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RICH LOCALE, BUT RISKED POPULACE: A STOCKTAKING OF THE IMPACTS OF INDUSTRIAL DISPLACEMENT ON TRIBAL IN ODISHA

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Abstract

Post-independence industrialisation and aggressive industrialisation with the onset of globalization have led to rubbed development in the tribal inhabited areas of the state. It has been a continuous observation that industrial development in Odisha has proved to be detrimental to the tribal population by uniformly affecting their human rights, quality of life, and security in myriad forms. Industries have been established in the hinterlands of the state rich in terms of physical and human resources. These hinterlands are the tribal terrains dominated by the native tribals. The state in the pursuit of capitalist ideology has overlooked the human rights of the human rights and the protocols of human rights. The present paper through a meta-synthesis of the studies undertaken on the issue tries to establish how rich lands being under industrial invasions under state patronage crate risk populace in the tribal landscape of the state. It tries to establish the trajectory of industrial development in the state, sketching the tribal situation, industry-led displacement scenario, and the way that affects tribal rights. The article concludes the carnage of tribal lives through industrial invasions and appeals to the system of governance to make a shift from the profit-centric growth approach to a people-centric distributive development and to echo the voices of the tribal, accommodate their needs and to prioritize their basic rights in any industry induced displacement planning and designing.

Index Terms: Industrialisation, Displacement, Tribal, Indigenous Rights, Resettlement & Rehabilitation, Policy

Introduction:

The title sounds a little absurd to the readers. But, since the days of industrialisation and aggressive industrialisation, this is a reality. Industrialisation always takes place in resource-rich regions, where the three factors of production, i.e. land, labour, and capital are available in abundance. However, it is well acknowledged that industrialisation benefits the rich capitalist industrialists as perceived at the cost of the poor local communities; the motto is the prosperity of industries and disaster for communities. Most industrialisation in India is in the tribal concentrated regions flooded with mineral resources, forests, and vast

acres of land. Industrial displacement has shattered tribal lives and livelihood is well-established through studies and research. This is a pan-Indian scenario.

The present article is concentrated on Odisha, a province in the eastern region of the Indian subcontinent. Odisha is now a forerunner in industrialisation with about 135 large industries and 4,000 small and medium industries, which include power plants, sponge iron, and steel plants (Nandi, 2018). Very recently in 2024, the Odisha government has approved 27 new industrial projects worth Rs 6,134 crores (Business Standard, 2024). However, industrialisation-induced displacement in the tribal terrains has generated discord in tribal societies in the state. This article is based on secondary data and a meta-synthesis of the studies undertaken on the issue and tries to establish how rich lands being under industrial invasions crate risk populace in the tribal landscape of the state. In this context, the article histories the process of industrialisation in the state, the displacement scenario arising out of industrialisation in the tribal pockets, and the risks generated for the tribal populace.

Historising industrialisation in Odisha

Odisha was a late runner in the track of industrialisation. According to Patnaik (2016), significant industrialisation in Odisha commenced only after independence, driven by proactive measures from the state government to address the pre-existing challenges and consequently hasten the process. During the First and Second Plan periods, the Odisha Government focused primarily on fostering conditions for the growth of large and medium industries. It supported small enterprises by providing raw materials and facilitating marketing for their finished goods in the village and small-scale industries sector. During the second Plan period, the state instituted the Odisha Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in 1962. The IDC started the drive to establish Industries covering Cement, Electrical equipment, Mineral and Mechanical Goods, Steel, and Iron, Pulp and Paper industries to support basic raw material and finished products needs of the state and some surplus. During the Third Plan, the Odisha State Government shifted focus towards processing and exploring new mineral deposits, such as iron ore, limestone, and chromite. After assessing the Third Plan's progress, the government commissioned a study through the National Council of Applied Economic Research to devise industrial strategies for the Fourth Plan. Additionally, during the Fourth Plan, the Aero Engine Division of Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., operating under the Central Sector, was established in Sunabeda. A sea change was marked during the decade of 1980s when the state government announced a policy to establish 100 industries within 1000 days. Institutional supports like IPICOL, IDCO, OSIC and OSFC were directed for the purpose. During the said period, it was startling to note that the medium and small scale units had a stride from 51-67 to 1007-1117 respectively.

