Displacement and its Impact on Family and Kinship Relations of Displaced Women

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Abstract: According to World Bank (2000), Dams are the single largest sources of displacement in India Construction of dam's plays crucial role in generation of hydro power, irrigation facilities, water supply, flood control which are positive beneficiary services to human society. Their constructions have also led to many significant negative social and human impacts. Women being the marginalized community experience displacement differently. Women are separated from their Kiths and Kins. The frequency of Kins visits are lessened post displacement; there is tremendous decrease in the support offered by Kins. Kinship bond is weakened post displacement; women's get togetherness on ceremonies fairs and festivals is lessened after displacement. Hence the process of displacement acted as sudden shock on the part of displaced women.

Keywords: Displacement, Development, Kinship, Displaced Women, Family, Natal home, Kinship Bond.

Introduction

Project induced displacement is prominent issue of social development which created widespread concern and demanding immediate attention. Types of projects which are creating displacement mainly consist of power generation, mining, industry, construction of roads, dams, irrigation projects etc. India after independence following the path of 'Planned development' which gives larger scope for enormous expansion of Projects as well displacement of people from their original homestead to newer areas. According to World Bank (2000) Dams are the single largest sources of displacement in India. Our first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Lal Nehru said that 'Dams are the Temples of Modern India'. Construction of dams plays crucial role in generation of hydro power, irrigation facilities, water supply, flood control which are positive beneficiary services to human society. Their constructions have also led to many significant negative social and human impacts. There are people who come under down streams of dams are directly displaced and has to leave their original homesteads. Their production system gets disrupted. Their income sources get reduced. Their kinship groups scattered as well as informal social networks are broken. These impacts of displacement vary from person to person as well as group to group. In every group especially the marginalized, women pay the highest price following displacement.

The impact of displacement varies both for men and women.Women being marginalized community experience much more effect of displacement. The shifting of community has led to isolation from Kins, natal family member's friends as well as neighbors (Mehta L, 2000).Chittaroopa Palit and Mody P (1992) found that in the tribal village of Jhandana of Madhya Pradesh, women visited their natal homes almost every week and most of the tribal women in the village and their natal villages within small distance, a nearness and safety that would be lost through displacement. Study found that women could return to their parent's homes whenever they experience any kind of violence and abuse as their parental homes were near. Moreover elders from both the villages could resolve disputes. But after displacement, this was not possible because the women could not return due to the massive distance involved and they also lacked the money for transportation. As a result, negotiations could not be held, which resulted in a further increase of violence against and the abuse of women.

Scudder and Colson (1982) conducted study on Behura community in Orissa proves that, kinship relationship was eroded between displaced and non-displaced kinsmen, and also caused loosening of intimate bonds, interpersonal behavior and lower cohesion in family structure. Displacement may cause mental health disturbance across age, gender and marital status. According to Navleen Kaur (2004) the increased distance between women's natal home and marital home due to displacement has taken away emotional support available to married women. Asian Development Bank

report (2003), on Gender check list highlight that breakdown of community and social networks affect women more than men. Social networks are source of help in time of crisis and provide security for the household.

Soniamara Maranho (2001) the building of hydroelectric dams in Brazil has been marked by a lack of respect for the environment and the affected communities, and especially of women. The fact is that 70 percent of the families affected by dams in Brazil have not received proper compensation. Women lost their marketing opportunities and their self reliance. This change not only implies the loss of woman's position of power and decision-making, but also an increase in her economic dependency. This in turn resulted in the loss of family ties. Verma (2004) found in his study that Displacement caused break down of family relationship, especially widening generation gap between elders and children and decrease in the respect for elders.

Objectives

The present paper has set following objectives-

- To examine how displacement affected family system in the study area.
- To assess kinship relations among displaced women.

Study Area

The Upper Krishna project is a multipurpose project for irrigation, generation of power and drinking water spread over Vijayapura, Bagalkot, Kalaburgi, Yadgiri and Raichur districts of North Karnataka. Researcher has purposively selected Muranal (Rehabilitation Centre) Gram Panchayat of Bagalkot taluk of Bagalkot district in Karnataka for the purpose of the study. As these village is completely submerged and resettled.

Methodology adopted

The Purposive sampling method were used for collecting information from Project displaced Women. There were around 620 households under the limits of Muranal Gram Panchayat, and from each household elder women is interviewed for the purpose of research. Eventually 510 project displaced women were interviewed. Tabulation, Pearson chi-square test and regression analysis method were used for the study.

