

# CONSTRUCTION OF LARGE DAM: THINKING DYNAMICS AND STRUGGLE OF DISPLACED PEOPLE

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## Abstract

In this modern era, mega development projects are largely responsible to bring about social change in rural community. These development interventions have direct or indirect impacts on the life of rural people. Dam construction for hydropower requires confiscation of large land and eventually displaces large number of people. Kulekhani hydropower project is one of few projects in Nepal that has its own reservoir unlike others which relies on run-off-the-river facilities. Thus being one of the large land acquiring project, it has displaced many people, of which, published works are not available regarding the social and cultural practices of displaced people in the aftermath of their displacement from original homeland. This study was conducted in 2018 on Kulekhani Hydropower Project focusing on the dam development from the perspective of psychological, social and cultural landscape of its affected people. This research is largely based on the primary data collected direct from the field study using biographical interview method, which cover the compensation they received and its utilization pattern, change in their old and new lifestyle and socio-economic status of the displaced people. Research shows that development projects displace people from their roots which cause lots of trouble in the beginning but gradually the displaced people develop the capacity to think according to new environment and with a new perspective which is obviously different that the one they had in their origin.

**Keywords:** *Large dam, displacement, resettlement, social trauma, thinking dynamics*

## Concept

The worldwide debate concerning large dam construction is remarkably a complex issue in the development field. It becomes more complex when the issue is not only confined to planning, designing, construction and accomplishment of dams but it also embraces the range of social, cultural and environmental distortion which goes in contradiction to the human desires and aspirations to development. In the present context of Nepal, a series of investigations, narratives, and case documentations for hydropower projects are done and many are under construction to come in recent days (ADB, 1998; ADB,

2010; Dixit, 1994; Garcia, 2008; Garcia et al. 2005; Garcia 1999; Onta, 1998; Pandey, 2001; Pokharel, 1989; Shrestha, 2016; Upadhaya, & Shrestha, 2002 and the World Bank, 2011). Generally, huge dams are constructed targeting for numerous advantages which include hydroelectricity, irrigation, water supplies, power production, flood control etc. which yields its comprehensive development to the society, culture and nation as a whole.

Provided the fact that Nepal was pioneer in generating hydroelectricity back in 1911 by installing hydropower electricity at Pharping when many South Asian regions did not have the access to hydroelectricity. In this way, we are the pioneer in the development of electricity. Despite the huge potential of hydropower in Nepal, the generation of hydropower for the economic development of the nation got little attention for a longer period of time. Various projects with cumulative total installed capacity of 239,330 kilowatt (kW) were built from 1911 through 1991 under the ownership of NEA (Shrestha, 2016), despite the pace of development was relatively slow in this period owing to the lack of commitment for the growth of hydropower sector by then government which itself was in a fragile state and development was just a political agenda in which proper programs were not properly implemented. However, in recent time Government of Nepal has taken aggressive initiation for speedy growth and development of hydropower and has made consequent plans and policies.

It must be noted that most of these projects, nevertheless intends to provide benefits for many, at the same time, inadequate designing and implementation worsens the plight of local people; turning displacement into a weapon aggravating poverty (Cernea, 1994). Development projects are launched to promote economic growth and prosperity, however Cernea (2000) has argued that many development projects which were intended to alleviate poverty end up increasing poverty by displacing large numbers of people without re-establishing them viably, despite the payments of compensation for lost assets. Marginalization also occurs because many families are pushed on a downward mobility path in their socio-economic status, whereas middle income farm households become small land owners and thus resulting in less income (Cernea, 1994). The issue of dam construction consequently has multi faced realities both positive and negative, making it one of the disputed issue in current time throughout the globe.

It is estimated that nearly 60 million people have been displaced worldwide due to the reservoirs created by large dams (McCully, 1996). The World Commission on Dams (WCD) has shown that number of people displaced due to the construction of large dams are in the range of 40 to 80 million globally (WCD, 2000). Similarly, the World Bank has estimated that approximately 10 million people were displaced every year between 1986 to 1993 in the name of construction of dams, highways and urban development

programs (Cernea, 1994). The World Bank has also estimated that every year since 1990, roughly 10 million people worldwide have been displaced involuntarily by infrastructural development projects (Cernea, 1994).