In addition to these developments, during the 1980s, several Central Sector projects were established in Odisha, including the National Aluminium Company (NALCO) and Paradeep Phosphates Ltd. Additionally, earlier initiatives like Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. and Rourkela Steel Plant were already contributing to industrial growth. Private sector ventures such as Larsen and Toubro's Utkal Machinery Ltd and JK Paper Mills further enriched the industrial landscape. However, in the national standard this was not a lucrative growth as the Annual Survey of Industries for 1990-91 paints a bleak picture that Odisha accounted for just 3.19% of the total number of industries in the country.

It's fascinating to see how industrialisation in Odisha has evolved over the decades, with key developments like the construction of dams, establishment of power stations, and formation of public sector enterprises driving growth in various sectors. The division of industrially active zones provides a clear picture of the diverse industrial landscape in the state. From iron and steel to power generation and mineral processing, each zone seems to have its specialized focus, contributing to Odisha's overall industrial prowess.

During the Eighth Plan Period (1992-1996), significant shifts occurred in the industrial landscape of the country as the effects of trade liberalisation and economic policy changes became apparent. Industrial licensing requirements were mostly removed, and the list of industries reserved for the Public Sector underwent significant reductions. This 1992 economic liberalisation policy in India had a profound impact on Odisha's industrial landscape, pioneering privatization, particularly in the power sector (Das & Nayak,; 2019). This initiative aimed to boost market orientation, enhance state-owned enterprise efficiency, and attract foreign direct investment (Agarwal et. al; 2022). There started a significant expansion in both the scale and scope of mining-related industries and corporate influence. The benefits of the new policies in Odisha began to materialize towards the latter part of the Eighth Plan Period, coinciding with the reception of several proposals for setting up steel plants, power projects, alumina/aluminium projects, oil refineries, and more.

During this period, the State Government announced a new industrial policy in March 1996, outlining priorities for the Ninth Plan and establishing a framework for industrial development in the State (Tripathy, 1997; Sahu, 1998).

Odisha was awarded the India Today "gold medal" being recognized as the "quickest advancer in prosperity" among all Indian states (Odisha Diary, 2006a). Subsequent measures such as the Odisha Industries Act in 2004 and Industrial Policy Resolution of 2022 further facilitated industrial growth, leading to a significant increase in the number of operating industries in the state by 2023. Odisha's strategic utilization of natural and human resources has fostered a sustainable industrial ecosystem, promoting inclusive growth. The state can be divided into twelve industrially active zones as below, presented in Table No. 1.1.

Table No.1.1; Industrial Concentrations in Odisha

Rajgangpur Area (Iron & Steel, Sponge Iron, Cement, Secondary Steel, Melting & rolling mill &		
Chemicals.		
■ Ib valley Area (Themal power, Sponge iron, Refractories and Coal mines)		
■ Hirakud Area (Aluminium& Rolling mills)		
■ Talcher- Anugul Area (Thermal power, Aluminium, Coal washeries, Ferro alloys, Coal mines)		
 Choudwar Area (Ferro alloys, Thermal power, Pulp & paper, Coke oven) 		
Balasore Area (Pulp & paper, Ferro alloys, Rubber industries)		
Chandikhol Area (Stone crusher, Coke oven)		
■ Duburi Area (Integrated steel, Ferro alloys, Rubber industries)		
Paradeep Area (Fertilizer, Sea food processing, Petroleum coke)		
■ Khurda Tapang Area (Stone Crusher)		
Joda Barbil Area (Iron, sponge, Ferro alloys, Iron ore crusher, Mineral processing)		
Raygada Area (Pulp and paper, Ferro alloys).		

(Source: Department of Steel Mines, Government of Odisha)

For a long period, particularly, till the beginning of the new millennium the state continued to be one of India's poorest, most unequal and least industrialised states though the major establishments like Utkal Alumina, Paradeep Refinery and Tata Steel contributing to the economic development of the state (Kumanr & Pattnaik, 2020; Gedam, 1992). However, the anticipated benefits of an aggressive industrial sector liberalisation approach since the early 2000s have yet to materialise even two decades later in the state due to native resistance.

