

# PROBLEM OF CHANGING LIVELIHOOD FOR A PRIMITIVE TRIBE: A CASE OF KUTIA KANDHA RESETTLERS IN ODISHA

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## ABSTRACT

Mining-induced displacement and resettlement is a highly diverse global economic issue occurring in all regions of the world, associated with loss or significant reduction of access to basic resources on which communities depend. The problem becomes more severe in case of the primitive tribal groups who largely depend on natural resources for their livelihood and socio-cultural life. Most of the times, the resettlement in an alien place also brings changes in traditional occupation, loss of common property resources and decline in income level for the native inhabitants. Against this backdrop, the present paper describes the changes that have taken place within the livelihood of the Kutia Kandha tribe who were displaced due to the Vedanta Aluminum industry in Lanjigarh of Odisha. The paper is based on a study having pre and post situational analysis as well as comparison of two Kutia Kandha villages, one traditional village and another newly built resettlement colony to measure the changes in the occupation, income level and access to natural resources. Justifying the methodological stance of qualitative, the study followed ethnographic approach and used semi-structured interview, participant observation as well as case studies to gather information about the research theme.

**Keywords:** *Displacement and Resettlement, Tribe, Kutia Kandha, Livelihood and Change.*

## INTRODUCTION

The impacts of development projects are varied, complex and pose great challenges to the displaced people. Empirical researches have shown that those who have sacrificed their lands and livelihoods have largely remained as losers, more so, those belonging to the vulnerable sections of communities such as the indigenous population and women. Adding to this, the ineffective resettlement and

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rehabilitation planning and implementation have been considered to be significantly responsible for the plight of the affected communities. During the last two decades of the previous century, the magnitude of forced population displacements caused by development programmes was 10 million people each year or some 200 million people globally during that period (Cernea 2000: 3659). The increasing construction of development projects consistently displaced a massive number of tribal and weaker sections. In India, it is found that the country's development programmes have caused an aggregate displacement of more than 20 million people during roughly four decades. 40 per cent of these oustees or Project Affected Persons were tribals and another 20 per cent were from the Scheduled Caste. In fact, one in every seven Indian tribal is a displaced person (Fernandes 1998: 265). Even when India has invested enormous capital, effort and resources in building large industrial projects, there is a total absence of systematic evaluation of it. Official database is particularly dismal when it comes to reliable number of people who have been displaced and affected by mines and industries. Though estimates vary significantly, there is an agreement that mines have caused displacement of 21,00,000 population since now, among which 5,25,000 have been rehabilitated whereas 15,75,000 have been left in backlog. Similarly, displacement caused by several other industries and infrastructural projects till 1991 are 13,00,000, among which 3,25,000 have been rehabilitated and 9,50,000 left in backlog (Fernandes 1995:5).

Odisha occupies a unique place among the underdeveloped states of India, because of its large concentration (22.13%) of tribal population. The most striking fact about Odisha is that while it is rich in natural resources, its people are extremely poor. 47.15 per cent of its population are living below the poverty line which is the highest in the country (Census of India, 2001). The natural resources of Odisha have attracted several companies such as, TATA, Zindal, Mittal and Vedanta to build up industries and acquire productive benefits. But what is painful in it is the large-scale involuntary displacement of weaker sections caused by the industries, particularly the tribals. Statistical data indicates that a large portion of the project affected families in Odisha belong to the tribal group. Since the tribal belt is invariably rich in mineral deposits, they are affected much by the on-going power, mining and industrial projects. The displacement and resettlement of the tribals due to industries causes several traumatic experiences for them and it brings about changes in their occupation, income level and economic conditions as a whole.

#### **PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Against this backdrop, the present research work seeks to explore and understand anthropologically the changes that have taken place within the livelihood and economic life of the Kutia Kandha tribe of Kalahandi district who

have been displaced because of the Vedanta Aluminium Pvt. Ltd. In 2003, Vedanta Resources signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the State Govt. of Odisha for constructing a refinery for aluminium production. It set up a refinery with a capacity of 1.0 million tonnes per annum for processing aluminium for export and it occupied 660.749 hectares of the forest land with an additional 33.73 hectares of village forest in the Niyamgiri hill of the Kalahandi and Rayagada districts which was largely inhabited by the Kutia Kandha people (Baviskar, Kant, Parasuraman, Saxena, 2010: 11). Due to the mining operations of the industry, the native inhabitants especially the Kutia Kandhas were forced to leave their land and were relocated in a newly established Vedanta Resettlement Colony at Lanjigarh.