Sources of Data

The primary data were collected from the respondents through structured interview schedule method by interviewing the project displaced women in Muranal (Rehabilitation center), Gram Panchayat which includes villages of Muranal (RC), Veerapur (RC) village, Kesanur (RC) village and Banniddini (RC) village and also used secondary data whichever necessary.

Result and Discussion

The present research study tries to deals with the process of displacement and its socio, economic and cultural impact on the women affected by the project. The researcher focused on specifically those women who were displaced by the upper Krishna project. The impact of the displacement on the women will be discussed in detail.

Table No 1.1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Women in Upper-Krishna Project, Bagalkot district

Socio-Demographic Characteristics	Numbers	Percent
Village Name		
Bannidini	70	13.73
Kesanur	44	08.63
Muranal	186	36.47
Veerapur	210	41.17
Age of the Respondent		
30-40	74	14.51
40-50	273	53.53
50-60	114	22.35
above 60	49	09.61
Religion of the Respondents		
Hindu	404	79.21
Muslim	93	18.24
Cristians+Jain	13	02.55
Category of the Respondents		
SCs	68	13.33
STs	96	18.83
OBCs	199	39.02
Others	147	28.82
Marital Status of the Respondents		
Married	407	79.80
Widow	89	17.45
Divorced/Separated/Unmarried	14	02.75
Total	**510**	**100.00**

Table 1.1 indicates the village wise distribution of displaced Women. Majority of the respondents belong to Veerapur (Rehabilitation Centre) Village i.e. 41.17 percent. Muranal (Rehabilitation Centre) Village represents 36.47 percent respondents. Bannidini (Rehabilitation Centre) Village represents 13.73 percent respondents and Kesanur (Rehabilitation Centre) Village represents 8.63 percent respondents. This particular Gram Panchayat was chosen for the research considering the fact that these four villages were completely submerged and relocated successfully. Majority 53.53 percent of the respondents were in the age group of 41-50 years, about 22.35 percent are in the age group of 51-60 years, about 14.51 percent are in the age group of 31-40 years and 9.61 percent are in the age group of above 60 years. Hence it is observed that there is more number of respondents in the age group of 41-50 years. The present research study focuses on the elder women of the household as respondents because there are more chances of elder women experienced the magnitude of displacement than younger ones. The majority of displaced women belong to the working age group i.e. 30 to 60 years which counts 90.39 percent. Caste system influences our social, political and economic activities, above mentioned table indicates that 13.33 percent respondents belong to Scheduled Caste which prominently consists of Madar and Bhovi-Waddar. 18.83 percent respondents belongs to Scheduled Tribes majority of them are Valmiki, Bedar, Nayak and Talawar. 39.02 percent respondent belongs to other backward classes which include caste like Ambigas, Agasas, Kuruba, Kumbara etc. Others cover around 28.82 percent which includes Muslims, Lingayats, Jain, Brahmins etc. Thus the Muranal Gram Panchayat consists of diverse castes. As evident from the table 79.80 percent respondents are married, 17.45 percent respondents were widows; two percent of respondentsare divorced or separated from husbands. 02.75 percent respondents were single and unmarried. Majority of the respondents i.e. 79.80 percent fall under married category. Marriage being the universal social institution is practiced very much in the Indian society. We find very minute number of displaced women in unmarried category. This data is helpful in analyzing the role and status of women and her dependency on husband in new Rehabilitation centers.

Table No 1.2: Proportion of Type of Family by Pre Displacement and Post Displacement

Type of Family	Pre Displacement		Post Displacement	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Joint	249	48.82	45	08.82
Nuclear	261	51.18	465	91.18
Total	**510**	**100.00**	**510**	**100.00**

P<0.001

Table No 1.2 represents that there were more number of nuclear families before and after displacement. But there is a significant change in the number of joint families. Pre displacement the joint families were around 48.82 percent but aftermath of displacement it has reduced to a meager 8.82 percent. Whereas nuclear families occupy 51.18 percent before displacement and now after displacement they stand around 91.18 percent. Joint families represent clan in which every individual in the family know their role and responsibilities and support each other in times of need. Hence, majority of the respondents now belongs to nuclear families which evidently show that displacement brought out breakdown of joint families in to nuclear families. Many policies of Resettlement and Rehabilitation including Karnataka state follows allotting a separate plot for two major sons of main Project Displaced person who have attained the age of 18 years. Along with theses the authorities and the acts demanded separate kitchens and independent ration cards to assert them that they are living separately in the same household. The desire to get more plots and housing grants of rupees twenty two thousand made members of the family to live separately and to own their independent ration cards, which might be a cause for increase in nuclear families. Apart from that it is came to known during field visit that cash Compensation also led to conflict among many families which was also a factor for increase in nuclear families. However, the Pearson chi-square test value ($p<0.001$) too express that there is a positive relationship between impact of displacement on both joint family and nuclear family. These results reveal that inter-family relations became strained for one or other consequences of displacement.