Tribal Situation of the State: A Short Reflection

Odisha is renowned for its unique indigenous communities, with approximately one-fourth of its 42 million inhabitants belonging to its 62 Scheduled Tribes (STs) including 13 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups. According to the 2011 census, tribal make up 22.1 percent of the state's total population, and 9.17 percent nationally thus marking the second-largest tribal population in the nation. As estimation projects 44.7 per cent of the State's geographical area is known as scheduled areas which extends over 118 of the 314 blocks in different districts like Mayurbhani, Sundergarh, Koraput, Keonjhar, Raygada, Nabarangpur ,Malkangiri, Kalahandi, Gajapati, Phulbani and parts of Sambalpur. Garada (2012) categorizes tribal economic activities in Odisha into various forms like hunting-gathering, shifting cultivation, settled cultivation, industrial labor, etc. However, stringent forest laws and industrialisation have restricted their access to forests, leading to displacement, especially in areas with major industrial establishments.

The Displacement Details Due to Industrialisation in the Tribal Pockets

Efforts for rapid economic development through industrialisation in Odisha have disproportionately affected tribal communities, with many being displaced from their traditional lands. Industrialisation in the state has badly affected indigenous rights, particularly land rights, forest rights, and rights over other common properties. The state used 98,000 acres of land for industries from 1951 to 1995 and planned to acquire still more 98,000 acres more in the succeeding decade (Fernandes and Asif,1997, Quoted in Lobo and Kumar 2009: 9). Fernandes estimates that between 1947 and 2000, over 60 million people in India were forced to move from their natural habitats. Odisha has been one of the worst in this respect, with the mining sector proving to be a great source of distress for forest folks in the state. Of the 5,813,700 hectares of forest area in the state, mineral reserves have been identified on some 350,000 hectares, which is more than 60 per cent of the total forest area. According to government records, from the 1980s and till 2007, the area of forest diverted for non-forest activity was close to 35,000 hectares. Overall, tribal communities in Odisha bear the brunt of development-induced displacement.

However, the government reports underrepresent the actual number of tribal displacements. The Government of Odisha has acknowledged the displacement of only 529 tribal families from Jharsuguda district, 179 families from Angul district, and 356 families from Sundergarh district over the past decade due to mining activities. However, details regarding the relocation of these tribal communities have not been disclosed. The government has stated that the displaced population has been resettled by the Odisha Resettlement & Rehabilitation Policy, 2006. Despite these official figures, doubts arise regarding the accuracy of the reported number of displaced families. This scepticism is fuelled by previous reports, such as one from the Hindustan Times in 2020, which estimated that the acquisition of approximately 32,000 hectares of land for mining in Angul district alone could potentially displace up to 10,000 families (Sabrang India, 2022).

Displacement for the sake of establishing industries is not new to the state. It has been sporadic and sometimes it has taken an added momentum. Right from the 1950s industrialisation is taking place in the state. In the 1950s, Rourkela Steel Plant was designed and constructed. Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL), Talcher Thermal Power Station (TTPS) were taken up in the 1960s. Talcher Super Thermal Power Station and National Aluminium Company (Nalco) at two locations were taken up by the government in the 1980s. In the 1990s, POSCO, TISCO, Utkal Alumina, Jindal group of industries made their way into the state. Reports indicate significant displacement due to projects like NALCO, Vedanta, and others. The scale of displacement in Odisha, as noted by Fernandes (2003), is substantial, with over 81,000 tribal families displaced between 1950 and 1993, though some argue the numbers are higher. Projects like Vedanta's Lanjigarh and Baphlimali Mining have notably impacted tribal communities. Additionally, projects such as Posco, Rourkela Steel Plant, HAL, and NALCO have displaced thousands of tribal families, as highlighted by various sources including Dash and Samal (2008), and Ota (2001). In Koraput district, tribal displacement stands at 58 percent, accounting for six percent of the total tribal population in the state (Pradhan, 2022; NCST, 2022).