To find out the resettlement induced changes among the Kutia Kandhas, the study was conducted in two different localities – a traditional Kutia Kandha village, i.e., Ambaguda and the newly built resettlement colony named as Vedanta Nagara. The distance between the two is nearly 10 kilometres and they are completely different in their physical as well as social setting. However, both of the villages are located in the district of Kalahandi which is traditionally known as the homeland of the Kutia Kandha tribe. The Ambaguda village represents one of the traditional village structures of the Kutia Kandha habitation. The village is located in the Trilochanpur Grampanchayat of the Lanjigarh block of the Kalahandi district. The approximate distance of the Lanjigarh from the District head quarter is 85 kilometres. The village has 35 households and all belong to the Kutia Kandha group. The total number of population is 279, including 126 males and 153 females. The village is surrounded by the hilly terrains of Niyamgiri and full of mountainous forest resources. On the other hand, the Vedanta Nagarais a newly built resettlement colony and has come into existence after the development of Vedanta Aluminium Pvt. Ltd in 2004. It is located within the Vedanta town ship of Lanjigarh block at the foothill region of Niyamgiri. The distance of the colony is almost 65 kilometres away from the district headquarter. The economic activities of the Kutia Kandhas residing in both the villages have been studied and compared to find out the changes in livelihood caused due to resettlement.

#### **LIVELIHOOD: MEANING AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION**

In everyday language, livelihood refers to a means of living. In development thinking, livelihood refers to the way people make a living. Analysing livelihood systems is the analysis of the factors involved in the way in which people make a living.

As stated by Chambers and Conway:

Livelihood comprises of the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers & Conway 1991: 1).

We speak of livelihood systems, because the livelihood provided for is an emergent property of a coherent and interrelated set of activities that are implemented within a broader environment. “Making a living” is largely about generating income. But this is really a means to an end, which also includes aspects of: food security (the ability to feed oneself and one’s family), home to stay and maintain family, income generation, security (reduced vulnerability to climatic, economic or political shocks, etc.), sustainability (the ability to continue to make a satisfactory living) and power (the ability to control one’s own destiny), etc. Conceptually, livelihoods connote the means, activities, entitlements and assets by which people make a living. Assets in this context are defined as not only natural/biological (i.e., land, water, common-property resources, flora, fauna), but also social (i.e., community, family, social networks, participation, empowerment, human knowledge and skills) and physical (i.e., roads, markets, clinics, schools, bridges) (Thekaekara 2015:10). The notions of ‘well-being’ (Chambers 1995; 1997) and ‘capability’ (Sen 1984; 1987) of an individual provide a wider definitional scope for the livelihoods concept. Sen sees capabilities as ‘what people can do or be with their entitlements’, a concept which encompasses far more than the material concerns of food intake or income. In social sciences, the concept of livelihood extends to include social and cultural means, i.e. “the command an individual, family, or other social group has over an income and/or bundles of resources that can be used or exchanged to satisfy its needs. This may involve information, cultural knowledge, social networks and legal rights as well as tools, land and other physical resources” (Wisner *et al.*, 2004: 5).

In order to better understand how people develop and maintain livelihoods, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), developed the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) on the basis of the works of practitioners and academicians (DFID 2010: 1). This framework describes that to identify a livelihood of a person three elements are needed to be included. They are: livelihood resources and capabilities, livelihood activities, and outputs obtained from performing activities for fulfilling the livelihoods needs. These three elements collectively form a comprehensive whole that captures the various aspects of livelihood. Thus, in simpler terms, livelihood of an individual or group includes the means of livelihood i.e., occupation, income level and economic activities. The same elements were also used to understand the livelihood of Kutia Kandhas of Odisha.