Dam construction for hydropower requires confiscation of large land and eventually displacement of large number of people. Kulekhani hydropower project is one of few projects in Nepal that has its own reservoir unlike others which relies on run-off-the-river facilities. Thus being one of the large land acquired project it has displaced large number of people. According to Jagadish Chandra Pokharel, former chairman of National Planning Commission, 3500 people were displaced from 450 household by occupying 4015 ropani of land (Pokharel, 1989). The study of these people about their situation in the aftermath of displacement are hardly available to depict their adaptation situation to a new social and cultural atmosphere. This study has focused on studying social, economic and cultural consequences of the displaced people by dam development for Kulekhani hydropower project as many upcoming hydropower projects designed in storage type will consequently displace people from their origin and their proper resettlement is an obligatory factor endorsed by many international agencies mainly the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, which provides loan to these mega hydroelectric projects.

## **Theoretical discourse**

Anthropologists particularly working in the area of development anthropology are especially familiar with local sentiments and socio-cultural practices that could facilitate and convey the requirements and expectations of a rural community to development institutions and practitioners who may not have multifaceted knowledge and information of the local communities. In addition, these development agencies employ researches that normally overlook many social problems like insufficiency, poverty, disparity and discrimination and how development might be associated to these serious problems in local communities. So, development anthropologists commonly investigate how the practices of development impacts in local cultures in their social settings.

Development theories plead researchers across a wide range of disciplines who take course in dealing with various aspects of development. Development theorizing is a creative, complex and problematical exercise rather than a narrative technical one, and that a measure of sensitivity to the inherent difficulties of social theorizing is important for development theorists (Preston, 2000). The entire exercises in social theorizing can be taken to involve epistemological, ontological and methodological and practical commitment on the part of theorists. Moreover there are those who think that social science is a variety of social philosophy and thus concerned with the interpretive

understanding of pattern of culture (Preston, 2000).

This study relies on two theories namely modernization and IRR model that researcher has attempted to use in order to answer the research questions. Modernization theory explains how societies are transformed in the aspiration of development from indigenous or traditional to modern and complex. It inevitably shows that development process does bring changes from agriculture to industrial, from subsistence to commercial. Change in indigenous knowledge and simple traditional technology to modern and scientific and also the change of rural to urban life and emergence of modern social structures are the fundamental conditions for social change and development.

Modernization theory demands crucial need of development by modern developmental intervention replacing the traditional one. In this context, this theory facilitates to understand how the hydropower development project contributes or alters the lifestyle of the people during and aftermath of project construction which becomes the need of time.

Similarly, another theory is the IRR model developed by Michael Cernea which is also adopted by the World Bank after 2005 as a benchmark that needs to be followed in the implementation of dam construction which secures the rights of the people affected by dam construction and to take into account for their resettlement. The IRR model developed by Cernea recommends minimizing the human suffering arising out of the dam development both in terms of their confiscation of land, uprooting from their traditional homeland and its associated socio-cultural trauma, in order to satisfy these condition, Cernea has suggested the eightfold approach that can confirms whether these measures are employed appropriately.

## **Research method**

This study is based on qualitative data to explore the condition of the displaced people and their efforts and situation in present-day resettlement. I have relied on the primary data derived from the informants from the field and have analyzed the accordingly. This research is largely based on the primary data collected direct from the field study which shows the social, economic and cultural status of the displaced people, compensation they received and utilization of compensation, pattern of their old and new lifestyle etc. Six cases have been studied which involves displaced people of diverse background who have resettled in different location in various ways.

Biographical interview is considered very important in the qualitative analysis. It takes place during an interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee, where the interviewee tells his or her life story and any other phenomenon located in time and space

for which data has been collected and analyzed. It involved an in-depth comprehensive study of the person or family under the study which has helped to understand the full life-cycle of the cases being studied. In this study six collective cases of the people who are displaced in the process of dam construction and resettled in different locations are taken. The case study has fundamentally oriented to get an insight of the utilization of compensation and coping strategies adopted by the displaced and its impacts in their everyday life. It is relevant to consider these particulars to understand various dynamics of process and outcomes among the people affected by the project which the researcher considers largely representative to nearly all the cases who were displaced.