Given large mineral deposits, several large-scale industries have developed in the western belt of Odishasuch as the aluminium industries at Hirakud, Damanjodi; the Hindustan Aeronautic Ltd. at Sunabeda; the Steel Plant at Rourkela; Cement plants at Bargarh, Jharsuguda and Rajgangpur; ordnance factory at Saintala; Refractory at Belpahar and Rajgangpur; Thermal power stations at Banharpali. According to latest information 10,226.437 hectares of forest land have been diverted for mines, industries and infrastructure projects in the state. Out of which the share of forest land diverted for such purposes in west Odisha is 3718.281 hectares. (Dharitri; 9th January, 2012). These forest lands are the traditional abode and source of livelihood of many indigenous groups. The draft National Tribal Policy (NTP) 2006 also admits over the years the industrialisation plan of the state has led to the alienation of tribal from their ownership of land and is the single most important cause of the pauperization of the tribal population. According to Government of Orissa, the total number of 81,176 tribal families has been displaced between 1950 and 1993. But the number is much more and the government provides very limited information about tribal displacement due to industrial ventures. In all most all projects indigenous people bear the heavy cost of displacement. From Rourkela to Sunabeda, from Macchkund to Kolab and Indravati dams, tribal damage rate is extremely high. In general, between 1951 and 1995, 2,155,317 tribal have experienced displacement, and 360,999 tribal have been impacted by several state development projects including industrial and mining projects (Pandey, 2008).

The economic reforms invited the states to open new industries with foreign direct investment. Odisha became a pioneer state in venturing out industrialization. The rich resource base of the state became the target

of many foreign companies. In 2005, the government initiated a significant industrialization effort aimed at stimulating economic growth, allocating a total expenditure of Rs 1, 60,000,000,000. During this period, the state government entered into 43 Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) with various corporate entities to establish industrial units. Additionally, 43 private enterprises have expressed interest in venturing into steel mining and manufacturing. Among them, at least eight have already signed MOUs, with further actions anticipated from their end (Behera, 2023). The vast mineral reserves of iron ore, bauxite, and ferromanganese in Odisha have attracted a multitude of local and multinational heavy industries focused on mineral extraction. Notable among these are POCSO (Korea), Vedanta Aluminium (UK), BHP Billiton (UK–Australia), Rio Tinto (UK), Alcan (Canada), Sterlite, Hindalco, Jindal, and Tata, among others. Approximately five percent of the displacement caused by development projects in the region is attributed to mining activities. However, this rapid industrialization, coupled with Odisha's appeal as a hotspot for foreign direct investment (FDI) and multinational corporations, has led to significant exploitation of the natural forest cover and, more importantly, infringements upon the rights of the indigenous population of Odisha and neighbouring states (Sahoo, 2005). Between 1951 and 1995, an estimated 2,155,317 tribal individuals were forcibly displaced, and 360,999 were adversely affected by various state development initiatives.

By December 2014, Odisha had signed 93 Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs) valued at ₹2.15 trillion (USD 33 billion) with companies to establish steel (48), power (28), aluminium (3), and other factories across the state. All these were meant for the region's tribal areas that are rich in minerals like iron ore and bauxite. These extraction activities have displaced indigenous populations and depleted their vital natural resources, leaving them without homes, livelihoods, and resources (Padel & Das, 2010; Padel, 2011). These communities heavily depend on their land and forests for sustenance, making the loss of these resources particularly devastating.

Industrial concerns have become the major threat to tribal rights. For Langigarh Project, the Government of Odisha has signed up with the Vedant Company of the UK for extracting aluminium from bauxite in Niyamgiri Hills. A total of 1444.666 hectares of land was acquired, of which 723.34 hectares was for the alumina refinery, and 721.323 hectares for the mines. This includes 730.961 hectares of forest land, and the project displaces a little more than 100 families all being tribal. Further, the Dangaria Kondhs of Kalahandi District are likely to lose their homes and sources of livelihood. Similarly, the Doraguda plant alone affects 2500 persons, while open cast mining in Baphlimali is likely to affect 2500 families in 24 villages in three panchayats namely; Chandragiri, Maikanch and Kodipari, all being tribal-dominated in character (Panda, 2012).