Natal Home Relation of Displaced Women

Natal home in Indian context means the birth home of women before marriage. The distance of natal home plays pivotal role in establishment of emotional support to married women. Women could freely move to their parent's home, whenever they experience violence and abuse. Moreover elders from both the village could resolve dispute. But the below table depicts that post displacement this was not possible because she couldn't return due to massive distance involved. In this context a question was raised to know the increase or decrease in distance between natal home and marital home.

Table No 1.3: Distance between Natal home and marital homeby Pre Displacement and Post Displacement

Distance (in KM)	Pre Displacement		Post Displacement	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0 to 20	123	24.10	17	03.33
21 to 40	352	69.00	223	43.73
More than 40	35	06.90	270	52.94
Total	**510**	**100.00**	**510**	**100.00**

Table No 1.3 Shows that the distance between natal home and marital home before displacement within the range of 21 to 40 km range was 69.00 percent, 0 to20 km was 24.10 percent and more than 40 kms range was 6.90 percent. But after displacement there was a tremendous change in the distance between natal house and marital house. The distances between natal home and marital home more than 40 km range were 52.94 percent, within the range 21 to 40 km were 43.73 percent and within the range of 0 to 20 km were 3.33 percent. This shows massive increase in the distance between natal home and Marital home which may have resulted in isolation, separation and less emotional support to married women from the natal home aftermath of displacement. Natal home support is of utmost importance for newly married women especially during the time of pregnancy and childbirth. People follow many childbearing traditions which represent community's beliefs of caring the mother and her child. Usually in Indian context there is a tradition

of supporting two or more child birth in few cases from natal home of the pregnant women. This kind of support indeed plays a great role in postnatal care, maintaining physical and emotional health of both mother and child. But for few women displacement curbed this opportunity of child bearing and postnatal care in their natal homes due to increase in distance. The very interesting fact obtained from the fieldwork is that there are few displaced women who said that they never went back to their natal home after displacement, because of struggles aroused in the matter of cash compensation. Thus displacement which increased physical distances between natal home and marital home was able to increase social distance between displaced women and their natal home.

Kins Visit

Cernea's last risk recognises that forced displacement tears apart existing social fabric through the way in which communities are dispersed and fragmented. Similarly, social, informal and kinship networks are disrupted leading to a state of anomie, crisis and insecurity (Cernea's, 1997:1575). Kins in this context mean relatives from natal home as well as relatives from marital home. Kinship is of two kinds: through marriage relationships and blood relationships. Kinship includes genetic and marriage rows as well.

Table No 1.4: Frequency of Kins Visit by Pre Displacement and Post Displacement

Frequency	Pre Displacement		Post Displacement	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Very Frequently	257	50.39	34	06.66
Frequently	239	46.86	100	19.60
Rare	14	02.75	220	43.14
Very Rare	00	00.00	148	29.01
Never	00	00.00	08	01.50
Total	**510**	**100.00**	**510**	**100.00**

P<0.005

Table No 1.4 takes into consideration of Kins visit before displacement and after displacement. Kins visit to displaced women home bring cheer and confidence and establish sense of security among the displaced women. Kins support for women occupies prominent position in her over all well being. In this background a question regarding visit of Kins before and after displacement was asked. Finding depicts that Kins visit was 50.39 percent very frequent and 46.86 percent frequent and 2.75 percent was rare and there are no cases of very rare and never cases of visit before displacement. Post displacement there is significant change in the visit of Kins. Their visit decreased drastically with following changes. 43.14 percent of relatives visit turned in to rare visit, 29.01 percent of relatives visited very rarely. 19.60 percent of relatives keep visiting frequently. 6.66 percent started visiting frequently and 1.50 percent of relatives never ever visited again. As the Pearson chi- square test ($p<0.005$) values suggest that there stands a strong relationship between displacement and kins. Members of the displaced women are the pillars of social relation. This kin member helps in maintaining the social stability. Kinship helps in social control and also resolves internal conflicts within the family. Elder kin members of the displaced women are source of emotional strength, moral stability and familial support for the displaced women. This shows drastic drift in the Kins visit to displaced women home after displacement due to increase in distance. From the field many women expresses that cash flow among male household in displaced areas and cash expectations from the relatives and failure in offering cash to the relatives created a form of isolation in the relations of Kins.