#### THE KUTIA KANDHAS AND THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE

In the remote mountainous wilderness of the Eastern Ghats region of Southern Odisha lives a fascinating *Kui*-speaking tribe called, the Kutia Kandha who are a primitive section of the Kandha – numerically the most preponderant tribe of Odisha. They inhabit the lofty Niyamgiri hill ranges in the district of

Kalahandi. To a stranger the Kutia Kandhas strike as a very important tribal community for their simplicity and traditional way of life. The Kutia Kandha villages of Kalahandi are located in the hill-slopes hilltops or valleys in a tangle of thickly wooded hill ranges. The habitation site is chosen upon the availability of sufficient land for shifting cultivation and a perennial source of water.

The word *kuti* in *kui* language means 'big hole'. It is believed that the Kutia Kandhas have been originated from the big hole of earth. The total population of Kutia Kandha is 6479 in entire state and they are found mainly in Kandhamal and Kalahandi districts of Odisha (Census of India 2011: 1). The Kutia Kandhas continue their age old subsistence activity of food gathering from the forest. Seasonal food collection is still an indispensable part of their economic life. Their food is greatly supplemented by a seasonal variety of fruits, roots and tubers. The high dependence of Kutia Kandha on the mountain and forest include several customary practices like, agriculture, grazing, ethno-medicine and the collection of Minor Forest Produces. The economic life of the Kutia Kandhas directly or indirectly revolves around the forest. The forest provides them food, fuel, fodder and other materials of daily household use. The Kutia Kandhas cultivate in the *Dangar* land (hill land: normally the foothill region) for production as well as depend upon the forest to collect different varieties of mushrooms, green leaves, shoots, tubers, roots, stems, flowers, fruits, seed, mango kernels etc. in their respective growing seasons. Major cultivations of the Kutia Kandha are cereals such as *Mandia* (Ragi, Finger Millet), *Kosala* (foxtail millet), pulses like *Kandlo* (tuar, pigeon pea), *biri* (black gram), *Kolath* (horse gram) and oilseeds like castor and linseed. Mostly the indigenous technologies are adopted to cultivate and protect the crops.

#### **THE VEDANTA INDUSTRY AND DISPLACEMENT OF KUTIA KANDHA PEOPLE**

Vedanta Alumina Limited (VAL), a subsidiary of Sterlite Industries, a major aluminium processor has made major investments by establishing one MTPA Alumina Refinery and 75 MW Captive Power Plant at Lanjigarh. In 2003, soon after signing MoU with the state Government, it set up a refinery with a capacity of 1.0 million tonnes per annum for processing aluminium for export. The project occupied roughly 693 hectares of homestead and forest land causing displacement of many local inhabitants. Almost three villages namely, Barbhatta, Sindhbahali and Kinari including inhabitants of 123 families were forced to leave their lands because of the project (Baviskar, Kant, Parasuraman, Saxena, 2010: 11). Among these, the Kinari village was highly inhabited by the Kutia Kandhas which was surrounded by dense forest and natural resources. The inhabitants were relocated at the Vedanta Nagara, the resettlement colony built by the industry where the Kutia Kandha people are also staying together with other inhabitants of displaced

villages. Now, the colony has a population of 437 comprising of Kutia Kandhas and Dom and Paiko caste group people. Each relocated family in the Vedanta Resettlement Colony has been provided with a *pucca* house of 484 Sq. ft. in 0.04 hectares of land area. The house has two bedrooms, one kitchen and one verandah. Toilet facilities are given for each family normally backside of their house. The VAL executives mentioned that they have fully equipped the colony with appropriate water supply and electricity facilities, whereas the inhabitants of colony complains about the scarcity of water in the resettlement colony. Certain other basic facilities are also provided by the VAL to the relocates in form of black-tap road, *pucca* drainage, boundary wall, temple, school building, child care center, dispensary and a well-equipped community centre.