It is observed that in four districts of Odisha, namely Dhenkanal, Ganjam, Koraput and Phulbani, over half of the Adivasi land was lost to non-Adivasi over two halves to three decades. This has challenged the rights of the indigenous people in a great way. A picture of tribal displacement in the state due to various industrial projects in presented in Table No. 1.2

Table No. 1.2: Number of Tribal Families Displaced by Industrialisation in Odisha

Name of the project	Total number of families displaced	Tribal families displaced
Rourkela Steel Plant	2367	1657
NALCO, Angul	3997	111
NALCO, Damanjodi	788	398
Ordinance Factory	1200	-
HAL Sunbeda	468	-
Kalinga Nagar Industrial Complex	815/1500	-
UAIL	147	38
Vedanta	319	-
POSCO	400	-

(Source: Pandey and Associates, 1998)

Another independent study by Dash and Samal (2008) estimate that in POSCO Project, displacement of over 4,000 families from 63 villages mostly belonging to the dalit, tribal and other backward groups. Further, Kalinga Nagar which is a hub of Odisha's industries has massively affected the tribal. A startling revelation is made when Senapati states that an estimated number of 5,000 tribal have been displaced from their land at Kalinganagar which was made a hub to house as many as 14 steel companies (Senapati, 2024). In the two blocks Sukinda and Danagadi have 36.06 percent and 28.19 percent of tribal population affected due to the TISCO. It has been estimated that to establish Nilachal Ispat Nigam only about 79 percent of the 815 tribal families of Kalinganagar were displaced (Dash & Samal, 2008). Additionally, the Kalinga Nagar industrial complex, comprising MESCO, Neelachal Steel, Jindal Stainless Steel, Rohit Fero Alloys, Visha Steel, and Tata Steel, caused the relocation of 950 households (Behera, 2023).

As per an estimate of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, in Odisha out of 11 projects affected 64674 families, 42036 are tribal. On the whole, 1.4million people, mostly adivasis have been displaced by developmental projects in Odisha alone (Ota, 2001). Between 1950 and 2000, Odisha initiated numerous significant projects such as the Rourkela Steel Plant, NALCO facilities in Angul and Damanjodi, the Ordinance Plant in Saintala, and HAL in Sunabeda. These endeavours collectively resulted in the displacement of 13,049 individuals across 143 villages. As per the latest estimation, a total number of 153,540 tribal have faced the wrath of displacement out of a total displacement of a total displacement of 410,000, which is 37.45 percent of the total displacement taken place in the state.

Impact of Industrial Displacement on Tribal Communities

While industrialisation has spurred economic growth and employment opportunities, it has also led to environmental degradation and displacement, particularly affecting tribal communities in resource-rich areas like Odisha. Scholars such as Kumar & Pattanaik (2022) and Meher (2003) discuss the dual impact of industrialization, emphasizing both its positive and negative consequences on India's development trajectory. On the other hand, Xaxa (2001) looks at industrialization as changing tribes' relationship with their natural environment leading to their marginalisation and disempowerment.

Nayak (2004), Fernandes (2001), and Mathur (2013) highlight the significant impact of displacement on tribal communities. To them the tribal bears the disproportionate burdens of displacement. According to the Society for Regional Research and Analysis (2010), extensive tribal land loss occurs due to industrial displacement across various Indian states. Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, and Gujarat report the largest areas of land alienation, indicating a significant challenge for tribal communities' land rights. Sapre

and Gori (2023) quote a study by the Centre for Policy Research concerning land rights which reflects that nearly 55 percent of tribal people have been displaced from their native lands to develop industrial projects.