## **Findings and discussion**

This research article presents the core outcome where the relationship between the development project and locals have been explored and analyzed in different aspects ranging from displacement, compensation, resettlement strategies and procedures involved therein. All these cases are studied and analyzed mainly to examine the pre and existing conditions. Focus has been given mainly on five parameters; first, socio-economic condition of the people before and after displacement; second, nature and process of compensation provided to displaced people, the policy and mechanism adopted by the project to provide compensation of the land and other entitlements, third, utilization of compensation by the respondents; fourth, differentiation analysis wherein the condition and situation of the respondents before and after displacement have been studied and overall changes occurred to them in terms of lifestyle, economic status, education, social relations, norms and values, change in psychology and orthodox values; and finally, fifth, mobility and thinking dynamics which tends to find out changes experienced by displacement and adaptation in a new environment, especially the change in mentality and thinking they have experienced within themselves from their origin to new place. The following are the cases studied which have been analyzed below. The original names of the respondents have been replaced by pseudo one for privacy reason.

### **Migration, struggle and changing lifestyle**

Displacement from origin brings changes in the life of people by exposing them to a new socio-cultural environment which alters their lifestyle and perspectives towards life. Saraswati Magar had her permanent residence at Burchaur of Makawanpur. This was the same place where dam construction for Kulekhani hydropower project was located. For the construction of the dam, they had to migrate. She migrated to Bashamadhi in 2032 BS and then to Lewat of Makawanpur years later. She lived in a joint family consisting of her husband, two sons, a daughter and father-in-law.

Prior to eviction, her family was given a notice few days to evacuate the house and land

and to leave the place for the dam construction purpose. In the lieu of eviction, she was provided compensation money, which she thinks was not sufficient enough as compared to the land she was holding. After displacement, they migrated to Makawanpur and again in 2040 B.S. Saraswati along with her husband and children migrated to Kathmandu for a better survival and income opportunities. In Kathmandu her husband worked as a manual labor. Later he got a job of peon in a private office. Even in Kathmandu, they had to suffer financial crisis, as they did not have enough income to sustain their livelihood. Their residence was in a small and old house, for which they had to pay rent. In spite of financial struggle they had to suffer, they were able to send their children to school and later started their own tea shop. The main reasons of this struggle was primarily due to their inability to buy a land and build house to stay in and an absence of resettlement plan by the projects which otherwise would have resulted in better accommodation in a new place by managing a better or at least comfortable livelihood.

In this case study, impressions suggests that migration to Kathmandu was progressive in comparison to the livelihood in Makawanpur. Rather than the compensation money, it was their mobility to different places that contributed for the upliftment of the family. Even though the family struggled for financial sources in initial days, urban opportunities helped them to shape their life in better ways. The level of awareness towards modern lifestyle seems to have increased with their exposure to urban lifestyle which possibly would not have happened at their original place.

Displacement makes people leave their original place and force them to migrate in a new settlement. In this case migration has taken place to Hetauda of Makawanpur district which is an urban area as compared to her origin. It was found in this case study that later she again migrated in search of better livelihood and good future of her children to Kathmandu which is the capital city of the nation for better opportunities. She went through chain of struggle for better survival. She is now settled here in Kathmandu with privileges of modern facilities which she is able to enjoy because of the displacement. Her case shows that with the migration and changing process an individual becomes self-dependent, as it enhances the capacity of the person to survive on his/her own. Regardless of her old age she is living an active life. She has been earning herself for her livelihood. Despite her old age tiredness, she is enjoying her work as well as life. Living in today's world which is characterized by commercialization it is no wonder that people become individualistic and depend on self-earning. Self-dependency has provided her the freedom to live as per her own desire, which ultimately is leading to a happy life for Saraswati Magar.

### **Employment, stability and resettlement in periphery**

While many people resettled in distant location from their origin, few people got

employment in the project who settle in the adjacent area to the project. Purna Bahadur Balami was an original resident of Lamachaur. This area of approximately seven kilometer was inhabited by dense population who were all displaced as the now reservoir of Kulekhani dam site namely Indrasarowar is located in the same area. They were all forced to leave the area which was encroached to build this reservoir. It was not only his Lamachaur VDC but other villages including Godam, Khari Rukh, Narayan Than, Budhichaur, Darrgothetc were also displaced.

After displacement Purna Bahadur Balami moved to Simlang VDC then again he moved to Markhu from Simlang. Markhu was earlier situated in the area where reservoir stands today. The entire village was shifted to almost three kilometer north where it lies today and known by its original name that is Markhu. Purna's father and mother died during his early childhood, he has two brothers and sisters, sisters are married and settled away. He used to live with his two sons and four grandchildren. His wife passed away recently in the month of Poush, 2073.