#### CHANGING LIVELIHOOD OF KUTIA KANDHAS

After displacement, the livelihood pattern of the Kutia Kandhas staying at Vedanta Nagara has undergone significant changes. For the understanding of the Kutia livelihood pattern, certain elements of economic life were taken into consideration in the study. They were: means of livelihood, occupation, income level and economic activities. The Kutia Kandhas are normally known as highland cultivators. Agriculture is considered as their prime means of livelihood. In the Kinari village, most of the Kutia Kandhas had *Dongar* (hill) lands which were located in the foothill regions. The water channels of Vamsadharariver were providing irrigation facility for the cultivation. The Kutias were well-skilled in cultivation and they were practising this occupation from several generations. Even in case of climatic fluctuations, the loss of cultivation was being compensated by the minor forest produces collected from the forest. But, after the displacement majority of agricultural land were taken up by the VAL for opening the refinery industry. In shape of compensation, one member from the Kutia family was selected to get a job in the plant. The Kutias are not at all skilled to work as a mining worker in the plant. Their age old traditional occupation has been taken out due to this displacement. Even the water availabilities of Vamsadhara river has been affected negatively due to the opening of mining in the Niyamgiri which has resulted to a low irrigation in the left over cultivation fields of the Kutia Kandhas.

In addition to cultivation, the Kutias of Kinari village were engaged in several secondary occupations such as MFP collection, daily wage labour, animal husbandry, basket making, making of leaf plates, ropes and fishing. In Kinari, the MFP collection and daily wage labour were important sources of livelihood. The income from these occupations were supplementing to the household budget which periodically affected by decreasing production of crop failure. After dislocation, the nature of physical environment and availability of limited economic opportunities

in the rehabilitation colony has acted as a constraint on the economic life of the Kutia Kandhas. The clan territory of forest resource as well as the common property resources has been totally taken out due to the setup of the industry.

The economic ventures based on food and general fuel collection have also experienced a set-back because of displacement. Traditionally the Kutia Kandha women engaged themselves in collection of *piri* and *balni* (grass for making brooms), fuel wood and edible roots. They also used to burn the wood to make charcoal and sell them in nearby market. Thus women in the traditional village could earn a little for buying certain personal items (such as jewellery, cosmetics, hair bands, ribbons, etc.) for themselves. They never depended on their husbands who usually resisted such moves. But in Vedanta Nagara, such little income of the Kutia Kandha women was badly affected. The women have started using some portions of their household funds for their personal consumption. Diversion of funds has often led to misunderstandings between the couples.

#### CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

A significant change has been observed in the occupational patterns of the Kutia Kandhas in the resettlement colony. Traditionally agriculture was regarded as the major source of income for the Kutia people that has included farming or cultivation, animal husbandry, poultry, horticulture, fishery and even social forestry. The Kutia men were hereditarily well-skilled in this occupation. They produce different types of food products including paddy, ragi, pulses and vegetables by utilizing their cultivation land and kitchen garden. Due to the loss of agricultural land, the Kutia Kandha men have adopted daily wage labour as their main occupation. The agricultural practice has been negatively affected where only a few of the Kutia Kandha men are working as tenant farmers or part-time cultivators in the left out agricultural lands.

The study attempted to find out the mode of occupation of the Kutia Kandha male members in the resettlement colony. Out of the 60 male members in the colony, 57 were found to be engaged in several occupations. The majority of the Kutia Kandha male members of the colony are engaged in mining jobs in VAL. They are working as both skilled and un-skilled workers in the refinery plant. They were being provided with trainings from the VAL and were appointed in different positions at Plant. But many of them are working as manual labourers in the refinery plant as they are having very less educational background. Though the Kutia Kandha young men have adopted to this new shift in occupation, the elderly members of the family find it difficult to get themselves acquainted with the technological aspects of plant. Very few male members (21.05 %) among the Kutia

Kandha men are doing cultivation, whereas 8 male members are working as daily wage labourers in different places. Two persons in the village have their grocery shops which are the major source of their economy.