The rise of industry and the consequent market economy has disrupted traditional tribal and nature relationships (Oroan, 2012), leading to instability in livelihoods for tribal households in India since the early 1990s. The process of displacement with the coming up of an industry starts with a lack of land ownership and gradually transitions into unemployment, decreased earnings, limited access to healthcare and education, and various other forms of deprivation do take place in chains (Downing 2002: 8-9). While globalisation has benefited urban sectors, rural areas have been left behind, experiencing slowing agricultural growth, changing consumption patterns, and increased distress migration (Hiremath, 2007). Similarly, industrialisation presents to the tribal population an unsustainable livelihood which often forces them to migrate from their native place to other places under harsh situations (Prabhu 1956; Savyasaachi, 2012). Kothari (1995) beautifully gives a host of changes that affect the rights of the tribal people due to industry led displacement. Forced displacement fractures social structures, disrupts livelihoods, and threatens cultural identity. It dismantles traditional production systems, scatters kinship groups, and fractures family ties. The upheaval increases the risk of epidemics, impoverishment, and health issues among the displaced. The process of industrialization often leads to a decrease in land ownership, which in turn can gradually transition into unemployment, reduced income, limited access to healthcare and education, and various other forms of deprivation, as noted by Downing (2002: 8-9).

Post-independence period, acquisition of land to establish industries became a major goal of the national and state governments as highlighted by De (2015 results in the loss of private land holdings, restricted access to resources, and a diminishing economic base, perpetuating inequalities faced by Adivasis. Industries are the primary agents of displacement, acquiring land for both public and private projects. State-directed processes are required for land acquisition by the private sector, yet challenges persist due to insufficient public policy and legal measures.

In Odisha, the key mining areas are within Scheduled Areas. They are due to the presence of iron ore and manganese in Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts, and bauxite in Kalahandi, Koraput, and Rayagada districts. The influx of non-tribal due to mining and industrial activities often results in the social and political marginalization of tribal communities. The mining and industrial activities in the tribal terrain affect equity, justice, human rights and the human dignity of the tribals. Compensatory afforestation in the Juang village of Kadalibadi, Keonjhar, has displaced Juang tribal from their customary swidden land, exacerbating their hunger crisis (Kumar, 2011). Similarly, industrial development projects in Odisha have led to the displacement of thousands of rural poor tribal, who often lack political and economic influence, from their land, a vital source of livelihood and cultural identity.

Scholars like L.K. Mohapatra (1994), Amit Basole (2010), Michale M. Cernea (1998), Smithu Kothari (1996), R.N. Sharma (2003), and Neera Chandhoke (2006) assert that industrial displacement not only takes away the tribal control over their ancestral agricultural land, but it completely denies their access to their common property resources which dismays the community. This has been largely a case in all the industrial locations of Odisha, including Sundergarh, Keonjhar, Koraput, and Rayagada districts where mega industrial projects have raised their heads today. Statistically, over 40 percent of displaced families in Odisha due to development projects are tribal, losing control over their means of sustenance. When large industrial schemes occupy a substantial portion of land, they deprive many tribal of their ownership, control, livelihood options and practices. Moreover, there's a concerning trend of tribal lands being transferred to non-tribal, often facilitated by illegal transactions and collusion with government officials, exacerbating the impoverishment and dispossession of tribal in Odisha (Mohanty, 1997; Pattanaik, 1972; SCSTRTI, 2001; *The Pioneer*, 2010; Bagchi, 1999). Thus Displacement causes a syndrome of multiple marginalisation among the tribes. Alienated from their rights over native land, ancestral property, common property, and livelihood of generations, a feeling of insecurity grows among them and there is an identity crisis that envelops them tremendously. A feeling of void grapples them from which they do not get an easy escape.

Post-displaced rehabilitation in the resettlement colonies gives a big setback to the displaced tribal. Due to their lack of familiarity with modern technology and skills, neglect of the poor voices and identity in the compensation policies, tribal integration towards the mainstream economy, a bulk of displaced f tribal are pushed into conditions of servitude and bondage. Migration rates have been found to have taken an escalation

in the post-displacement periods as modern industries hardly accommodate such tribal with proper education, skill and training. This is established through research by Satpathy et al. (2019) when they write migration rates have taken an upward turn with the industrialisation-induced displacements in the western regions of Odisha, especially from the former Bolangir, Koraput, and Kalahandi districts (now referred to as the KBK districts). This so happens as the capacities are undermined by the growing industries.