Balami argues that people displaced from dam construction site mostly included Brahmin, Chhetry, Newar, Magar, Tamang, etc. However, there seem an interesting fact that the development intervention has different effects on people belonging to different caste and ethnic groups. He argues that majority of the Magars and Tamangs could not utilize compensation money properly rather spent it in playing cards, liquors and other entertainment activities which ultimately resulted in worse socio-economic condition for them at present. These people could not utilize the compensated money for their resettlement in a new area. For these people this project became a curse. They were displaced, spent money in luxuries and later on became homeless and landless, and are struggling to survive in miserable condition which probably would not had happened if they were not forced to displace from their land.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that development project encroached in their land and displaced them, which initially seem to have made their life and livelihood a bit difficult. But later on the various outcomes of the project seem to have benefited locals in many ways. In the absence of such project, they still would have been living a rural life isolated from the facilities and benefits of modern lives. Thus, it forced them to enter into a bit modern and complicated lifestyle which has both pros and cons for them. Even though he considers that life would have been better in his earlier original place but he also asserts that as the movement from original area to new area was adjacent, they did not have any social, cultural, ecological or psychological trauma.

At a time when development intervention brings positive changes in people's life, Cernea (2000) advocates that development intervention invites many social problems

such as displacement and associated trauma, socio-cultural crisis, emotional detachment from their original homeland and devastation in their solidarity and harmony which people enjoyed in their original home. It prevents people from being social and makes them more individualistic and materialistic. Cernea claims that compensation money in most of the cases are not utilized properly which appears to be true in this case as well. Purna Bahadur Balami himself could not get the compensation money and other people falling under the categorization of ethnic groups like Tamang and Magar could not utilize the money properly and instead spent on entertainment activities. Such instances have worsened their life now.

Based on above observation it is seen that development intervention goes in its way and people go on their own way, however change is inevitable in every development intervention which brings development in some way and people struggle in their own way to adopt the new environment, which must be assisted by the state and development agencies to make a resettle program for the displaced so as to prevent them from being landless and homeless.

### **From the legacy of long-established identity to modernity**

Few people in every rural area carry on a legacy of fame, power and property which make them a prestigious people in the place. When these people have to displace from the origin who enjoyed the legacy of fore fathers often suffer identity crisis which they enjoyed in their original place. Ramesh KC is the grandson of Tej Bahadur KC. Tej Bahadur was popularly known as 'Khatari Kanchha' in his locality and was the Pradhanpanch back then. He held nearly 22-23 Bighas of land which today lies in the center of Indrasarowar Lake. Out of the locals who were displaced by dam construction, Ramesh KC and his family was one very elite and had better social, economic and political status in the area.

Ramesh KC's family consisted of eight brothers and one sister, among which only six brothers and one sister survives today. His father had seven households in his original place. All of their properties were acquired during dam construction. Ramesh KC has one son and two daughters. His eldest daughter Rupa KC is pursuing Doctorate degree in Australia. Another daughter, Deepa KC has got Diversity Visa and is living in South Dacota in United States of America. She is also expected to graduate in the mid of next year. Both his daughters completed their schooling from BarahiMadhymikVidhyalaya, Nibuwater. He along with his wife had visited their daughter in USA last year. There he stayed for two months, while his wife stayed for six months. His wife is again going to Australia this month. His son Rupesh KC, could not do better in education like his sisters but he is working as a construction contractor.

KC's family had good social reputation in their original place. This was because of the political power that his grandfather had. They had a legacy of ruling power, but after the



displacement they had to live like commoner in a new settlement. This case suggests that it was not the money factor that caused problem for them. The family had to suffer from social and psychological trauma, as they lost all the recognition and status they had enjoyed in their original place. The pain of losing property, recognition, status and the respect, still hunt them. Though he lost his political-social recognition they once had in their original place, now he is able to enrich his access to international platform, as his daughters are living in USA and Australia. At present day, they have a broader horizon to live with.

Ramesh KC claims that social solidarity and cultural harmony subsisting in an organized setting breaks when people are displaced from their root community. The displacement and forced movement also invites series of conflicts of different nature in the life of people who are forcibly displaced. This happens when people like Ramesh KC loses identity, prestige and privileges, which he would still have holding, if they had remained in their traditional homeland. Nevertheless, the new life Ramesh KC is living today is contributed by the adoption of various modern features, which has helped him to have a new perspective and vision in life. Migration led him to adapt to a new environment, whereby his life has changed from that of a rural to an urban person. As a rural inhabitant, he was largely dependent on agriculture and animal husbandry as his main occupation in his life. In a new place he is dependent on job and is making a living in modern society, which has entirely changed his lifestyle.