Occupational rehabilitation is essential for the project affected landless agricultural labourers. Therefore, occupational mobility is always regarded as an important indicator in the changing socio-economic structure. But, due to the defective resettlement policy of VAL, a downward mobility in occupation has occurred in case of the displaced Kutia Kandhas of VAL project. Interview with the respondents of rehabilitated village revealed that agriculture and wage labour were major sources of income among the Kutia Kandhas in Kinari village before displacement. Many people were getting opportunity of full time engagement in cultivation work in forest land and kitchen garden at the Kinari village. But the limited resource of Vedanta Resettlement Colony has forced the Kutia men to shift their occupation. The occupational mobility of the Kutia Kandhas has been analysed in terms of increase or decrease in the proportion of workers in primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors after displacement. The primary sector consist of cultivator, agricultural labourer, and those engaged in making a living from live-stock, forestry etc., the secondary sector consist of household industry, manufacturing and construction, while the tertiary sector include trade, commerce, transport, and other services. The occupational mobility can be upward or downward but, interesting to note here that in case of the displaced Kutia Kandhas of VAL the mobility was downward only.

#### CHANGES IN INCOME LEVEL

Impact of the projects on the economy can also be studied in terms of the analysis of change in income since displacement. The yardstick of monthly income can easily mark out prevailing social and economic status of a family. This is the easiest available and most accessible option for a researcher intending to peep inside the economic composition, which the families do not want to disclose easily to strangers and outsiders. Thus keeping this aspect in mind, monthly income of the families both before and after displacement was recorded at the time of interview. However, it was very difficult to collect information on income before displacement, because of the problem of memory lapse among the common illiterate and little educated people. For the simplicity of analysis, the monthly incomes of the families thus recorded have been distributed into different strata created manually. The income level of the displaced Kutia Kandhas of Vedanta Nagara have been classified into four broad groups on the basis of their monthly income: (1) low income group (below Rs. 5000), (2) Middle income group with income between 5000 to 10000, (3) High

income group with income between Rs. 10000 to 15000, and (4) very high income group (above Rs. 1,5000). A glimpse of income level of Kutias before and after resettlement has been given in the following table.

*Table 1*

Income level of the Kutia Kandha families in Vedanta Nagara before and after their resettlement

Income level (In Rs.)	Number of Kutia Kandha families having income before displacement	Number of Kutia Kandha families having income after displacement
Less than 5000	35 (61.4%)	15 (26.31%)
5000 – 10000	08 (14.03%)	19 (33.33%)
10000 – 15000	13 (22.80%)	18 (31.57%)
More than 1,5000	01 (1.75%)	05 (8.77%)
Total	57	57

The Table 1 denoting monthly income before and after displacement shows that majority (61.4%) of population lies within the income level of less than Rs. 5000. 14.03% of the total population belongs to the middle income group, where as 22.80% of total population were found in the income level of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000. Only one person was reported to be having very high income more than 15000. By estimating the income level of Kutias after displacement, it was found that in the Vedanta Nagara a majority of people belong to the income group of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000. Next to it, 31.57% of the people are coming under the income group of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000. It shows the result of engagement of Kutia male members at the VAL industry. The VAL authorities also claim that they have raised the income level of Kutia male by appointing them in the plant. But the consequent changes in the livelihood element are also devastating ones. Only five families of the village are reported in a very high income group having the income more than Rs. 15,000.

Overall comparison of monthly income of families before and after displacement does specify little changes in the economic status. Before displacement, maximum concentration of population was in the monthly income of less than Rs. 5000. This has slightly expanded after displacement and penetrated the range of Rs. 5000 to 10000. This slight expansion of economic range does not signify improvement if inflation is taken into account between the year 2003 to 2014. Coupled with this, the loss of Common Property Resources, agricultural and forest products require significant money investment in the area of livelihood, which was not regained earlier. Thus, a close observation does not confirm an improvement in the economic status of the inhabitants of Vedanta Resettlement Colony rather it shows a significant decline.

### FROM SELF-SUFFICIENCY TO DESTITUTION

The Kutia Kandhas in Kinari village were a self-sufficient unit. They were fully occupied with natural resources and common property resources. The Kutia Kandhas have their clan based territory known as *Padar*. The entire region or the *Padar* belongs to all the clan group members. For example, *Maandel kapadar* belongs to *Maandelka* clan people. It means all the resources concerning to this *Padar* including the trees, ponds, dug wells, grazing fields etc. belong to the people belonging to *Maandelka Padar*. Thus the Kutias in Kinari village were having self-sufficiency in their economy by using these resources of their clan territory. After displacement, all these resources were lost for the Kutia Kandhas. They didn't have the access to those regions as they are coming under the Project Mining Lease (PML) areas of Vedanta. Right now they are being left destitute. It has also been found during the study in Vedanta Nagara, most of the tribal youths have been migrated to Kerala in search of employment to sustain their family.