Table No 1.5: Kins get together on ceremonies, festivals, fairsby Pre Displacement and Post Displacement

Togetherness	Pre Displacement		Post Displacement	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Very Frequent	171	33.53	19	03.72
Frequent	323	63.33	122	23.92
Rare	15	02.94	174	34.12
Very Rare	1	00.20	183	35.88
Never	0	00.00	12	02.36
Total	**510**	**100.00**	**510**	**100.00**

Festivals, fairs and ceremonies form larger part of social gatherings and get-togethers in India. Occasions like these enhances responsibilities of Kins and reinforce the familial bonds. They also foster community pride and strengthen relationship. They also increase social capital among the family. Kins get togetherness on ceremonies, festivals and fairs increases social capital and emotional support and bond among the community as well as women folk. In order to know whether the displacement disrupted this togetherness a question was asked. Table No 1.5 depicts that the relatives get togetherness on ceremonies festivals and fairs before displacement was 63.33 percent frequently, 33.53 percent very frequently, and 2.94 percent rare and very rare was just 0.20 percent. But after displacement the get togetherness on ceremonies festivals and fairs was reduced. 35.88 percent of relatives started visiting very rarely, 34.12 percent started visiting rarely, 23.92 percent started visiting frequently, and 3.72 percent started visiting very frequently and 2.36 percent never get together. The lessened visit is may be due to increase in the distance of Kins members. This shows that there is large gap of get togetherness among Kins during the time of ceremonies, festivals and fairs. There are certain life cycle events like births, deaths, marriages festivals and fair celebrations. The familial bonds are maintained and perpetuated through this get togetherness which is of utmost importance to women. The decline in the get togetherness affects women overall well-being and leads to decrease in the psycho-social support for displaced women.

Types of Support offered by Kins

Table No 1.6: Types of Support offered by Kins by Pre Displacement and Post Displacement

Support	Pre Displacement		Post Displacement	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Informal Loans	148	29.00	60	11.76
Emotional Support	137	26.80	74	14.51
Non-Durable goods	189	37.30	103	20.20
Durable Goods	32	06.20	13	02.55
No Support of any form	04	00.70	260	50.98
Total	**510**	**100.00**	**510**	**100.00**

Relatives and relationship are add-on values to the life of a woman. Kins from natal home as well as Kins from marital home offer support in form of informal loans like hand loans with no formal agreement, emotional support in the time of illness, death and crisis. Providing durable goods in form of furniture's and home appliances. Non-durable goods in form of exchange of food grains, vegetables, clothing, fuel, milk and its products. Table1.6 obtains the information about the various type of support provided by Kins before and after displacement. 37.30 percent of relatives were helpful in providing non-durable goods, 29.00 percent were helpful in providing informal loans, and 26.80 percent were helpful in lending emotional support, 06.20 percent were helpful in providing durable goods and 0.70 percent was not supportive in any form. After displacement there were changes in relative support 50.98 percent of relatives did not support in any form, 20.20 percent of relatives helped in providing non-durable goods, 14.51 percent were helpful in rendering emotional support, 11.76 percent stood for informal loans and only, 02.55 percent of relatives were supportive

in offering durable goods. From the field work it is evidenced that displaced women expressed they used to receive food grains like Jowar, wheat and maize. They also received vegetables milk and milk products like curd, butter and ghee from their relatives which is decreased after displacement. Increase in the distance of natal home. Loss of fertile land to the project, decrease in get togetherness of Kins has profoundly impacted the support from the Kin members .It in turn impacted upon the food security of the family. Even financial assistance has been reduced to the maximum level. Lesser support from relatives has made women to depend more on their men folk. In certain cases men migrated for work leaving the responsibility of the home to women. This has increased her workload in new Rehabilitation Centre.

Kinship Bond

George Peter Murdock: "Kinship is a structured system of relationships in which kins are bound to one another by complex interlocking ties."Kinship ties are the most basics of all human relationships based on ties of blood and Marriage. Kinship helps in maintaining unity and Cooperation among relatives. It is also helpful for individual as well as for community's well being. Dreze.J. M. Samson and S. Singh (1997) in their studies said that," Large dams have a lasting impact upon kinship structures and community identities. Kinship structures are social resources that determine individual well being and cannot therefore be ignored in impact assessment studies.