### **Maintaining the status quo in the turmoil of displacement**

In the quest of resettling in the periphery of the original homeland many people settled in Markhu, the area adjacent to Indrasarowar Lake and managed to make a living by doing small business because the lake area has become a tourist spot these days. Laxmi Tamang resides at Markhu village and is operating a simple hotel that serves tea, food and snacks throughout the day and liquor for the evening customers. Laxmi was married at the age of 22 with Bhim Lal Tamang who was a permanent resident of Dandaghar. His land and house was acquired for building reservoir. Laxmi has two daughters and a son. Her husband is working in Qatar for almost six years now. Laxmi does not clearly know about the procedures adopted for formulating compensation policy, however she was told by her father-in-law that the land and house they are living in today was bought using the compensation amount.

Laxmi seems satisfied on her father-in-law's decision of buying land in Markhu. This is because now Markhu has been developed as a tourist visiting place. Laxmi runs a hotel and is making her living more standard. She feels that life is better in this place which is her home village too. Had her father-in-law gone to some other place out of this locality,

they might have to struggle a lot and she fears that life would not have been as easy as she is living today in her own village. In this case, it seems that the compensation money had been comparatively utilized in better way.

After marriage, due to pressure of the familial role and responsibility to take care of the children and other household activities, she became matured at an earlier age. It helped her to go further than household activities and get involved in social works, which has now given her a different recognition in the society. She is still willing to involve in organizational activities to learn something. 'Doing, Learning and Better Doing' is her principle in life. It shows that in order to develop oneself, one does not need to migrate somewhere after seeing that she is doing very well in her own locality. It is an exception to the general belief that migration helps for development of an individual. She has been able to develop herself by staying in her own area. More than migration, a pressure to survive on her own and the involvement in development activities resulted in her overall development. It is concluded that involvement in development activities creates a new horizon of thinking and living capacity.

General conception is that migration in a better place leads to development of people. Conversely, the case of Laxmi Tamang contradicts this opinion. She is still living in the same place where her maternal home used to be. Though she was married to the place where dam lies today, it was inevitable for her family to migrate but coincidentally her in-laws family happened to migrate at Markhu, where she was born and brought up. Despite the fact that she did not move to a better and urban setting as compared to other cases that I have studied, she is able to hold a better social and economic status. In the light of changes her village has witnessed, after the development intervention, her life has shaped in a more favorable manner.

Based on the observation of Laxmi Tamang's case, it can be concluded that even for the time being, development intervention disrupts their traditional home and causes lots of difficulty to the displaced, in the long run it also generate broader scope of benefits to them.

### **Honesty, dedication and success**

A continuous hard work and devotion often lead to success for many people. There was an incidence of such case in the life of one of my informants. Jagat Tamang who is aged 64, used to live with his mother, wife and his two sons before displacement. Life before displacement was simple and earning of the family was substantial with only minimum income source. The family was forced to migrate in 2032 BS. This family moved to Hetauda. Forced displacement was compensated, which according to Jagat was not adequate to what they suffered as loss.

In his original place of living, Jagat had a small piece of agricultural land and few cattle. When Jagat migrated, he had to leave his cattle back in his village. With the compensation amount, Jagat bought a piece of land and constructed a small house for residence in Hetauda. They lived there for five years. Jagat used to work as a manual labor. For the family, life was not that easy as Jagat could earn only for the family's survival. In search for a better alternative of earning, this family again migrated to Lalitpur in Kathmandu valley. His migration to Kathmandu valley was helped by his own neighbor. Jagat sold his property whatever he had in Hetauda and with the money he received by selling his property, he resettled in Kathmandu.

Jagat and his family had to struggle a lot in Kathmandu. First five years Jagat and his wife worked as a mason worker at construction sites. The income was still substantial and was not enough. For few years they earned as daily workers. During these years they had only a minimal saved. Jagat used the saved amount while leaving for foreign employment. Jagat went to Saudi Arabia and then to Malaysia, where he worked as a low-class labor. After three years in foreign employment, Jagat started sending remittance. Jagat's wife started a tea and household shop with the money she received from her husband. Foreign employment enhanced the earning of the family. After earning for five years in Malaysia and from tea shop, the family bought a piece of land in Lalitpur and constructed a small house for their residence. With the income and saved amount, they were now able to send their children to school for education.