### LOSS OF MFPS RESULTING THREATS TO THE TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONAL PRACTICE

The mining induced displacement in the Lanjigarh area has resulted into serious loss of MFPS and common property resources. The occupations of many Kutia Kandha female members as well as the Shamans have encountered threat after the loss of these natural resources. According to the assessment of Wildlife Institute of India, 1,21,337 trees have been cut in 2006 towards the building of refinery in Proposed Mining Lease area. The Kutia Kandha people were fully dependant on the forest resource from which they collect several Minor Forest Produces to sustain their livelihood. The leaves, tubers, fruits, shoots and honey are the products which provide supplementary income for the Kutia Kandhas. In addition to this the Kutias also prepare their traditional medicinal products from these MFPS. Thus due to this mining, lots of medicinal products have been lost. By interacting with Nakula Majhi (the shaman) of Vedanta Nagara, it was found that almost 20 different types of rare orchids of Niyamgiri which had medicinal values have been lost. The occupation of shaman is in a real threat at the Vedanta Nagara. The displacement from their traditional land has impacted negatively for the shaman to collect traditional herbs, leaves and roots which are used as medicines. Even the modern medical practice in the resettlement colony reduced the demand of traditional care and diagnosis.

The comparison of both the shamans in traditional village and newly built resettlement colony, Vedanta Nagara provides evidences that the amount of medicines are found more in number in case of the shaman of Ambaguda village

where as the shaman of resettlement colony has almost left the practice of traditional healing and diagnosis. Right now the Nakula Majhi is being engaged in other occupations as there is no opportunity of income left in shaman hood at the resettlement colony.

#### **ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION AND ITS IMPACT ON OCCUPATION**

The study discovered several incidences of environmental degradation of the Niyamgiri hills ecosystem by land degradation, geo-hydrological drainage change, air and water quality reduction and public health hazard caused by the Vedanta mining. The hill stream and the river Vamsadhara, which is a main source of drinking water and irrigation for the Kutia Kandhas have been polluted because of the mining. As a result of which, the traditional occupational practice has got dismantled. Simultaneously, new kinds of diseases have also been found which are beyond the limits of the traditional healer to cure.

#### **IMPACT ON LIVESTOCK**

One of the methods of establishing the prosperity of a village community lies with the agronomy mode of production, here the presence of livestock is equally significant. Domestic cattle are the backbone of the agricultural economy and fulfil basic needs of the farmers such as milk, fuel, fodder, agriculture and transportation. A Kutia Kandha village culture can't be imagined without livestock. So, with the intention to locate the economic status of the people of the region, the presence of number of livestock in their houses, before and after displacement was also enumerated.

An overall analysis of the pre-displacement and post-displacement live stocks of the Kutia Kandhas indicates that there is a serious reduction of cattle resource found in the Vedanta resettlement colony. There is neither grazing field near to the resettlement colony nor any other common property resources. Adding to this, while building the houses for Kutia Kandha people in the resettlement colony, the planners didn't thought of providing cattle shed, goat shed or a store room for grains to the people. Due to this many of the resettlers in the colony have already sold their cattle and goat resources, as a result the practise of animal husbandry has been totally disappeared in the resettlement colony.