Table No 1.7: Bonds of Kinship by Pre Displacement and Post Displacement

Bonds of Kinship	Pre Displacement		Post Displacement	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Very Strong	142	27.84	20	03.92
Strong	335	65.69	157	30.78
Uncertain	5	00.98	37	07.25
Weak	25	04.90	218	42.75
Very Weak	03	00.59	78	15.30
Total	**510**	**100.00**	**510**	**100.00**

$p<0.010$

Hence in order to know that bonds of kinship before and after displacement a question was asked to the displaced women. Table No 1.7 reveals that 65.69 percent of respondents said that kinship bond were strong before displacement and 27.84 percent of respondents said that their kinship bond were very strong , 4.90 percent of respondents said that their kinship bond were weak, 0.98 percent of respondent said that they are uncertain of their kinship bond and 0.59 percent Said that their kinships bond were very weak. The nature of kinship bond after displacement eroded. 42.75 percent of respondents said that kinship bond after displacement are weak, 30.78 percent said that their kinship bond even remain strong today, 15.30 percent of respondents said that kinship bonds are very weak, 7.25 percent of respondents are uncertain about their kinship bond and 3.92 percent of respondents said that their kinship bonds are very strong even today. From the table it is revealed that the kinship bonds are weakening. When Researcher applied the Pearson chi-square test the value ($p<0.010$) reveals that there is weakening of kinship bonds after displacement was closely related and significant. This weakening of kinship bonds are interrelated to increase in the distance of relatives along with that decrease in the frequency of relatives visit. Lesser support in form of monetary assistance as well as reduction in exchange of food grains, milk and its products, weakened emotional support during the time of sickness, hardship, crisis and death have led to erosion of kinship bonds in new rehabilitation centers.

Table No1.8: Odds Ratio of Kinship relation with Women after displacement in Upper Krishna Project in Bagalkot District, 2017-18

Type of Family	Odds Ratio	P Value	[95% Conf.Interval]
Kins Visit			
Very Frequent®			
Frequent	1.06	0.944	0.2005104-5.619006
Rare/Very Rare	1.15	0.865	0.2224913-5.979475
Kins Support			
Yes®			
No	2.07	0.086	0 .9013353 -4.791601
Split In Relationships			
Strongly Agree®			
Agree	1.37	0.390	0.6638797-2.855187
Uncertain/DisAgree/Strongly Disagree	2.14	0.136	0.7867219-5.862777
Kinship Ties			
Strong/Very Strong®			
Uncertain	1.66	0.537	0.3289650-8.446443
Weak/Very Weak	1.13	0.805	0.4215969-3.042962

®Reference category; Level of significance: p<0.000 indicates 1% level of significance, p<0.010 indicates 5% level of significance & p>0.050 No significance
Dependent variable: Type of Family: Nuclear Family=1, Joint Family=0.

To understand the statistical significant of factors affecting Socio-Cultural support network, a logistic regression is adopted and result shown in table 1.8. Here dependent variable is dichotomous, 1 for Nuclear Family and 0 for Joint Family. Odds Ratio of Socio-Cultural support network among Women after displacement in Upper Krishna Project was 0.15 (1.15-1) times or 15 percentage more likely to visiting relative house by Rare/Very Rare than Frequent and very frequent. Followed by relatives helpful for giving support was 1.07 (2.07-1) times or 07 percentage more likely to not getting support from the relatives. Displacement cause a split (isolation) in long standing relationships was 1.14 times or 14 percentage more likely by Uncertain/Disagree/Strongly Disagree than agree and strongly agree. Similarly, Kinship ties become uncertain or weak or very weak compared to strong/very strong relationships. 0.66 times kinship ties were more likely to be uncertain compared to weak or very weak (0.13 times) compared to reference category of strong/very strong.

Conclusion

From the research it is obtained that the process of displacement brought out disintegration of joint families and gave raise to many nuclear families. Increase in the nuclear families due to separate allocation of plots for the major son's by the government. Hence leading to breakup in the joint family structures followed since time immemorial. Displaced women have to move far away from their natal homes due to displacement. Researcher witnessed a serious fall in the support from natal home especially of child bearing and postnatal care. Displacement had segregated the bonding of women with her natal home relations. Elder Kins of the displaced women are source of emotional strength and moral stability. Kins lessened visit have made women unsecured and disheartened.Kins get togetherness on ceremonies, festivals and fairs articulate social capital among the women but displacement has lessened their get togetherness which in turn decreased social capital among women folk and affected women’s over all well-being. Displacement also weakened kinship bond. The weakening of kinship bond decreased all kind of support available to women during the time of sickness, hardship, and crisis.

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