their activities depend solely on land. Despite of that they do not have right or tenure over the land they work.

The Odisha rehabilitation and resettlement policy 2006 discriminate adolescent and young unmarried women with regard to their right over compensation. It is clearly mentioned in the Odisha rehabilitation and resettlement policy that a major son irrespective of his marital status will be treated as a separate project affected person (PAP) to get the Rehabilitation and Resettlement benefits whereas the unmarried daughter or sister will be considered as PAP after 30 years of age. In this concerned particularly the indigenous women of sample area never are project affected person because hardly any female candidates are left up to the age of 20 in indigenous society. Before attending at the age of 20 generally they get marry. As a result, after displacement joblessness is higher among women as compared to men.

They are now forced to cover long distance to collect firewood. Many of them join labour market for wage earning by leaving their sibling at home under the guidance of another child. I did not find much seasonal migration except 10 households of Bhagipali that migrated to *Brajrajnagar* mining area for wage earning but in many cases lack of wage earning scope in the village or nearby areas pushes the indigenous people to move out in lean season.

Concluding Remarks and Suggestions

The heavy industrialization in the sample area impacts on indigenous people differently depending upon caste, ethnicity, gender and social institution are concerned. In this context the indigenous women are the most vulnerable segment of heavy industrialization. It is all accepted that the women are not equal with their man counterpart in patriarchal society but the indigenous women had been enjoying high status as compared to the women counterpart of higher caste. All that scope was possible as long they had been utilizing their rights over natural resources and village common property resources. The alienation from the land and common property resources has made them economically impoverished and that economic impoverishment has deprived them from their social standing. As a result of that the status of indigenous women is declining in the community. The gender discriminations have been recognized in rehabilitation and resettlement policies as well as in its implementation level. At present many specific gender issues and policy level interventions have been adopted in the policies in order to mainstreaming the women categories. For example in the national and Odisha Rehabilitation and Resettlement policy 2007 and 2006 respectively so much of gender bases needs are addressed but in phase of distribution of compensation the women are ignored. Most importantly in the project planning and implementation level the indigenous women are ignored as they are not legal land holders. So many necessary suggestions are highlight;

- ❖ **Equal opportunity to both Sexes:** The concern ministry of central as well state government and the corporate world should amend their existing R & R policy where both male and female should be provided equal opportunity to get R & R benefit. The unmarried major daughter of the family should be considered as separate PAPs like the major son. The R & R policy do not consider the widow and divorcees of male headed household as PAPs. They should also be considered as PAPs. The government should formulate a policy to provide equal right of female over land with their male counterpart.
- ❖ **Joint ownership right on land and house:** Land and house ownership right are the main bottleneck for the women to get R & R benefit. There was no indigenous woman who had ownership right or *patta*⁷ on spouse name at the time of displacement. So when the socio-economic survey was conducted for rehabilitation plans joint ownership of both spouses was not considered and therefore women did not get the R & R benefits. When the displaced people are rehabilitated in the form of land-for-land, it is suggested that the land allotted for rehabilitation should always be in the joint name of both the female and male heads of the family. If the female spouse is not alive the oldest female member of family should be considered as the female head of the family. Joint ownership should be taken into the consideration when the home or homestead lands are provided to the beneficiaries.
- ❖ **Joint ownership right on cash compensation:** From the fieldwork, it was observed that the cash compensation provided by the authorities was allotted to male member of the family except those families who had no male household head or major son. Male members generally used major part of the compensation on drinking and marry making. So the government should emend the existing R & R policy to pay the cash compensation in joint bank account of household head and his wife.

⁷ Land record

- ❖ **Equal partnership right in rehabilitation planning:** The plan and policies adopted by the state or central government and private agencies all most all resettlement and rehabilitation packages provide on the basis of 'ownership' of land or property. In the context of India all most all land or property right vested in the name of male household head of the family. So packages working out on basis of ownership rights reflect gender biasness.
- ❖ **Creation of common property resources:** The govt. and authority provide space or rehabilitation colony to the displaced community but they undermine the common property resources. The women are mostly dependent on common property resources to meet their fuel wood, broom, leafy vegetables, water bodies for bathing and drinking purposes. For the health checkup a primary health centre, school, Anganwadi centre for school children is also needed. The govt. or the authority remains silent after organizing a health camp in a year or appointing a mobile health unit, which used to close all year long. The children also need space for their play activities or other marry making after school hour. So the govt. should ensure about above common property resources.
- ❖ **Provision of employment opportunities:** From the field it has been found the only one woman is provided employment opportunity in the Vedanta Steel & Power. Though different training programme are organized by the companies, these are only for male member. The women are not provided equal opportunities particularly in the job and livelihood based skill training programme. In such circumstances, women should be equally treated with their male counterparts in the allocation of jobs and other employment opportunities. So government or corporate should ensure to provide employment opportunity as well as skill development programme to the women.
- ❖ **Representation of women in decision making:** Mostly the male represent in the RPDAC meeting and in the offices of R & R who may not be able to address gender issues and other women problem concerning rehabilitation. So women representation is needed for the better realization of gender issues.

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