#### **AGRICULTURAL LABOUR AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP**

Another important change perceptible within the domain of agricultural cycle is the employment of hired labour for cultivation during the initial period of ploughing. The institution of hired labour was absent in Kinari. In other traditional

villages it is the rich farmer who used to hire labour and employ them in his agricultural field. The payment used to be always in kind: either two full meals a day or a fixed amount of foodgrain per harvest. These labourers could be from the same community/village. In Vedanta Rehabilitation Colony, it was observed that even the poor farmers are taking the help of hired labourers to cultivate the land. It seems quite surprising how a family which could not feed itself with the existing resources could afford to go for hired labour. It needs to be mentioned here that the Kutia Kandha men found it difficult to cultivate the barren land with the available labour force existing within the family. Labour was never in short supply in the traditional Kutia Kandha society where the members used to rely on the labour force available within the domestic group. The domestic group usually comprised four/five nuclear families tied by the bond of patrilineal kinship. A bigger kin group was definitely more functional for exploitation of natural resources including cultivation of land. When the Kutia Kandhas were shifted to the rehabilitated village, it was found that there was a perceptible dispersion of the members which often comprised one domestic group. Some of the individuals belonging to the same domestic group preferred to stay back on the hill tops of Kinari. Since, the domestic group as an economic unit is being replaced by nuclear family as an economic unit (at least temporarily) the availability of labour force within the nuclear family is scarce. As a result, they go for hired labour and the payment is given either in terms of provision of food during the agricultural cycle or a fixed amount of foodgrain. This phenomenon in one way has affected to the economic condition of the Kutia Kandhas by creating more burden upon them.

#### CONCLUSION

The present paper has pointed out about the changes being observed in the livelihood pattern of the Kutia Kandhas in the resettlement colony. The study found out significant changes in the mode of occupation, income level, work participation and indigenous knowledge system of the Kutia Kandhas after their relocation in a new place. *Dongar* (Hill) land cultivation was the major occupation for the Kutia Kandhas in Kinari village. In addition to that the collection of MFPs was providing supplementary help to the income level of the people. After their displacement from their original land, the Kutia Kandhas were being deprived of their *Dongar* land and forest resources. Thus the traditional occupation of hill land cultivation and collection of MFPs have been affected negatively, which has forced the Kutia Kandhas to get engaged in daily-wage labour work. Some of the male Kutia Kandhas in resettlement colony are provided with jobs in the refinery plant of Vedanta, but they lack skill and expertise in that work. Out of the 60 males

members of Resettlement Colony, 35 male members have received jobs at the VAL. As they are not much qualified, they are being involved in manual unskilled works, which does not provide them good income. Few other males are working as agricultural labourers in the agriculture fields of non-tribals. One of the important observations made in the study was the resettlement policies of the VAL have totally neglected the women members of Kutia Kandhas. The female member in Kutia Kandha society works as an important contributor towards the economic affairs of family. She used to collect MFPs and work in the field and help the family to deal with its expenses. But in the resettlement colony the women members were deprived of these facilities. They have lost their kitchen garden and other common property resources from which a female Kutia Kandhas extracts income for the sustainability of her family. The economic independency of the Kutia women has been also found to be lost in the resettlement colony. The Kutia Kandhas have been deprived from their common property resources like grazing field, streams, ponds, forest and kitchen gardens due to their displacement. Resulting to this, the incidences of animal husbandry, especially the cattle and goat rearing have been totally wiped out among the Kutia Kandhas in the resettlement colony. Daily wage labour was found to be the only appropriate option for maintaining livelihood among the Kutia Kandha people in colony. Some of the youths have migrated to Kerala in search of jobs.

The study found that in some specific seasons the youths are getting migrated to out of the state for employment and return back to the colony during rainy season. The pre and post displacement comparison of the income level of the Kutia Kandha males in the resettlement colony shows an increase in income level in the resettlement colony, but the devaluation of money and rise in the level of expenses have resulted into no surplus and saving in the budget of people. Adding to this the occupations of priest and shaman have also been affected negatively after their resettlement in a new place. The study found out that the practice of shamanism is not going on as smoothly as earlier in the resettlement colony. In the concluding statements, it can be stated that economically, the Kutia Kandhas after resettlement fell back from prosperity ladder and pushed into poverty and unemployment. The petty compensation package received for restoration of lost livelihood and house construction was spent by the inhabitants on immediate existing social and economic needs. Due to loss of traditional source of livelihood, the villagers were forced to work in other areas such as labour, shop, business for which they are never trained and mentally prepared. Even though more than a decade has been passed but residents of Vedanta Nagara are not able to see much increase in their monthly family income, which shows the pathetic condition of the oustees and the lacunae with the development policies.

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