It is a true fact that Jagat and his family had to migrate forcefully because of the dam construction, but this event has made possible for them to move from rural to urban area. The migration availed them the basic facilities for surviving life, to have access to various services and possibilities for better social and economic life. Regardless of the difficulties and struggle that Jagat went through after displacement, the movement has enabled him to think in a new perspective with newer objectives for better life that eventually led him to have succeeded to lead a better life today. This new perspective is the outcome of his forced displacement that also forced him to rethink in a different way so as to adopt to a new environment that opened a new door for a better livelihood. He concludes that living in his origin, life probably would not have changed for this much and he would simply be living a rural life at substantial livelihood. It was the displacement which made him think in a new manner for better perspective as a result he has been able to live a life of this standard today in a better place. Jagat opines that, with honesty and dedicated hard work, one can adjust to a newer environment for better life. My finding is that he is still energetic and positive towards life with the kind of dedication he had which has made him where he stands today and this is yet to be continued for his even better life perspective.

## Misery and the agony of displacement

Development intervention that displaces people have multiple impacts on the people displaced while many of them accommodated themselves in a new area with new lifestyle, few people became victim of the project who could not utilize the compensation money in proper way or spent it for a short period of recreation for them by indulging in the gambling, drinking liquor and were unable to foresee the consequences coming across their way in the long run. ShyamBalami is of 72 years old and was a permanent resident of Lamachaur. His family includes his two sons and two daughters, his father and mother are no longer alive. His two brothers separated property and entitlement among each other a long ago. Balami's family was entirely dependent on agriculture, which they did in their own small land. In the name of material property, they own few cattle. His rural life was very simple in accordance with others' residing in his area.

Prior to displacement, life of Balami's family was not that much troublesome. The family received compensation money for the land acquired by the project authority and they went to stay with their relatives who resided at Markhu village. This dependency resulted by displacement caused psychological trauma to his family. His parents, especially father suffered severe depression following the psychological trauma he faced for dislocation from his own home and living in relative's home, it created a sense of homelessness in him.

Shyam lost chances of working in the Kulekhani project because he was engaged in his familial problems. He had to go through mental, physical and economic problem, while his father was under treatment at Kathmandu, in which most of the compensated money was spent for treatment and later on both his father and mother died. He was facing these entire problems at a time when he still had to take care of his children. Project had already completed the phase, where it would require his work as a manual labor. The project required semi-skilled and technical workers for which Shyam could not qualify. Shyam resorted to drinking alcohol to stress out his frustration of not earning much. He started to spend his balanced money in drinking alcohol and that also led to irregularity in work. He depended on his wife for his own needs. His wife used to make little amount of money by working in others farm and doing household works.

This case reflects on how people are being vulnerable to misery in the name of development. It suggests that development intervener, concerned organization, agency and stakeholders must take into account of all these tragedies and should implement the project in a way so as to make sure that the local people are taken care of their future in the process of displacement.

## Conclusion

This study has covered the process of compensation, utilization of compensation, resettlement in new area and the changes occurred in their lifestyle and livelihood. It has also focused on the suffering of local people in the process of displacement, their struggle to resettle in new area and environment, changing patterns in their lives etc. The Kulekhani hydropower project has benefited the nation as it is a three-phased electricity generating project, Kulekhani I–60 MW, Kulekhani II–32 MW and Kulekhani III–14 MW, however it has brought challenges and suffering to many people in the absence of the proper rehabilitation and resettlement plans for the displaced people. These plans of resettlement have become mandatory in international arena which is also supported by the international agencies that fund these mega hydroelectric projects designed in storage type that displaces large people to reduce the problems faced in the attempts of the displaced people in their resettlements.

In other way, it is found in this study that development projects displace people from their roots which cause lots of trouble in the beginning but gradually the displaced people develop the capacity to think according to new environment and with a new perspective which is obviously different than the one they had in their origin. This change in thinking and perception has helped many of them to live a better life and also enabled them to enjoy various facilities of modern lifestyle because their movement was definitely in the better place than their origin, however for few people displacement led to misery who could not utilize the compensation amount properly especially among the poor rural people and in this study area mostly the ethnic group of people. It can be concluded that development intervention forces people to enter into the complexity of social change and social transformation in all the dimensions of life.

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