Displacement causes a syndrome of multiple marginalisation among the tribes. Their culture gets a setback and they are forced to transit to a new industrial-impacted culture and environment. Further, from an open existence in the flora and fauna they are pushed into a concrete cage culture when they are rehabilitated in the new resettlement colonies which provide them with mental shock and trauma. From a very open platform when pushed into a closed door of the concrete houses, they feel isolated in the place of the strong integration they had and their social capital and cultural capital witness a heavy loss. Cernea (1998) appropriately calls the displaced tribal as cultural refugees whether they are in the resettlement colonies or migrate and settle in their places of destination. They are hanged in a middle position often excluded from their community and culture and not getting included in the mainstream culture.

In the context of Odisha, further, it has been reiterated by studies that industrial displacement negates the human rights of the indigenous people affecting their right to life, culture, education, and health. Industrialisation in tribal regions of the state has caused extensive disruption to the lives, livelihoods, and social structures of indigenous communities, leading to the breakdown of traditional social networks. Furthermore, relocation has led to new social hierarchies, increased health risks, and disruptions to traditional healthcare systems, as noted by Judge (1997), Flood (1997). It has been repeatedly reported that high out-of-pocket expenses for health care create inevitable cycles of indebtedness and impoverishment among tribal communities after their forced displacement due to industrialisation. Education of tribal children is also severely impacted by displacement, as observed by Mahapatra (1998) and Chakraborty & Narayan (2014). Similarly, industrialisation-induced displacement of tribal populations pushes them into increased food insecurities which jeopardises their human rights.

Sahoo and Jojo (2020) explain displacement shatters the landholding pattern and thereby impacts the socio-economic conditions and the quality of life of the people, leading to their poor nutrition and impacting the health status of the tribal. The degrading quality of life with the loss of land, traditional life style and livelihood has seen to have impacted their wellbeing. Morbidity and mortality rates have witnessed an upward stride. From ownership of land when the displaced tribal are placed in the resettlement colonies, a tremendous sense of impoverishment grabs them and there is a mental breakdown among many of them.

Further, tribal women who were the erstwhile partner breadwinners lose their livelihood with displacement which brings a sudden financial insecurity for their households. The widespread displacement of indigenous tribes for development purposes presents a major challenge, particularly impacting women who often lose their agricultural or forest-based livelihoods, forcing them into migration and making them vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking (The Indian Express on 30 May, 2011). To cite a ripe case is the displacement through the National Aluminium Company Ltd. (NALCO) which has severely affected their livelihood security, employment prospects, and rights of women bringing food as well as livelihood insecurities to the local tribal. As a result of being uprooted from their homes, these tribal communities have been compelled to migrate to neighbouring states like Andhra Pradesh, where they are now labelled as 'illegal encroachers' on forest lands. To sustain themselves, they have been forced to clear extensive forest areas, leading to conflicts with the forest department criticizing their practice of 'unsustainable' agriculture such as shifting cultivation and declare that as illegal (De, 2015).

Conclusion:

The paper concludes that the industrial displacement favours global capitalism and undermines subaltern voices and interests. It exacerbates the hierarchy and hegemony syndrome. Industrial displacement of tribal hampers tribal human rights having severe repercussions on their well-being, happiness, and quality of life. As it brings multiple poverty of transgenerational nature, it needs to be well planned with micro designing of rehabilitation policies taking the voices of the people into account. The governments should have a 'People matters' approach rather than a 'Profit ultimatum' approach and the rehabilitation policies should have a human face rather than being taken as a routine policy imperative to cater to the needs of the tribal victims of displacement. The policies should have a 360-degree approach to overcome all sorts of vulnerabilities of the

tribal and to make them better resilient after displacement. If these concerns can be turned into policy considerations, and comprehensive scrutiny of policy implementation at all stages, then industrial displacements of tribal can become a boon for the tribal community and can make them progressive.

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